GUIDE TO THE NR13 NORTHERN PAIUTE FILE

[The NR13 file contains data on the Paviotso or Northern Paiute Indians, including the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) and Surprise Valley Paiute of California and numerous bands in Nevada and eastern Oregon. The territory inhabited by the Northern Paiute comprises most of the Great Basin in western Nevada, northeastern California, southwestern Idaho, and central and eastern Oregon. The Northern Paiute refered to themselves as neme, a name which is applied to all people who speak the same language, including similar languages such as those spoken by the Shoshone and Ute. The Northern Paiute spoke the Bannock-Snake language of the Shoshonean branch of the Uto-Aztecan family of the Aztec-Tanoan phylum.

According to 11: Park, aboriginally the total population probably never exceeded 2,000. In the early 1930's there were almost 1,000 Northern Paiutes living on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and in small scattered communities elsewhere in Nevada. According to d'Azevedo, et al., aboriginal density ranged from a high of 2.1 sq. miles per person to a low of 44 sq. miles per person.

Hunting, fishing, and gathering of seeds provided the food supply. The environment was quite harsh and along with seeds, roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish, and insects were eaten. Pinenuts were the major subsistence items in winter months. The way of life was semi-nomadic.

According to d'Azevedo, et al., the Northern Paiute have adapted quite well to the reservation situation. A cultural complex similar to Plains culture developed among the Northern Paiute in the mid-nineteenth century. Intensive warfare against the Whites was conducted. By around 1870 the Northern Paiute were placed on reservations. Several nativistic movements followed. After this, the Northern Paiute settled down and began to farm and raise livestock. d'Azevedo et al. claim that the reservation system gave the Northern Paiute a sense of unity which had been weakly developed aboriginally.

Shamanism was practiced aboriginally for the purposes of curing and weather control. Prophecy was also a component of the shamanic complex. In the late 19th century a Northern Paiute prophet, Wovoka, had a series of visions which culminated in the Ghost Dance, a nativistic movement which spread rapidly among many Native Americans. Peyotism was introduced in 1936.

There are fifteen sources in the NR13 Northern Paiute file. 1: Kelly is a general ethnography on the Surprise Valley Paiutes. 2: Lowie is a comparative study of several bands of Northern Paiutes, Utes, and Wind River Shoshoni. 3: Angulo and Freeland is on California Paiutes. The source consists of a brief cultural summary and some data on phonology, morphology, and syntax. 4: Stewart is a culture element distribution study which compares the presence or absence of 2,700 culture elements among 12 bands of Northern Paiute and the Washo and Achomawi. 5: Park is a study of Northern Paiute shamanism. 6: Wheeler-Voegelin is an investigation of the identity of 2 Northern Paiute bands in central Oregon. 7: Whiting is a study of Northern Paiute sorcery. It includes a cross-cultural study of sorcery and social control. 8: Park and 9: Stewart are brief articles on polandry among the Northern Paiute. 10: Wheat is a description of the making of a tule balsa boat and a cattail house. 11: Park is an exhaustive study of shamanism. 12: Heizer consists of explanatory texts for photographs, including data on house type, kutsavi gathering and an appendix on chieftainship. 13: Loud consists of brief data on bands, hunting, fishing, and gathering, native uses of plants, basketry, and mythology. 14: Setwart is on the peyote cult, its ideology, its ceremonialism, and its spread. 15: Riddell is an ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute. In addition to these sources, there is extensive material from 9: d'Azevedo, et al., of the NT20 Washo file. It is an article on comparing the different types of response to White contact among the Northern Paiute and the Washo.

This is quite an extensive file with good data on most aspects of the culture. Most of the sources date from the 1930's. The researcher should note the spatial focus of each source, since the Northern Paiute were quite widespread. The file was processed in 1954, 1961, 1962, 1965-1969, and 1975.]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern 122
Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of
1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of
California and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used inter- 101
changeably in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all statements apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the
Gidü'tikad^{a}, or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band [161]
are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, head-
quarters for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] 122
to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained 101
from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes,
Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty.

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained 174
is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little 105
of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are
gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods
have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be
seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried
in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole
reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing
to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information.
Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourish-
ing. At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the 105
older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to 124
the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very

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[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

TERRITORY[4]

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The band of Northern Paiute known as the Gidū'tikad^{a}, or Groundhog-eaters, with whom this paper is primarily concerned, lived in the northeastern corner of California and adjacent parts of Oregon and Nevada, along the western fringe of the Great Basin. Their territory included the whole of Surprise valley and considerable of the hill country immediately to the east. Statements as to eastern extension are extremely vague, but their holdings included Coleman valley and probably Long valley, running well toward Summit lake in Nevada.

To the west Gidü'tikad^{a} territory extended over Warner range to include the eastern shore of Goose lake, south as far as Buck creek. The Paviotso-Achomawi boundary fell somewhere between this point and Sugar hill, the latter being indisputably Achomawi (Izi'sa·wi) My informant claimed Fandango valley and Lassen creek for the Paiute but said that both they and the Achomawi used to fish in the last mentioned stream. Save for a slight overlap in the Fandango region, this statement is in substantial agreement with Kniffen,[5] who places the northernmost Achomawi village on Lawson (i.e., Lassen) creek. The Paiute regarded all this region west of the Warners merely as hunting province, thus, "We didn't own it; we just hunted there." Hunting parties crossed into the Goose Lake country via Bidwell canyon, coming out near the present town of New Pine Creek.

To the northwest were the Klamath (Modoc ?), known as Pama'ha sai'^{n} [6], or, more commonly, Sai'^{n}, given once as Sa'ib^{a}tikad^{a}, Tule-eaters. Pindy gave Pakwi'tikad^{a}, Trout-eaters, as the name for the Modoc; all other informants failed to distinguish between them and the Klamath. Pindy seems, however, to have reversed the two terms, agreeing with other informants that the "Klamath" hun[illegible] on the western shore of Goose lake and placing the Modoc in the Klamath marsh district, the heart of Klamath territory.[7] It seems likely, there-

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[4] The bulk of this material is based on information given by P and JB.

[5] P. 308 and map 2.

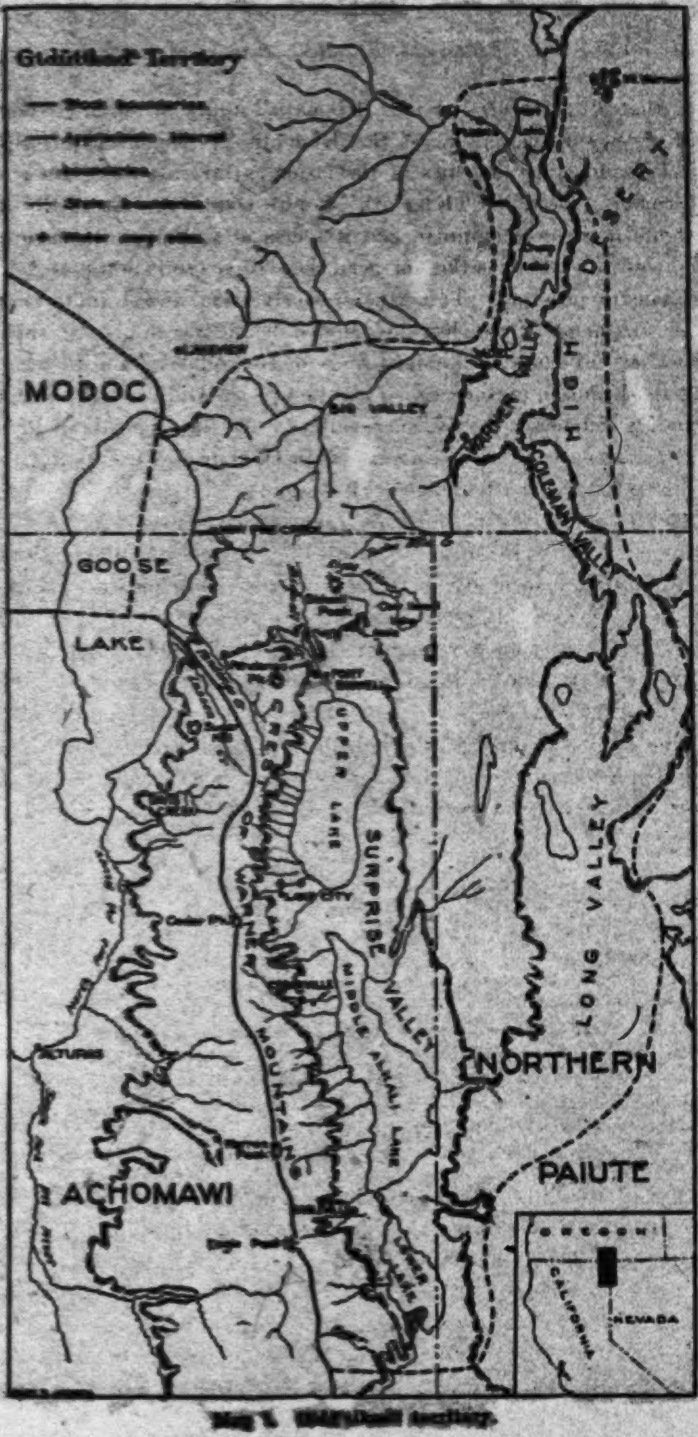
[6] This is said to be a name given by the Yainax Paiute, and hence recent. My informant was not certain, but suggested that it might be derived from pa'mūhab, water grass.

[7] According to Spier, Klamath, 8 and figure 1. See Bibliography for complete citations.

I: Kelly   Σ-5   (1930) 1934   Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

p. 71

101
131


Gidütikad" Territory
State boundaries
MODOC
HIGH DESERT
COLEMAN VALLEY
GOOSE
LAKE
UPPER LAKE
SURPRISE VALLEY
LAKE CITY
WARNER MOUNTAINS
MIDDLE ALKALI LAKE
LONG VALLEY
NORTHERN PAIUTE
ACHOMAWI
ALTURAS
LOWER LAKE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA

Map 1. [illegible] territory.

101
131

fore, that all references to the "Klamath" apply to the Modoc or to both groups rather than to the Klamath proper, although Spier reports summer settlements of the latter as far east as Sycan river. Informants placed the "Klamath"-Paiute boundary east of Bly and west of Gearheart mountain and it seems at this point to have run northwest, inasmuch as the northern shore of Goose lake was regarded as Klamath province. This northwesterly trend is substantiated by Spier's Klamath map, but his Modoc boundary might be shifted somewhat to include the eastern shore of Goose lake. Tradition has it that the Klamath once occupied all the present Gidü'tikad^{u} territory, including Surprise and Warner valleys. At this time these Paiute were living east of Steens mountain, in Oregon, but eventually they drove out the Klamath and took possession.

To the north the Gidü'tikad^{u} ranged more or less continuously through Adel and Plush in Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise. They seem not to have wintered north of Plush, but in summer they probably reached the head of the valley. To the north, south, and east, they were bordered by other Paiute, although most of the country between Plush and Burns is said to have been alkali and uninhabited.

The names of some of the neighboring Paiute bands follow, but anything in the way of detailed geographical distribution is not feasible. Informants are unfamiliar with distant areas, especially to the east.

Dühü'tcyatikad^{u}, Deer-eaters, Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon.

Go'ya'tikad^{u}, Crawfish(?)-eaters, Yainax and Beatty, Oregon. These Paiute were brought from Silver lake in recent times and the name is therefore post-reservation.

Wada'tikad^{u}, Wada'(seed)-eaters, Burns, Malheur district, Oregon; and Susanville, California.

Tübu'initikad^{u}, (?) Berry-eaters, east of Steens mountain, Oregon.

Kwi'nadüva^{a}, Kwi'nodub, Smoke (?) Indians, McDermitt, Nevada. The country north of McDermitt is said to have been uninhabited.

A'ga'itikad^{u}, Fish-eaters, Summit and Walker lakes, Nevada.

Kuyui'tikad^{u}, Sucker-eaters, Pyramid lake, Nixon, Nevada.

To'itikad^{u}, Cat-tail-eaters (from toib^{u}, cat-tail), Fallon and Yerington, Nevada.

[622] My informant did not know the name of the band immediately to the south but stated that their headman was named Sa'ihida^{a}. Similarly he gave Wobi'ñnünabügai as the chief of the Paisley Paiute but did not know the group designation. Paisley is known as So'ho. He stated definitely that two bands, those of Burns and Susanville, were known as Wada'tikad^{u} and that the Walker and Summit lake bands,

although distinct, shared the same name. The Summit lake group bounded the Gidū'tikad^{a} to the east.

Two subnames were recorded. One, Saib^{a}tikad^{a}, Tule-eaters, applied to Adel in Warner valley. This name was given any persons camped there; in other words, it was associated with the site rather than with the people. The word, Saib^{a}tikad^{a}, is apparently in accord with the Handbook[8] which gives the Saidyuka as a group of eastern Oregon. Loud[9] has it "sai", short for sai-duka'a, "'tule eaters,' a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada." It should be noted that this is identical with two of the three versions for Klamath. The other subname is said to be of recent derivation. As the Bidwell Paiute were ridiculed by their neighbors for eating the flesh of animals dead from natural causes, they came to speak jestingly of the Cedarville and Eagleville groups as Itsū'natikad^{a}, they-eat-them-alive.

These band names must not be regarded as having serious economic significance. They are based, in fact, on natural resources rather than on staple foods and are certainly no more than convenient labels. For example, concerning the name given the Yainax Paiute, my informant said, "Go'ya'tikad^{a} is a new name given since the Paiute were put on the Klamath reservation.[10] It is named after the crawfish (?). There are many there; I don't know if they ever eat them or not."

The only one of the above bands not named according to the "-tikad^{a}" pattern is the McDermitt band. Informants could not explain this exception, nor could they give the exact meaning of the name. One translated it "Smoke Indians"; another said somewhat doubtfully, "It sounds like the word for smoke; I don't know why they call them that."

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[8] Handbook of American Indians, 1:932.

[9] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[10] Go'ya' is apparently a loan word as Spier, 15, notes a Klamath village called GoyEaks'Egis, crawfish crawl out. It seems plausible that crawfish, foreign to the old Paiute habitat, were designated by the Klamath term.

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

[101]
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The Gidü'tikad^{a} call themselves nümü, persons, as do the Nevada Paviotso.[233] Most informants apply the term to related groups only, but by it Pindy designates all Indians in opposition to whites (taibu). Informants class neighboring groups linguistically, thus:

> The Bannock and Fort Hall (Idaho) are the same as the Paiute: they talk our language.[234] I am a Paiute; I am a Bannock; Bannock are Paiute. The Bishop (Inyo county) and Pyramid Lake Indians speak our language too but a little different. We are Paiute here, at Walker lake, at Klamath,[235] at Burns, and at Pyramid lake. Even the Umatilla are half Paiute.
>
> The Warm Springs and the Digger Indians (Maidu, Washo) are different too. The first time I saw a Washo I thought he was a Paiute, but he didn't understand what I said to him (JB).

With related bands the Gidü'tikad^{a} were on the best of terms and a few individuals could visit a neighboring group with little hesitancy. Thus a camp of Gidü'tikad^{a} would sometimes wander as far east as McDermitt and occasionally winter there. Also:

> Sometimes one or two Pyramid Lake and Nixon (Nevada) Paiute came here to hunt. We didn't object because they didn't come in bands (P).

Contacts with the Shoshone who "lived northeast of McDermitt, the other side of some mountain" seem to have been slight. Joshua had heard of Snake Indians "somewhere to the east" but had not seen any. The Bannock (Pana'k^{a}), living "somewhere to the northeast in Idaho, the other side of Malheur," were known chiefly through the Burns Paviotso but also through occasional transients who did not winter in Gidü'tikad^{a} territory. According to Pindy:

> The Bannock came here only once. When the Klamath and Warm Springs Indians were fighting us, we sent word north and many Bannock came and helped us.

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[233] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[234] This accords nicely with Kroeber's linguistic classification of Bannock. Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, 266.

[235] Doubtless Yainax, near Beatty, which is on the Klamath reservation.

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By Jaime de ANGULO and L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort 114
Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a num-
ber of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are [101] ●
congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray
who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in
that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all [102]
possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in
touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of [115]
their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During
the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged
around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George 115
Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on
the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he
was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible
for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very
valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit 121
my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the
point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the
Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion
of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more
and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior 114
Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a 191

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[1] I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

[2] For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

114 typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of
171 California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the
influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they
have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the
place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain
why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite
[121] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the
spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value however, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

ETHNO-GEOGRAPHY.

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[131]
133 The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. LOWIE, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. KROEBER :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

To the north and to the south the range gradually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claim- 101
ed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather inde- 133
finite. It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131]
Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like
Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by 648
both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by
both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit
Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different
groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits
did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must
have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and
Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that
intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [582]
both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [127]
home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed
to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them
them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of
culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between
these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely
separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact
that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful
chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their
ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother
to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good
deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101
through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 131
seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361]
eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as
Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River
territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316]
"mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention
between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears
strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes,
Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed
from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war.
Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner
Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of
Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133
northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101
619 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habitat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *nɯm·i* (e. g. *ni nɯm·i nɯn·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak [197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBï*
Silver Lake	*Toha'TɛP·i*
Duck Lake	*TïBï'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Diqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Diqa*
Maidu	*TaKonɛ*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tsɛ*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tɪziyamaw*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pibi-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361
821 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when 622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or
absence of certain elements of culture in repre-
sentative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Infor-
101 mation from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi
131 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose
of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Val-
ley are not included because of Steward's studies
of them.[3] Although some of the groups included
here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahus-
kin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake
and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of cul-
ture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is
now on record to show that these bands are typi-
cally Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly
desert, being modified somewhat by streams carry-
ing water into the area from the Sierra Nevada,
Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their terri-
tory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle
with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its
275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about
600 miles to the north. With the exception of
part of the arid plateau in the north, all the
area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic
province; in fact, the western edge of the Great
Basin is approximately coterminous with the
Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer
137 is the coincidence of the western or northern
tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sage-
brush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dom-
inated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood.
The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-
Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically
on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and
136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are
fairly common throughout the area, although jack
rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game
were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 194] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; g, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p. 361 (A)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
supplied the data or when several agreed, no in-
[121] dication is made in the list. An asterisk beside
the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate
information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with
Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,[7] Tasigat-tuviwarai, "between dwellers,"
131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys
NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[7] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

127 114 scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received con-
128 flicting accounts. Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dokadö of trait number 2721a.

131 101 Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115 Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101 131 2, Kl, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

115 lethargic. He was less informed than ND and volunteered little except upon direct question. Although he also worked with Park, he seemed inclined to give an answer whether or not he was sure. Because his mail route required half of each day, I used his brother, Dick Mahwee, when he (DG) was not available, thereby obtaining a duplicate list (K2 in list).

101 3, K2, Kuyui-dökadö.

115 Informants.—Dick Mahwee (DM), age 59, born at Honey Lake; DG's younger brother. Except for visits to Virginia City and Reno, he lived at Nixon most of his life. Waterman,[8] who took DM in 1910 to San Francisco to use him in linguistic work, said DM spent his childhood in Long Valley near Honey Lake. When interviewed he was nearly blind, but was otherwise in good health. Having been a "singing doctor" for 20 years and "dance captain" at times, DM was an excellent informant for certain phases of culture.[9] For material culture his knowledge seemed reliable, but he refused to say anything about childbirth, puberty, and the like, professing complete ignorance. DM spent only four years in school, leaving in 1888. He spoke fair English. I worked with both him and his brother (DG) without interpreters. Ten days were spent in Nixon, slightly more time with DG than with DM.

Additional ethnogeographical data were obtained from Jane Holbrook, Kuyui, and Hattie Whitehead, Kamö. There were several other informants at Nixon who possibly could have given valuable information.

101
131 4, Kü, Küpa-dökadö, "ground-squirrel eaters," lived on the lower Humboldt River and near Humboldt Sink. In 1936 several lived in the Indian Colony at Lovelock, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Gilbert Natchez (GN), age ca. 54, born at Brown's Station, 20 miles SW of Lovelock, Nevada. Both his parents were Küpa. GN lived about 36 years at Nixon, but learned of "old Indian ways" from his mother and grandmother. He lived at Lovelock in 1936. He fell off a train when a young man, which left him badly crippled. His sight and hearing were good. He was forced to remain much of the time at home, which, he said, was spent in talking old Paiute lore. I was impressed by his breadth of knowledge and by his ability to express himself. His lack of personal experience with aboriginal culture limited his knowledge; notwithstanding, he surpassed anyone else I found at Lovelock. He was taken to San Francisco and used as a linguistic informant by A. L. Kroeber. He proved very apt and was kept three months. He learned to write his language in phonetic script and he has a paper published under his name.[10] He also supplied the culture data recorded by Loud.[11] I worked with GN four days.

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[8] UC-PAAE 10:13-44, 1911.

[9] ada (crow) is DM's power.

[10] Northern Paiute Verbs. UC-PAAE 20:254-259, 1923.

[11] Lovelock Cave. UC-PAAE 25:1-183, 1929.

[p.363(A)]

115 Skinny Dave, or Parviano, the "Küpa chief," proved to be an unsatisfactory informant. He had unlimited self esteem, but very meager knowledge.

Annie Lowry (AL), age 69, half-breed Küpa, has lived always at Lovelock. She was one of Lowie's informants for myths and had a ready answer for most questions. I asked her particularly about traits concerning women. She had lived too much with white people to be extremely well informed, and some of her information was obviously colored by European concepts.

101 131 5, To, Toe-dökadö, "tule eaters," possessed Carson Sink, Carson Lake, and lower Carson River; now found on Stillwater Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, Indian Colony.

115 Informants.—Bob Springer (BS), age ca. 70, born at Stillwater and always lived there. Parents were Toe. He seemed very active and his sight and hearing were unimpaired, but he was not a willing worker. Although Lowie had used him, he refused to do systematic work with me. He seemed to know sufficient English to be a good informant without an interpreter. I spent four or five hours with him.

Little Pete, or Kupida (LP), age ca. 70, has always lived at Stillwater, as had his parents. LP could hear and see sufficiently, but his English was limited. His knowledge of aboriginal conditions was certainly not the best. He was aided by his wife (a Toe), who also acted as interpreter. About twenty hours were spent with them.

101 131 6, Tö, Tövusi-dökadö, "grass-nut eaters," in Smith and Mason valleys and upper Walker River in SW Nevada.

115 Informants.—Maggie Wright, or Tugövino (MW), age ca. 75, born at Wellington in Smith Valley. Both parents Tövusi. MW's hearing, sight, and memory were good. She had lived much of the old culture and also had heard about it, and was well informed, but needed an interpreter.

Goggles Wright, or Povawotso (GW), age ca. 85, born near site of Fort Churchill; MW's husband. Father was Agai, mother was Wada of Honey Lake, but GW had lived most of his life at Smith Valley, where he had been a famous hunter. In spite of his age, his sight, hearing, and memory seemed good, and he was willing to tell all he knew. His knowledge supplemented MW's, and their information is combined in the element list. He also needed an interpreter.

Interpreter.—John Wright, age 39, son of MW and GW. John had traveled considerably, having been two or three years in Oklahoma and more than a year at Fort Hall, Idaho. He lauded the Peyote cult as the "Indian New Deal," but, although he desired to, he could not start it at Stillwater, because he did not have a drummer and the fire. Of all the Indians I met the Wright family seemed to be the most active participants in the old Paiute culture. They had just moved their house [768] and taken up new land because of a death on the previously occupied farm. Old Paiute superstitions and charms were carefully observed. The family lived at Stillwater. I spent three days with them.

[P.263 (R)]

Washo NT20

N 101 131 7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

N 115 Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother "half Pakwi, half Kutsavi" (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

W 131 101 8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, are the present Washo centers.

W 115 Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

N 101 131 9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuviwarai, "red-butte dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

N 115 Informants.—Pete Snap, or Nino'o (PS), aged ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 131 10, Sa, Sawa'waktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sawa. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupinatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sawa. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sawa list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 131 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. She listened to the interviews [124] and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

[p.364 (R)]

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101 131 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," centering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 Informants.—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit
(SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life,
visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to
time. He went blind a few years ago, but his hear-
[124] ing was good, and he was alert mentally. I talked
with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Töngio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, BJ lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 365 (A)]

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Achomawi NS5

N 101 131 13, Ki, Kidü-dökadö, "woodchuck eaters," occupying Surprise Valley, California, and adjacent territory in southern Oregon and northwestern Nevada, were interviewed at Fort Bidwell, California.

N 115 Informants.—Bob Anderson (BA), age ca. 80, born near Gold Mountain; parents Kidü. BA started acting as interpreter and scout for General Crook and later worked in this capacity two years at Fort Barney, Oregon, and six years at Yainax on the Klamath Reservation. He lived at Fort Bidwell forty years. He was nearly blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), age ca. 75, born in Surprise Valley; present "chief"; parents Kidü. CW lived alternately in Susanville and Surprise Valley; was nearly deaf.

Key Henderson (KH), age 66, born near Warner; parents Kidü. KH spent life in Warner and Surprise Valley.

Joshua Brown (JB), age ca. 75, born at Surprise Valley; blind for many years; parents Kidü.

The first three informants combined their resources to tell as much of the old life as they knew; JB, better informed than the others, supplemented their knowledge, but he was too ill to work with me for long periods. Kelly[14] used all except Key Henderson for her monograph on the Surprise Valley Paiute, rating JB "excellent." Although informants told all they knew willingly, circumstances were far from satisfactory in obtaining completely reliable information. Twenty-eight hours were spent with informants.

A 101 131 14, AE, Achomawi (non-Paiute). Claiming the western slopes of Warner Range, the Achomawi were neighbors of the Kidü Paiute. Their principal area consists of the upper Pit River drainage, and there is still a rather larger colony in the vicinity of Alturas, California.

A 115 Informants.—Sam Fox (SF), aged ca. 80, born and reared near Likely, California; parents both of the Likely band of Achomawi. SF's sight and hearing were still good, and in spite of extremely poor health he was mentally very alert and willing to tell of old culture. His understanding and use of English were good.

Lily Chip (LC), about 60, SF's niece, born near Likely; could supplement SF's knowledge about such things as childbirth, girl's puberty, and other topics. I consider the Achomawi list among the best recorded: twenty-four hours were spent with informants.

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[14] UC-PAAE 31:69, 1932.

[p.365 (B)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 131 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the 226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring 262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of 222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, 224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to- 621 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, 648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall 527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis- 755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among 755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of 754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among 756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful 182 as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING[1]

Part 1

Erminie Wheeler Voegelin
Indiana University

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648
[131]

For several decades two so-called "Snake"[2] groups, the Yahuskin and Walpapi, have been accepted by ethnographers as two Northern Paiute-speaking bands which existed in aboriginal times and were located in definable areas within what is now central Oregon.[3] This acceptance and localization of the Yahuskin and Walpapi[4] has rested on the fact that two treaties were made by the United States in 1864 and 1865,[5] respectively, with the "Ya-hoos-kin Band of Snake Indians" and the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians", and that both "Yahooskins" and "Wollpahpees" are mentioned in Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and correspondence, for several years after the treaties had been negotiated. Analysis of heretofore unused documentary material shows, however, that neither one of these two so-called bands of Snake Indians had any aboriginal validity as definitely localized, organized groups. The treaty-signing Yahuskin of 1864 consisted of a score or so of Great Basin Northern Paiute, deriving at that specific date from the Surprise Valley-Warner Valley region in northeastern California and south-central Oregon. They

[Text continues on page 97]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Summer- 101
Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region 648
is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to
them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin
of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small 101
Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, 131
but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline 648
position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper
Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin
Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central Oregon from *ca.* 1859 to 1867 under Panaĩna (vars., Paulina, Pahnine, Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader. The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation; their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in 101
Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, regarding 114
the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians 648
stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

101 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe
114 Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern
648 Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

648 2. 1. The Treaty Yahooskins. First specific mention of the Yahuskin, as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

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648 The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance below the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

648 In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....."[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

648 in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and expressed a willingness to go upon the Klamath Reservation, when the treaty should be ratified"[23] (underlining ours).

So much for the material in Drew's Official Report. A letter from Drew, written in his camp at Goose Lake on July 18, 1864 to the Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., San Francisco, Calif., gives additional details about this incident and the Indians. The letter reads in part as follows:

> Yesterday the petty chief and two others of the band of Indians of this vicinity came into camp by my direction. ... This morning, after gaining what information I could respecting their numbers, etc., I dismissed them and sent them from camp in company with the two Indian messengers who had brought them. Soon after their departure the messengers returned and stated that the other three [the Indian visitors] had been ambushed and fired upon by four of the party of citizens who came yesterday, and they thought all were killed. I immediately dispatched a detachment of ten men in pursuit....The object of the attack upon these Indians was to get possession of two horses, but the unarmed Indians being joined just then by armed comrades, the result is as stated. Both of the horses have been brought in....They are inferior animals and poorly repay the cost of getting them. No Indian depredations are reported to have been committed in this [131] vicinity, though the principal traveled route from Red Bluff and Fort Crook to John Day's River and vicinity passes directly through the country which these Indians occupy..."[24] (all underlining ours).

● 101 131 That the three Snake Indians brought to Drew's camp were, in 1864, definitely associated with the region in which they were encountered, and that they and their comrades did not constitute one of the roving, predatory Snake groups of the 1860's which were operating under notorious war leaders and plundering pack trains, emigrant parties, and ranchers, [648] seems evident from Drew's letter. A few days before he encamped on Goose Lake, Drew had searched Sprague River Valley for just such marauders.[25]

It also seems clear that the Indians Drew met did not customarily live in Goose Lake Valley, which extends for some 10-15 miles north of

the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and 101
Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms 131
part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the [428]
Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, or that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[26] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[27] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[28]

That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty- 101
signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems 648
evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[30] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[31] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[32] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[33]

Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two 101
Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre-

101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of.[36] Anglicized as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the Octo-
648 ber, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Kla-
114 math treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary
101 range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some
131 of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake
101 Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between
131 the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

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Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise — Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

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423 with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improb-
648 able in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus
131 dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band"
[101] living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

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101 2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by eth-
114 nographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1865-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

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K N 648 mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[30]

K N 101 131 648 721 That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[31]

K N 648 166 By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[32]

N 648 166 Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

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> do....[but] on the succeeding night [Oct. 4, 1866] they left the reservation, taking with them some horses and guns belonging to the Yahooskins and Klamaths, and a [wagon] train sent out by Captain Sprague to convey their property [from Sprague River Valley] to Council Grove returned, and a hostile force was sent out instead [to capture them]....I became convinced that danger [from the Snakes] was imminent. Early in October I commenced the fortification of the agency buildings, which were completed....[83]

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The help they had given Applegate and the military in the summer of 1866, and the abrupt withdrawal of Maj. Rinehart's Snake captives from the Reservation in the fall, made Motcunkas'kEt and his people apprehensive; consequently they removed temporarily from Sprague River Valley to the vicinity of the Agency, where they spent the winter of 1866-1867.[84] This move brought them in close contact with the Upper Klamath Lake group of Klamath. Friction evidently developed between the leaders of the two groups, for on January 31, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington,

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"There has been considerable excitement occasioned by an attempt on the part of Moshenkosket chief of the Yahooskins [underlining ours] and his followers, to depose High chief LaLakes and become High Chief himself. But the attempt resulted in little more than a great deal of talk and excitement, and the revolution has been stayed."[85] Here we have our first specific instance, in an excellent source, of misapplication of the name Yahooskin to the Sprague River Klamath group. In another monthly report written on May 31, 1867, Applegate makes it clear that the Indians he refers to as "Yahooskins" belonged in Sprague River Valley[86]--and nowhere in his correspondence or reports does he mention any other Indian group as belonging in Sprague River Valley in 1867.

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There is also other evidence, both direct and indirect, indicating that the post-Reservation Yahuskin were Drew's Sprague River Valley Klamath group, to wit:

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a) In 1867 and 1868 the Statistical Tables in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the "tribes" of "Klamath Snakes &c." of Oregon as "Klamath, Modoc, and four bands of Snakes." These "four bands" are Huntington's Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and

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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, [K 166] having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

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fusion.[101] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[102] K N 161

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[103] N K 101 ● 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[104] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[105] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[106] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which continued to remain isolated 648
and undescribed. However in the late fall, as we have already noted, Huntington obtained by the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin Snake treaty of cession the entire Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, embracing some 5,000 square miles.[132]

Two years after the 1864 Klamath treaty cession, in October, 1866, 648
a small military expedition from Ft. Klamath "had a fight with a band 166
of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [Abert];" fourteen Indians were killed and many wounded.[133] In September of the next year (1867) Lt. Small, then commanding Ft. Klamath, captured five Snakes at Silver Lake, and fourteen on Chewaucan River, between Summer and Abert lakes.[134] Small took his prisoners, nineteen in all, to Ft. Klamath, arriving at the fort on September 22, 1867.[135] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a council with the Indians on the Reservation, including the newly arrived Snake prisoners.[136] Two days later, on October 1, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington requesting a Snake interpreter; to justify the request he remarked in his letter, "Besides the Ya-hoos-kin Snakes there is a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the Reservation. These last mentioned Snakes are parties to the Snake Treaty and are residing quietly and harmoniously on the Reservation in pursuance to the provisions of the compact."[137] In none of his previous correspondence does Applegate mention that any of the Walpapi had returned to the Reservation; this is the first reference to Walpapi having settled there since Panaińa had decamped in the spring of 1866. Obviously Applegate's "division" of Walpapi consisted of none other than the nineteen prisoners which Lt. Small had brought to the Reservation eight days previously from the Silver-Summer lakes region.

Less than a year after the first small detachment of Silver-Sum- 101
mer lakes Paiute had been brought onto Klamath Reservation the re- 166
mainder of the Indians from Silver and Summer lakes voluntarily re- 648
moved to the Reservation.[138] These later arrivals numbered around a hundred souls, and were also immediately referred to, in Agency correspondence and records, as "Wall pah-pe Snakes."[139] The applicability of this name, for Indians deriving in 1867 and 1868 from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which had been ceded on the authority of the "Yahooskins" in 1864, is reserved for discussion in the second half of this paper.

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Notes

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1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

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2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognised or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

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At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

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3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

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4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

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5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

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6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

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76. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89. Lindsay Applegate's first annual report to Huntington, dated Aug. 6, 1866. Applegate's reference to the "deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" may be the first instance of confusion of the Sprague River Klamath with the treaty-signing Yahuskin group. It will be recalled that the garrison at Ft. Klamath, in 1865, regarded "Moghenkaskit and his band ...as a sort of guardian of the border" and "depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes" (see fn. 55, above).

In attempting to make a treaty with Howlark, Applegate was acting on Huntington's orders (NA. BIA. OS. FP. Letter Book "H" pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865).

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77. RCIA (CDS #1284) p. 89. Howlark declared himself for a continuation of the war and attempted to persuade Panaiña to leave the Reservation and join him.

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78. Idem.

79. Idem.

80. Idem.

81. Idem. See also fn. 84, below.

82. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Sept. 30, 1866.

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83. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Oct. 31, 1866. By the fall of 1866, Klamath Reservation and Agency was becoming an established fact, although the Reservation had not as yet been surveyed (RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 24).

84. In his October 31, 1866 monthly report Lindsay Applegate informed Huntington: "There are no Snakes proper, on the reservation, but an attack by them or a raid by them for the purpose of stealing and plundering is daily and nightly expected by the Klamaths and Ya-hooskins...Fearing the Snakes the Yahooskins have moved down within a short distance of the Agency where most of the Indians have collected" (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D").

85. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Jan. 31, 1867; see also RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92.

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86. "Fearing the Snakes the Ya-hoos-kins until very lately refrained from going into their own country (Sprague River Valley) [parentheses Applegate's] to collect roots which are now found there in great quantities, but I have lately organized a force of Klamaths and Yahooskins consisting of about fifty men armed and about as many women. This

648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[146] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panai'na (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through [166] [101] references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151]

648 726 We hear of Panai'na earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panai'na's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panai'na engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

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In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths 622
was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken 648
of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other
bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of
'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The
Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however;
this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at
Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late
1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far
as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate
names as having come on the Reservation at the same time
Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate N
says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot [177]
and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently [241]
here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and
in improvement generally."[239]

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In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the
Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred [161]
and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] 648
In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as
38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis'
statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted K
of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate N 226
wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of 251
this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went
with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried
a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining N
here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi [161]
population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panaiʼha still live at the N
"Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge 101
from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi [361
has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern
Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

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N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name—Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band N [622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Goˀy'atikad^{u}, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyatikad$^{\ddot{u}}$, or Deer eaters."[249] N 115 Kelly obtained some folk tales and one historical narrative about Tchāktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

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141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received).

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142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868).

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143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5.

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145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102).

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

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146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon 1.").

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe
648 tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed,
622 Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name
103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes
101 River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131
also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden
came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty 101
huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback;
no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Corres- [231]
pondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met
"Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411]
ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had [648]
been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco
on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist princi- [262]
pally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, [291]
the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses [231]
or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411]
bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648
in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721
being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181]
friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, [177]
thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

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N 551 200. "Giltewa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baer" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

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K 648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'akEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'akEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable.

N K [101]

202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

N 648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N K 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

648 208. Motcunka'akEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

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then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. N 648
This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made
a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. [103]
All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above.

225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley K [648]
Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's a- [101]
voidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group.

229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, N
34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, [551]
Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had prob- [649]
ably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223.

230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears N
as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological [103]
Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19.

At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was con- K
sidered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and 361
his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present N K
town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had 226

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N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N [103] Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishweawax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N K [166] Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, within the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L. S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tchákto's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [177] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not [423 621] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

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[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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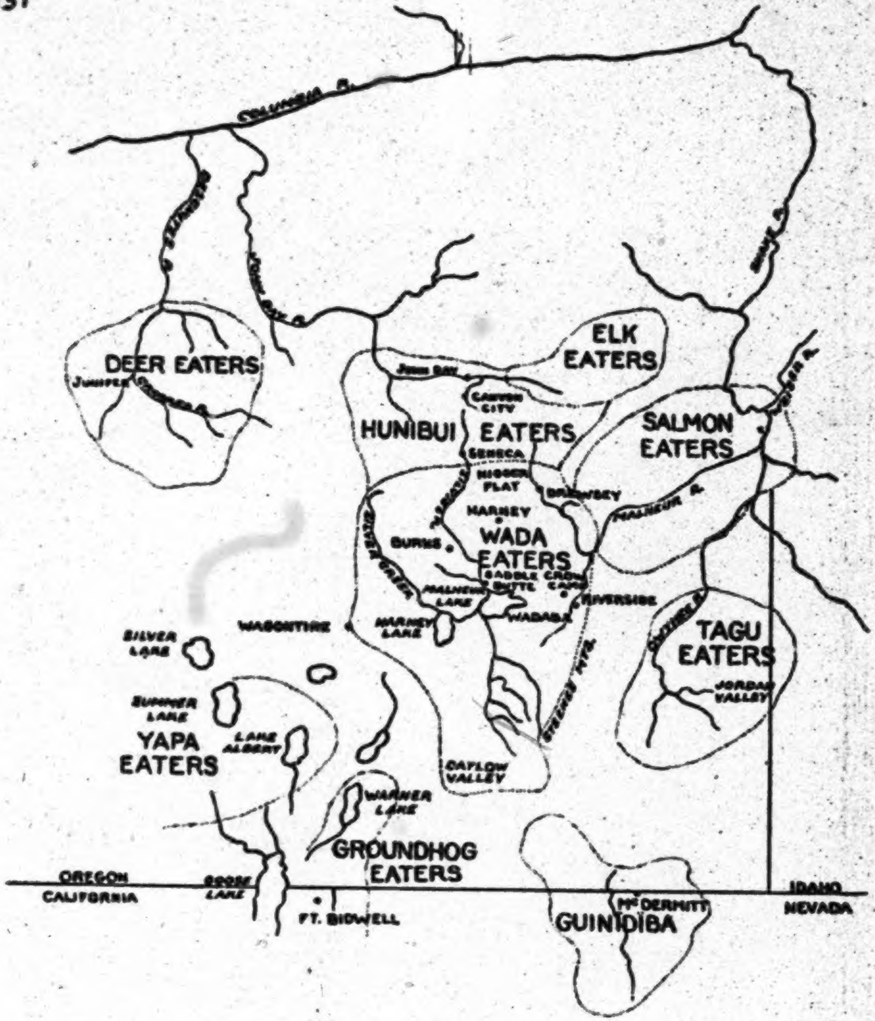
COLUMBIA R.
DESCHUTES R.
JOHN DAY R.
SNAKE R.
ELK EATERS
DEER EATERS
JUNIPER
CROOKED R.
JOHN DAY
CANYON CITY
HUNIBUI EATERS
SALMON EATERS
WEISER R.
SENECA
HIGGEN FLAT
DREWSEY
MALHEUR R.
HARNEY
SILVIES R.
WADA EATERS
BURNS
SILVER CREEK
SADDLE BUTTE
CROW CAMP
MALHEUR LAKE
RIVERSIDE
WADADA
WAGONTIRE
HARNEY LAKE
STEENS MTS.
OWYHEE R.
TAGU EATERS
JORDAN VALLEY
SILVER LAKE
SUMMER LAKE
YAPA EATERS
LAKE ALBERT
CATLOW VALLEY
WARNER LAKE
GROUNDHOG EATERS
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
GOOSE LAKE
FT. BIDWELL
McDERMITT
GUINIDIBA
IDAHO
NEVADA

THE HARNEY VALLEY REGION

PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
114 southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
595 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished
171 field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and
Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.
584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.

[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

NORTHERN PAIUTE POLYANDRY

[114] In his article *Shoshoni Polyandry,*[1] Dr Julian H. Steward said, "It is reasonably
595 certain that it [polyandry] was not practiced by the Shoshoni of southern Nevada
nor by the adjoining Northern Paiute." During the summer of 1936, while making
a culture element survey of the Northern Paiute for the University of California,
● 101 I recorded the presence of polyandry among five of the eleven Northern Paiute
595 bands visited. The bands admitting polyandry are now located at Burns in Oregon;

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[3] Pages 563, 564.

[2] Page 562.

[4] Page 561.

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 561-64, 1936.

[Pg. 368]

and at Pyramid Lake (Nixon), McDermitt, Winnemucca, and Owyhee in Nevada. 191
The bands at Winnemucca and Owyhee are on the border between Paiute and 595
Shoshoni peoples and probably were influenced by the Shoshoni in regard to marriage, as we know they were influenced in regard to other traits.

The informants at Winnemucca gave no details concerning polyandry, but at 595
Owyhee I obtained a fair account of a present-day case which involved both Shoshoni and Paiute. At this reservation a Shoshoni woman was married for a long time to a Shoshoni man. A few years ago a young Paiute man started living with them; all three slept in the same bed. However, as the first husband was quite senile, sexual relations were only between the woman and her second husband. I should state that at the present time both Paiute and Shoshoni live on the Owyhee Reservation. However, my informant assured me that polyandry was known among the Paiute when they lived in Oregon about a hundred miles to the northwest.

At Burns, Oregon, the strongly Catholic informants gave no information beyond [795]
the admission that "old time Paiute women sometimes had two husbands at once." While at McDermitt, I was told that "right now a woman here has two husbands who are not brothers." But the informant went on to say that polyandry would not have been allowed in the old days. Although a hundred and twenty-five difficult miles separate the two, the McDermitt Indians have had much contact with the Shoshoni since the establishment of the Owyhee Reservation in 1877.

The most detailed evidence of Northern Paiute polyandry was obtained at Pyramid Lake, which is located in about the center of this area. On this reservation is a woman who has lived with two men for many years. The men are not brothers, and, my informants said, they share equally sexual privileges and economic burdens. The children call both men father, and together the men work their land. Unfortunately, no details could be had concerning any pre-contact cases at Pyramid Lake, although both informants had heard that in the old days women sometimes had more than one husband at a time.

However, polyandry was not a common feature in Northern Paiute social life, and it was not institutionalized. Dr Steward's explanation of Shoshoni polyandry as a result of the relative lack of male jealousy and the "extraordinary simplicity of social structure which made the relationship of both sexes to plural marriage almost identical" could also apply to Northern Paiute polyandry.

OMER C. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

II. Paviotso Shamanism

INTRODUCTION

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, 101
belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking
peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

12: Heizer E-4 (no date) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

By Robert F. Heizer
Director, University of California Archaeological Survey
Berkeley

The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to. 114 [101]

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's *History of the Big Bonanza* (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144). 159 [114]

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise [595]

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[1] Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227–28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a lesser chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1853, pp. 96–99; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

[p. 1]

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000
in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342
winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361
Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342
Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui*
(Chamistes cujus, a fish) eaters."[1] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built [101] ●
of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a
man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291]
while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket
which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [512]
a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright [482]
willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal
containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [415]
bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342
in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[1] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. [136]
The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156-57).

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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103
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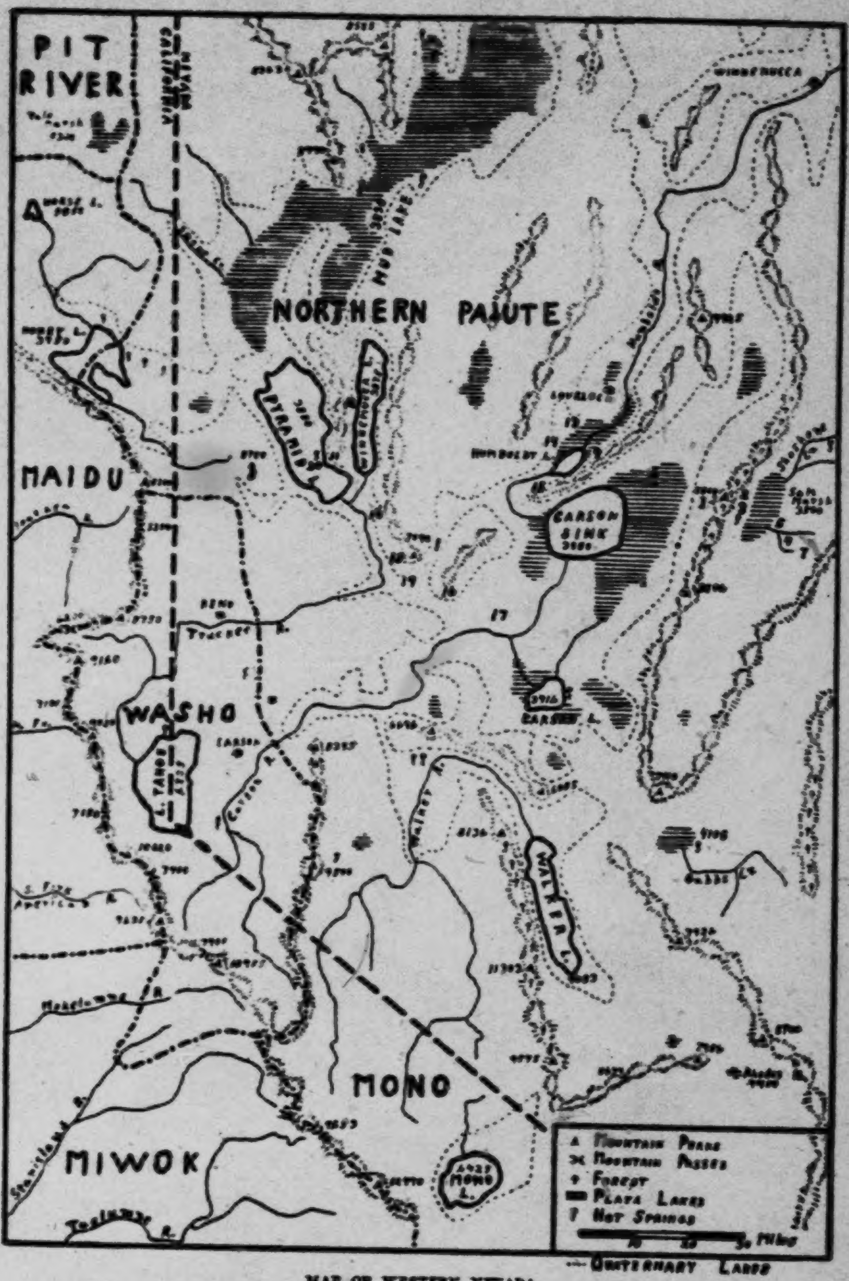
PIT RIVER
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MUD LAKE
PYRAMID L.
WINNEMUCCA L.
WINNEMUCCA
LOVELOCK
HUMBOLDT L.
CARSON SINK
MAIDU
RENO
Truckee R.
WASHO
CARSON
L. TAHOE
Carson R.
CARSON L.
Walker R.
WALKER L.
S. Fork American R.
Mokelumne R.
Stanislaus R.
Tuolumne R.
MONO
MONO L.
MIWOK
Mountain Peaks
Mountain Passes
Forest
Playa Lakes
Hot Springs
10 20 30 Miles
Quaternary Lakes

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]
[End plates 31-67 not processed]

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

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131 The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 162 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these [161] counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[illegible] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

621 The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook [114] of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[illegible] but only about half of [101] them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

621 101 sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

131 neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

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[113] [illegible] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[illegible] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Ocuega, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tonoyiet, Tosepe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukeo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Pustsituktikwich.

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 621 101

idza'a-tcaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook. 131

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village. [162] [114]

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is ó-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1 1/ although ó-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the seasons. [115] [103] [221]

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not 224 [221]

1/ [see end plate 1--An.]

N
W

276 755 *795 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

N W 782 Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

N
W

The Peyote Ceremony

*795 796 [346] [782] Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[779] [276] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

W

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[6]

N 101 The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[7] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N 563 *795 A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

N

FIELD METHODS

W 114 Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances 000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[6] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[7] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

Wadátkuht

THE WADÁTKUHT

The Honey Lake Paiute, or Wadátkuht ("Wada eaters", after the seed of Suaeda depressa), as they call themselves, are an independent band of Northern Paiute living entirely in California. This band had its own chiefs; the last two were Kukwhi (Dick Wright) and Numunana ("Indian man"), also known as Joaquin. These men were contemporaries and apparently served jointly as headmen. Several earlier chiefs are listed by Stewart (1939, p. 138) and include No-jo-mud, Hozi-a and Adavugaya. Stewart equates Hozi-a with Ochio, the Kidütoka chief of Surprise Valley to the north of the Wadátkuht territory. Captain Dick, according to Stewart (ibid.), might be a Kamö man whose group immediately joins the Wadátkuht to the north and east. This Captain Dick is probably not to be confused with Dick Wright the Wadátkuht headman. 101 622

The Wadátkuht actually are composed of two groups of closely related people. The main group lived in Honey Lake Valley and the secondary group lived in Secret Valley just north of Honey Lake. Those living in Secret Valley additionally utilized the eastern half of Madeline Plains north of Secret Valley. Apparently they shared it with the Kamötkuht ("Jackrabbit eaters") with whom they were closely related and affiliated. A more detailed discussion of this joint use is presented in a section on "Boundaries and Population". 101

Not only were the Wadátkuht closely related to the Kamötkuht, but they were close relatives of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Except for living in different areas and having their own headmen the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht might well be considered a single group. Genetic relationship to the Northeastern Maidu, Washo, Atsugewi, and Achomawi people also was considerable due to the fact that men often stole women (for wives) from, or lost women to these neighboring groups. [583] Social intercourse between the Maidu and the Washo on the one hand, and the Wadátkuht on the other seems to have been of a much more friendly and cooperative nature than between the Wadátkuht and the Pit River people. [648] Despite the apparently considerable foreign genetic inheritance of the Wadátkuht, not to mention certain cultural additions, the Wadátkuht strictly considered themselves as Paiute and maintained their strongest affiliations with their Paiute relatives. Linguistically there seems to be little difference between the Wadátkuht and the Kuyuitkuht, except possibly for the preferential use of occasional words. [197]

Wadátkuht

people. The first group that they saw was composed of soldiers 175 (sic), of whom they were afraid.

At the end of 1843 and the beginning of 1844 Fremont made a reconnaissance trip from Oregon through Nevada and became the first recorded white man to visit Pyramid Lake (Fremont, 1846). His description of the region and the people is [101] relatively detailed and his visit was surely known to the Honey Lake people since they are closely related neighbors of the Pyramid Lake Paiute.

It was not until 1850, however, that there is any record of actual penetration of Honey Lake Valley by Europeans. In this year Peter Lassen made two trips to this large lake lying just east of the Sierra Nevada in what is now northeastern California. On his second trip he was accompanied by J. Goldsborough Bruff and a group of other men. Bruff was a trained topographer with a curiosity, an appreciation of what he observed and a keen ability for describing his experiences. It is unfortunate that on his trip to Honey Lake he did not have his topographic instruments with him and thus able to make accurate day-by-day locations. Because of the lack of proper instruments it is scarcely possible to trace the party's route with accuracy. His verbal descriptions and his pen and pencil sketches made on the trip, however, are of considerable historical value and interest.

Read and Gaines (1949) have attempted a reconstruction [114] of Bruff's route to Honey Lake but it is not entirely satisfactory. As the party neared Honey Lake, however, their position is more readily apparent. They originally left Lassen's ranch on Deer Creek near its junction with the Sacramento River and proceeded up the creek to its headwaters. They then rode east to the headwaters of the Feather River on the Lassen Trail. They followed this trail north approximately to a point where it meets the Pit River and then apparently branched off toward the north and east to cross Big Valley in Achomawi territory. From Big Valley they seem to have gone to the general area of the present town of Alturas, Modoc County, and then proceeded in a south and east direction, eventually reaching Honey Lake. The "hieroglyphic defile" of which he speaks is a section of the upper reaches of Smoke Creek, just south of Observation Peak and east of Shinn Peak, between Wagontree and Sagebrush Springs. All along the way they saw abundant evidence of Indians, and occasionally the Indians themselves. However, they were generally hostile and Bruff nearly lost his life while exploring a volcanic cone.

Wadátkuht

39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). 133
This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern 103
extension of Pinaktud (Item 37 above).

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name [224]
for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt.

41. Yapúshai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai bamú muhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name [137]
given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules
grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The [361]
Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north
end of the lake.

44. Wada bamú muhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for
Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from [137]
the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named [101]
The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm.

45. Kukwa^{P}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly [789]
opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E.

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root) [262]
This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering.

47. Paguts tuduh tamágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term [136]
refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey

Wadátkuht

identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they [226] swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught [251] the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^{a} (a plant said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion") and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they occurred. The tops of padus^{a}, which had a white blossom and [262] looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this plant to grow was under willows along streams.

It was not until summer, however, that the products of the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months. The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds [252] of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds, however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly. Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald Mountain.

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^{w}). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute [101] group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are [251] about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

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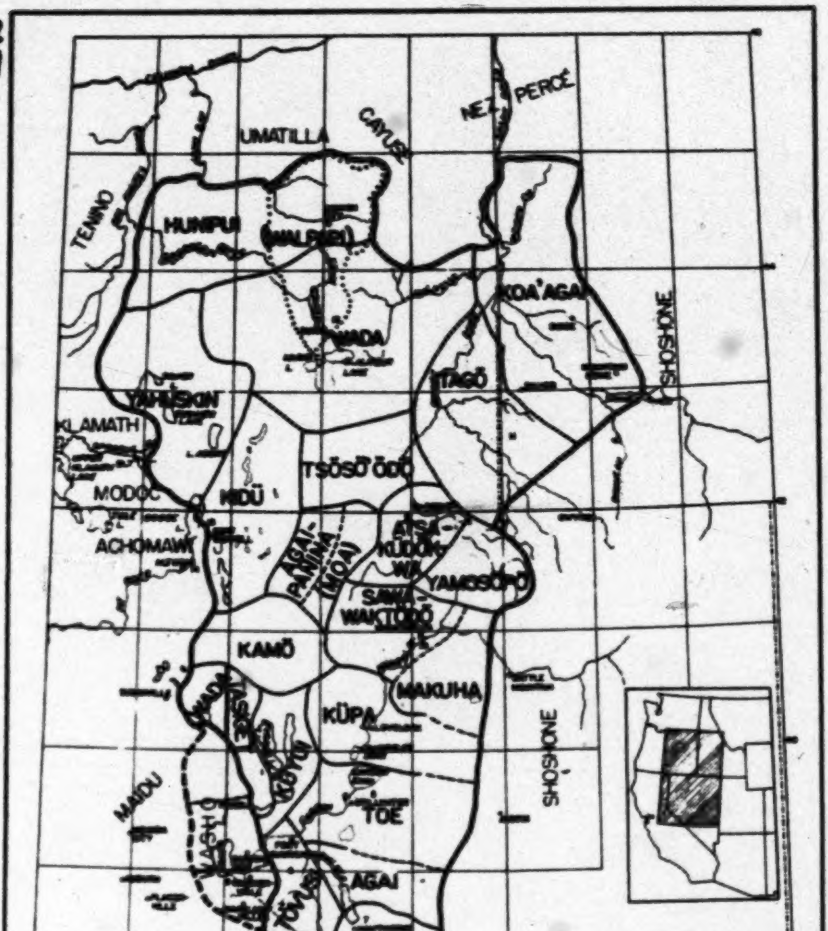
131


NEZ PERCÉ
CAYUSE
UMATILLA
TENINO
HUNIPUI
(WALPAPI)
WADA
KOA'AGAI
SHOSHONE
TAGÖ
YAHUSKIN
KLAMATH
MODOC
KIDÜ
TSÖSÖ'ÖDÖ
ACHOMAWI
ATSAKUDÖKWA
YAMOSÖPÖ
AGAIPANINA (MOA)
SAWAWAKTÖDÖ
KAMÖ
WADA
MAKUHA
KÜPA
KUYUI
SHOSHONE
MAIDU
TOE
WASHO
AGAI
PAKWI
MIWOK
KUTSAVI

Map 1. Northern Paiute Bands.

[p. iv]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

● 102
131
133

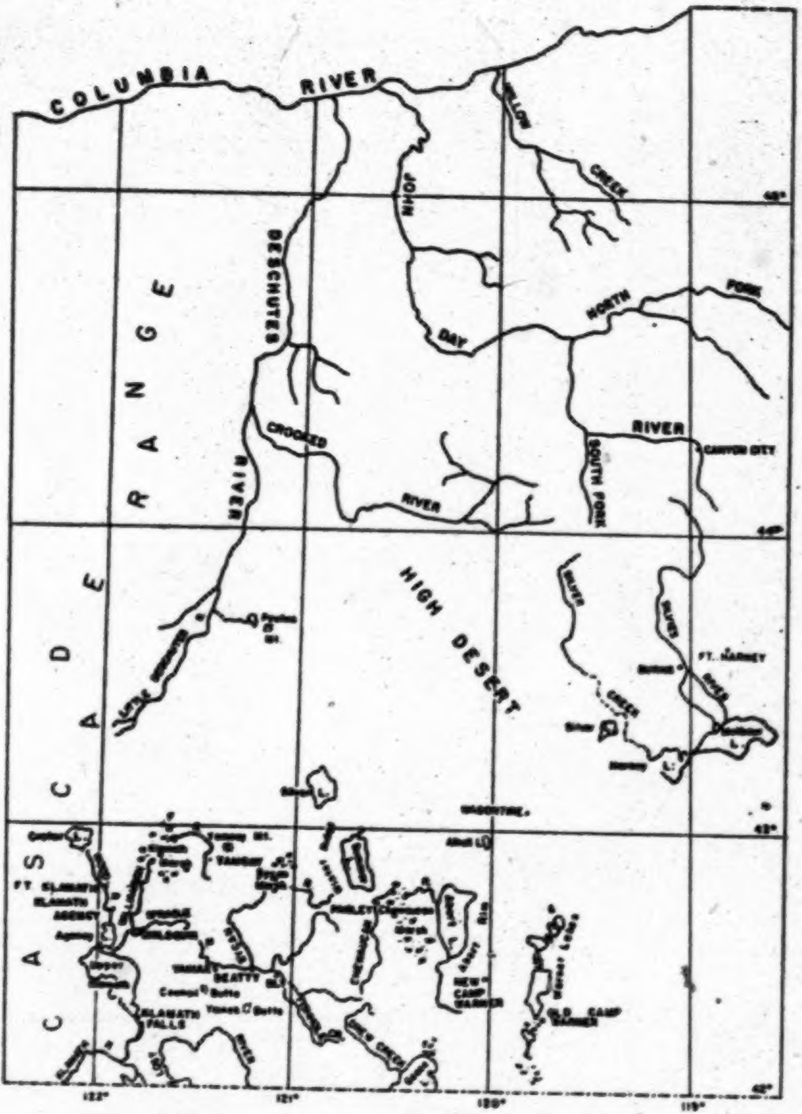
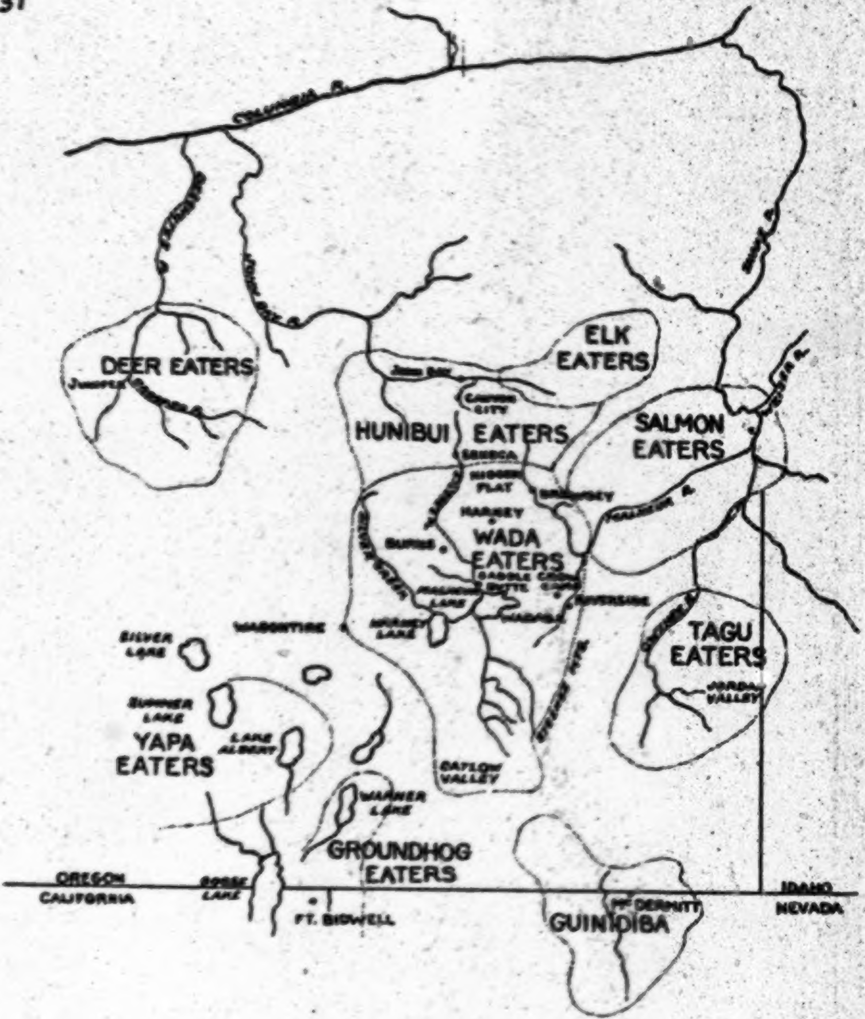

COLUMBIA RIVER
WILLOW CREEK
JOHN DAY
NORTH FORK
DAY
RIVER
DESCHUTES RIVER
CROOKED RIVER
SOUTH FORK
CANYON CITY
CASCADE RANGE
HIGH DESERT
SILVER CREEK
SILVIES RIVER
FT. HARNEY
BURNS
WAGONTIRE
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
Agency
YAINAX
BEATTY
Council Butte
Yonna Butte
KLAMATH FALLS
PAISLEY
NEW CAMP WARNER
OLD CAMP WARNER
122°
121°
120°
119°
45°
44°
43°
42°

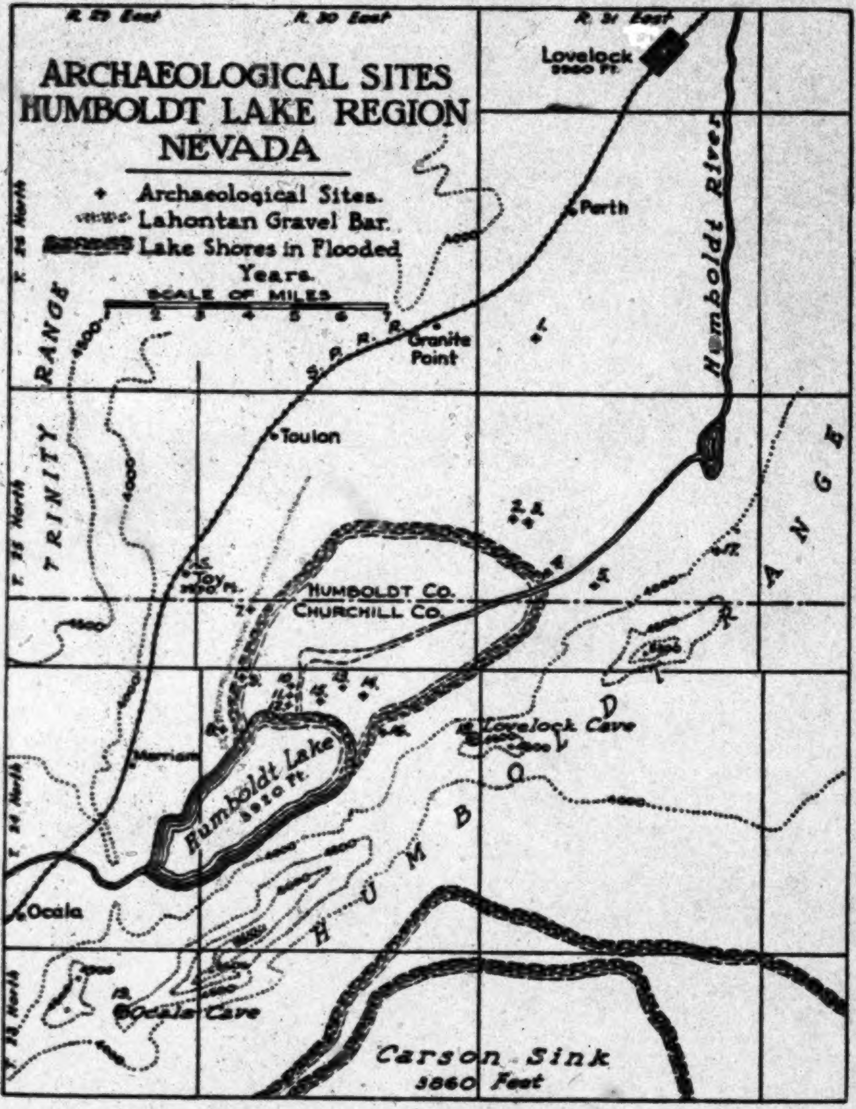
Fig. I. MAP OF CENTRAL OREGON.

101
● 102
131


COLUMBIA R.
SNAKE R.
JOHN DAY
ELK EATERS
DEER EATERS
CANYON CITY
HUNIBUI EATERS
SENECA
SALMON EATERS
DREWSEY
MALHEUR R.
HARNEY
BURNS
WADA EATERS
SADDLE BUTTE
MALHEUR LAKE
RIVERSIDE
WAGONTIRE
HARNEY LAKE
SILVER LAKE
TAGU EATERS
JORDAN VALLEY
SUMMER LAKE
YAPA EATERS
LAKE ALBERT
CATLOW VALLEY
WARNER LAKE
GROUNDHOG EATERS
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
GOOSE LAKE
FT. BIDWELL
GUINIDIBA
MC DERMITT
IDAHO
NEVADA

THE HARNEY VALLEY REGION

● 102
172
131
133


R. 29 East
R. 30 East
R. 31 East
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION
NEVADA
+ Archaeological Sites.
Lahontan Gravel Bar.
Lake Shores in Flooded Years.
SCALE OF MILES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Lovelock
3900 Ft.
Perth
Humboldt River
TRINITY RANGE
S. P. R. R.
Granite Point
Toulon
Toy
3950 Ft.
HUMBOLDT CO.
CHURCHILL CO.
Humboldt Lake
3920 Ft.
Merriam
Lovelock Cave
Ocala
Ocala Cave
HUMBOLDT RANGE
Carson Sink
3860 Feet
4000
4500
5000
T. 25 North
T. 25 North
T. 24 North
T. 23 North

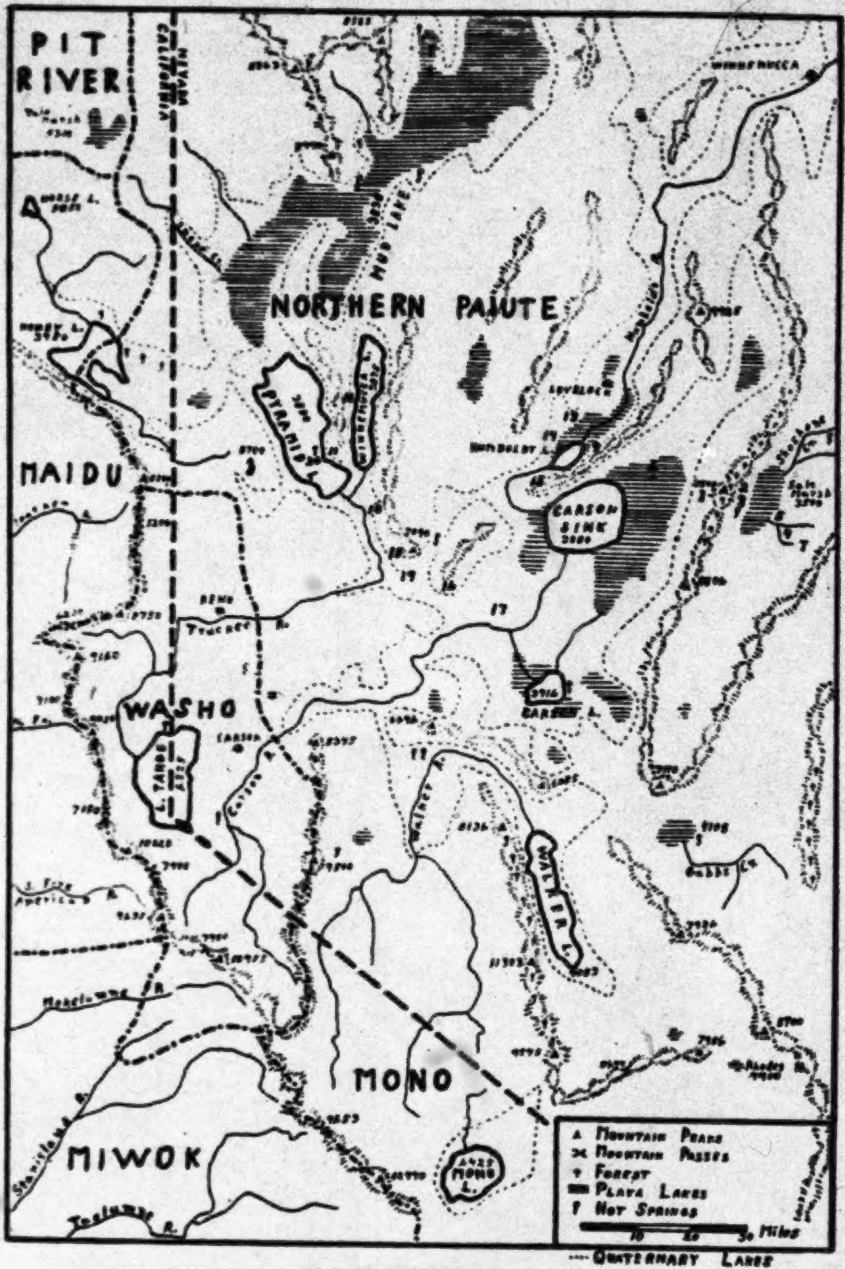
MAP OF HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION

[End Plate 1]

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 25 [LOUD-HARRINGTON] PLATE 68

102
101
103
131
133
487

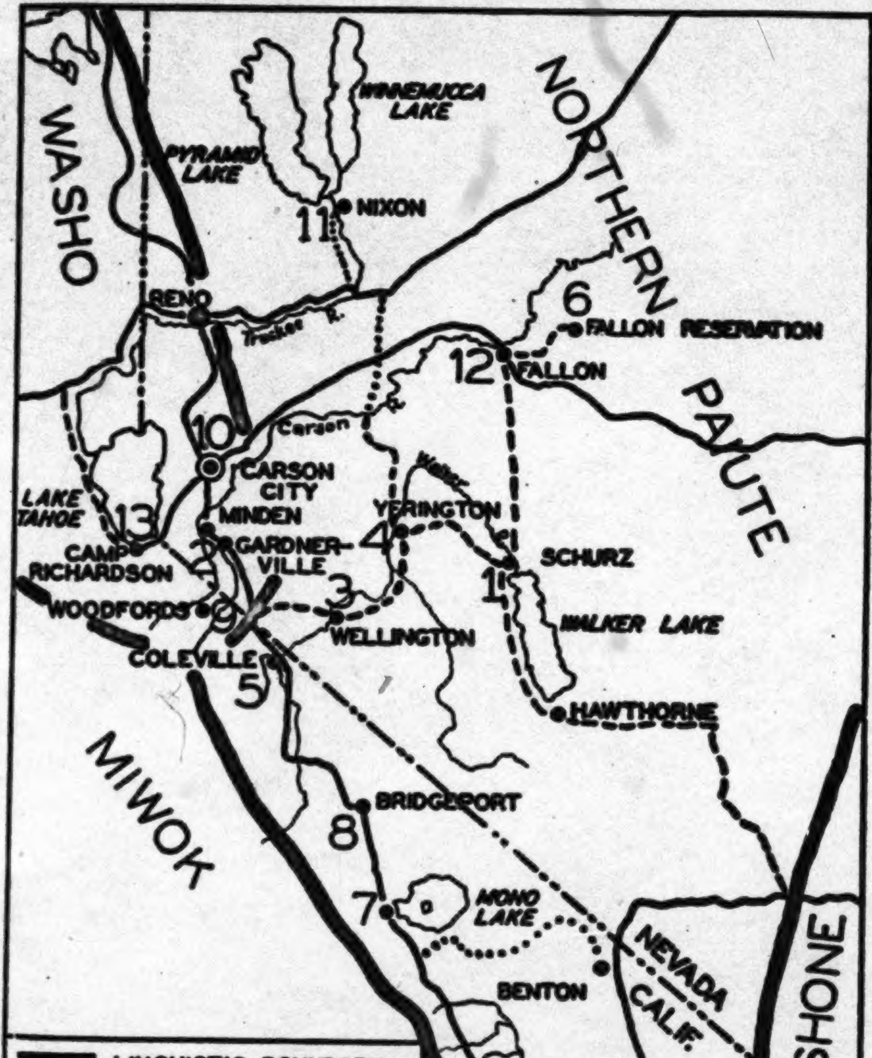

PIT RIVER
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
MUD LAKE
NORTHERN PAIUTE
PYRAMID
WINNEMUCCA
LOVELOCK
HUMBOLDT L.
CARSON SINK
MAIDU
RENO
Truckee R.
WASHO
L. TAHOE
CARSON
CARSON L.
WALKER L.
MONO
MONO L.
MIWOK
Mokelumne R.
Stanislaus R.
Tuolumne R.
Mountain Peaks
Mountain Passes
Forest
Playa Lakes
Hot Springs
10 20 30 Miles
Quaternary Lakes

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]

[End plates 31-67 not processed]

N
W
102
103
131
133
197
491

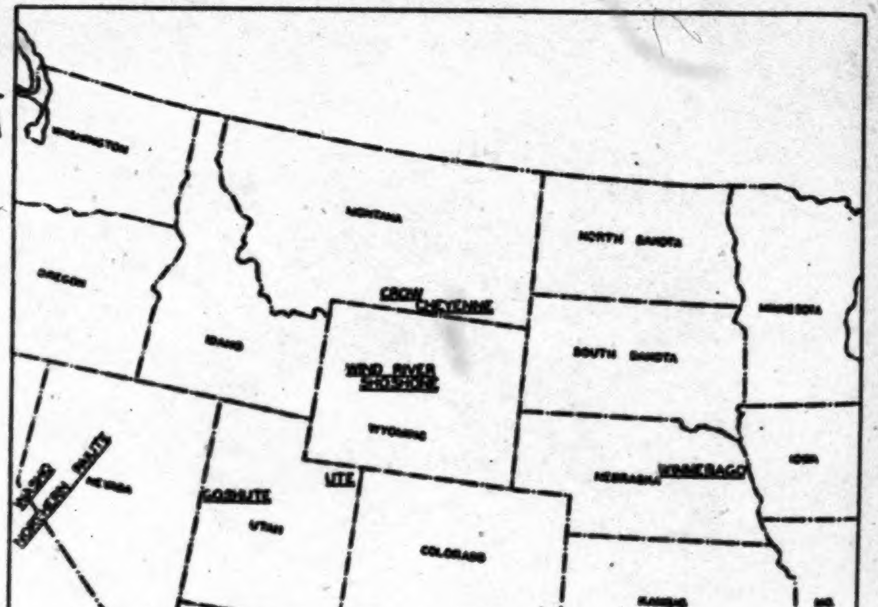

WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MIWOK
SHOSHONE
PYRAMID LAKE
WINNEMUCCA LAKE
11
NIXON
RENO
Truckee R.
6
FALLON RESERVATION
12
FALLON
10
Carson
CARSON CITY
MINDEN
LAKE TAHOE
13
CAMP RICHARDSON
GARDNERVILLE
YERINGTON
4
Walker
SCHURZ
1
WALKER LAKE
3
WOODFORDS
9
WELLINGTON
COLEVILLE
5
HAWTHORNE
BRIDGEPORT
8
7
MONO LAKE
BENTON
NEVADA
CALIF.
Owens R.
14
BISHOP
LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
PAVED U.S. HIGHWAYS
PAVED STATE HIGHWAYS
GRAVELED ROADS

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

N
W with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their
#795 places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who
796 missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal
276 smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and
wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who
N ask for interpretations from the chief.

W Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about
[264] noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all
congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are
[574] often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual
beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

N
W
● 102
131

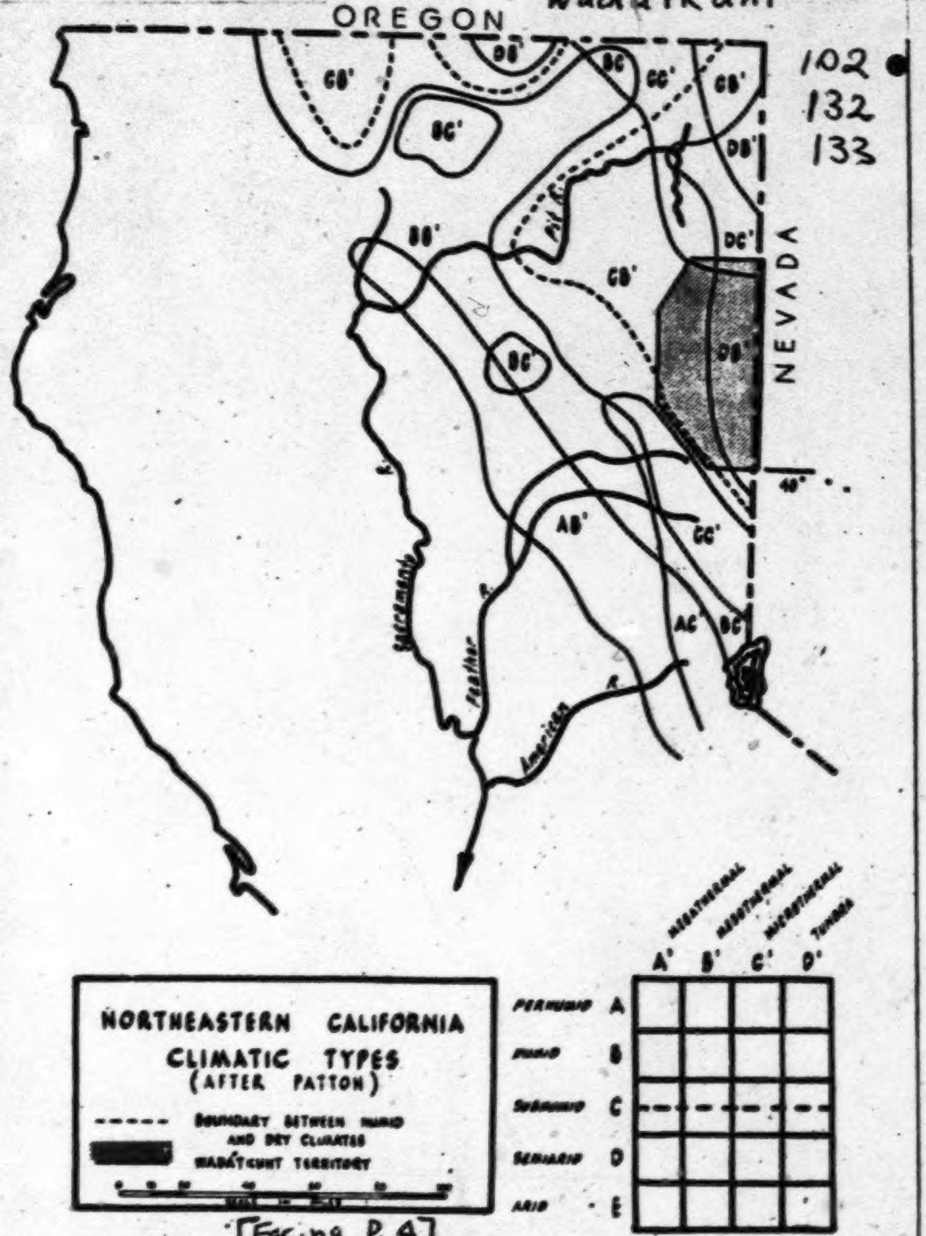

WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
CROW
CHEYENNE
WIND RIVER
SHOSHONE
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
WINNEBAGO
IOWA
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
NEVADA
GOSHUTE
UTE
UTAH
COLORADO
KANSAS
MO.
UTE
TAOS
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
KICKAPOO
DELAWARE
KIOWA
SHAWNEE
COMANCHE
KIOWA-APACHE
ARK.
TEXAS
LA.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

15: Riddell-E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

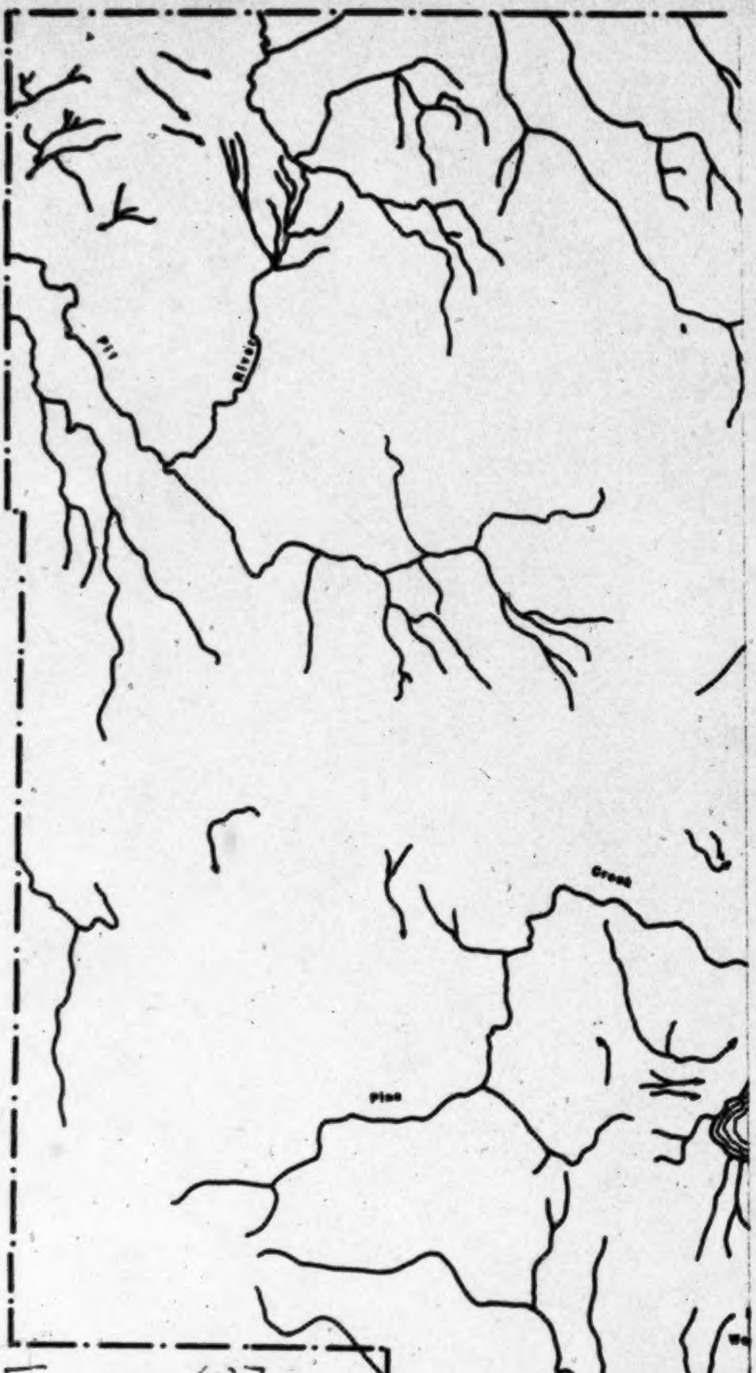
Wadátkuht

102
132
133


OREGON
NEVADA
GB'
DB'
DC'
DC
CC'
GB'
DB'
DC'
DB'
GB'
DC'
DB'
40°
AB'
CC'
AC
DC'
Pit R.
Sacramento R.
Feather R.
American R.
NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA
CLIMATIC TYPES
(AFTER PATTON)
BOUNDARY BETWEEN HUMID AND DRY CLIMATES
WADÁTKUHT TERRITORY
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
MEGATHERMAL
MESOTHERMAL
MICROTHERMAL
TUNDRA
A'
B'
C'
D'
PERHUMID A
HUMID B
SUBHUMID C
SEMIARID D
ARID E

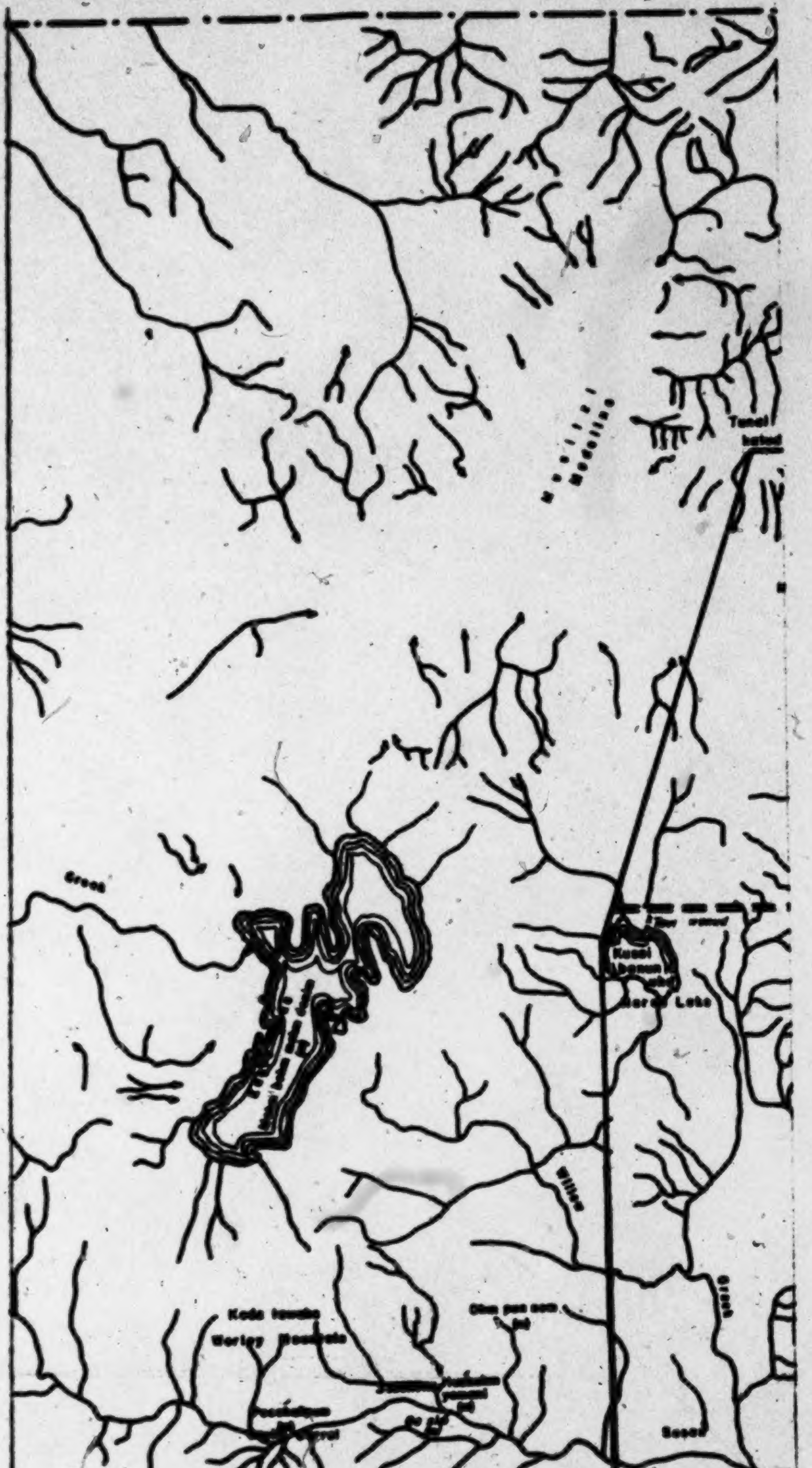
[Facing P. 4]

103
● 102
133


Pit
River
Creek
Pine

[End Map (A)]

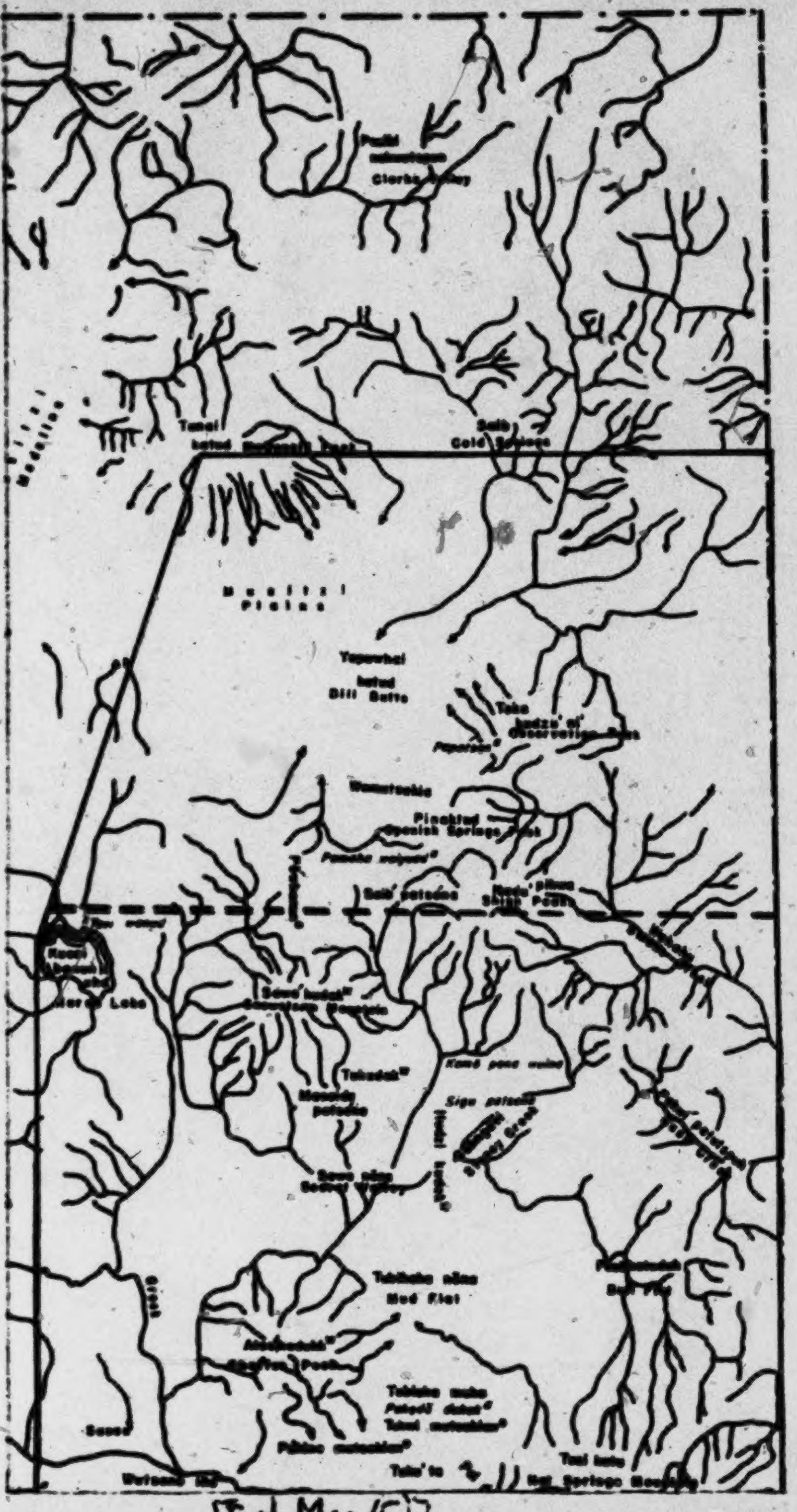
●102
103
133


Creek
Worley
Lake
Creek

[End Map (B)]

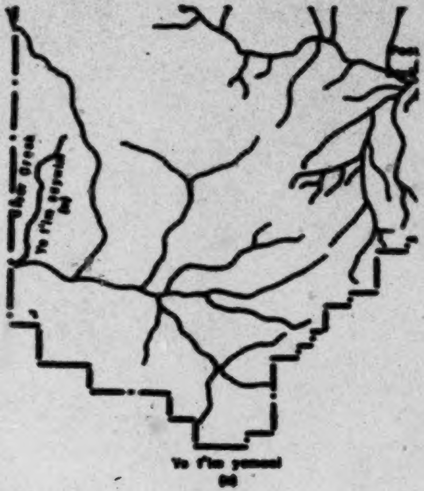
15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

● 102
103
133


Clarks Valley
Tunai
Cold Springs
Plains
Dill Butte
Taka
Observation Peak
Pinakiud
Spanish Springs Peak
Mud Flat
Creek
Hot Springs Mountains

[End Map (C)]

102
103
133



MAP
TERRITO

HONEY L

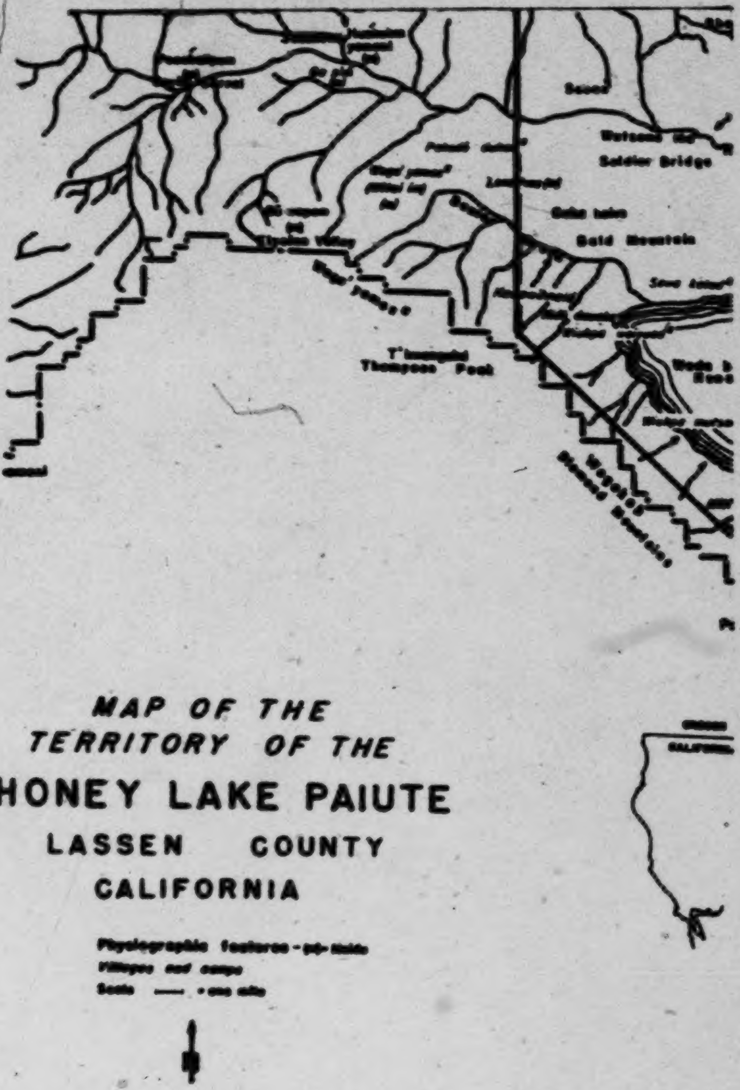
LASSEN

CALI

Physiogra
Villages a
Scale —

[End Map (D)]

102
103
133

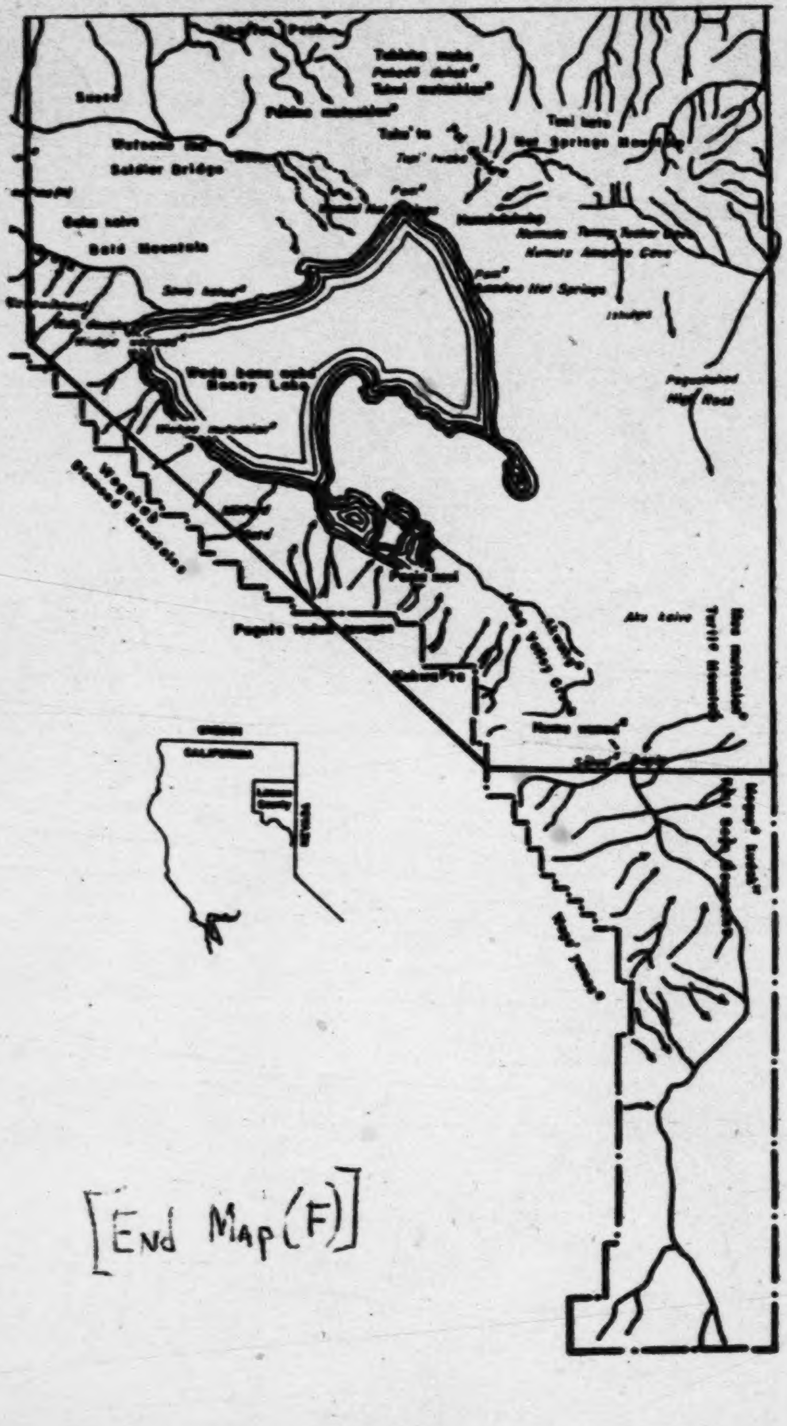

Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
Thompson Peak
Villages and camps
Scale —— = one mile

MAP OF THE
TERRITORY OF THE
HONEY LAKE PAIUTE
LASSEN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

[End Map (E)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

●102
103
133


Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
Honey Lake
Hot Springs Mountains
Diamond Mountains
Turtle Mountain

[End Map (F)]

PLACE NAMES

103
133

This is a convenient place for recording a few random notes on place names. One is struck by the fact that the Gidü'tikad^{a} do not, as a general rule, name the larger geographical features. Thus, they lack a name for Surprise valley as a whole, for Warner range, for the valley lakes, etc. There is no paucity of names for minor features, and such names are almost invariably descriptive or refer to some plant or animal formerly plentiful in the region.

Springs seem to have been named more frequently than streams. Bidwell creek, the largest stream in the northern end of the valley, was unnamed, and Buck creek, on the western side of the Warners, was also unnamed.

Gearheart mountain, Oregon, was called Pasi'akwo, from pasi'a, a large bird resembling an eagle;[11] Steens mountain was known as Tsütsüüd^{a} "because it was always covered with snow (apparently related to ütsü'ts, cold). Eagle peak was called Ma'ta'gan (from ma'ta', metate) because material for grinding stones was plentiful on its upper slopes. Bidwell mountain was unnamed, but a point to one side of it was called Tüba'-motsi'kia, pine-nut point. An unidentified peak up Bidwell canyon was called Tsa"na-tsu'ga, the name of an edible root which formerly grew on its slopes.

A small reddish hill on the road between Lake City and Fort Bidwell was called Atsa'-motsi'kia, red peak. Both Indians and whites observe that winter snows always melt there first, and by the whites it is called Red hill or Hot point. A series of rock cliffs along the same road[12] is known as Gidü'-motsi'kia, groundhog-point. A peak just south of Lake City projects at an upward angle and is called Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose.

The three lakes which formerly covered a good part of the valley floor were not named, but the strip of land between Upper lake and Middle lake had a name which my informant could not recall. At Eagleville the break between Lower and Middle lakes was called Pü'hü-kanu, duck-catch. Lake Annie, a small body of water at the head of Surprise valley, was known as Sia'pa'^{a}, gravel, from a deposit along its southern shore. Cowhead lake, somewhat larger and lying five or six miles northeast of Fort Bidwell, was known as Toha'-kidü-panün (white-groundhog-lake) because a white groundhog was once seen there. Piudy knew no name for Goose lake, but Joshua said that it was called Paba'-panün, big lake. 103 133

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[11] De Angulo, 330, gives pasia' as bald-headed eagle.

[12] On the Max Fulcher ranch.

Big valley, west of Warner valley, was called Guyü, the name of a food plant gathered there. Sugar hill, Toga'-pokwad (dark point or peak) gave its name to near-by Fandango valley. Fandango pass was called Padu'a'-agan from padu″aᵃ, grizzly bear.

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEASONAL PURSUITS AND WANDERINGS

221 For food these Paiute, like the bulk of Great Basin tribes, were entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering, and even proto-agriculture in the form of wild crop irrigation[18] was unknown. From an economic point of view, Paiute habitat seems to have been peculiarly uninviting, and only through literally unceasing toil could it be made to yield a livelihood. Whereas peoples dependent upon one staple, such as acorns, camas, or mescal, normally enjoy a season of plenty, often followed, to be sure, by one of privation, the Gidü'tikadᵃ had no one product upon which they could rely. It follows, therefore, that their food gathering activities were extensive and continuous rather than concentrated and seasonal. Starvation was frequent, especially in late winter when the stores of cached food had been exhausted. 221 262

The geography of the Surprise region has been covered by Russell, but it may be well to call attention to a few general features. A large part of the valley floor is occupied by the playa beds of three lakes, now dry most of the time, but well filled within the memory of informants and early settlers. The remainder of the valley is said to have been meadowland in aboriginal times, but nowadays, owing to the introduction of sheep and to subsequent overgrazing, the meadow has been almost completely replaced by sagebrush, excepting, of course, land actually under cultivation. This means that the pre-white environmental conditions were definitely more favorable for the support of a non-agricultural population. In fact, it is difficult to see how a hunting and gathering people could possibly maintain themselves under present conditions. 133 137 annual rabbit drives and for hunting water fowl such as mud hens, 221 ducks, geese, and swans. This very considerable range of activities implies residence from which the valley lakes and flats, as well as the hill country, were accessible. There seem to have been no set camp spots, but the Adel and Bidwell districts were particularly favored for fall residence.

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[18] Which Steward, 149, reports for the Eastern Mono.

Winter was the season of food shortage. At this time the Gidü'tikadᵃ returned to more or less permanent sites, there to consume the seeds, dried roots, and meats which they had cached. Hunting of deer, antelope, and rabbits continued. In addition, bear, wildcat, and otter were hunted because "then they were fat, and their skins were good." Winter was also the season of antelope charming. [789]

When asked concerning the relative importance of animal foods, my informant replied, with an excellent display of logic:

> They ate more deer and rabbits than anything else because they hunted them all year round. Rabbits are not so good this time of year; squirrels are better now. It all depends on the season (P:NH).

WINTERING GROUNDS

The Gidü'tikadᵃ had a number of established wintering grounds, 103 and, as a corollary, recognized certain regions—such as the country 361 west of the Warners, the area between Surprise and Warner valleys, Big valley, and the east side of Surprise—which were best shunned during winter because of heavy snows, insufficient resources, etc.

The northernmost winter camp was in the vicinity of Plush, Oregon. According to Pindy, it was known as Sa'gaᵘnamatsibui and refers in some obscure way to "the place where the river comes from the mountain into the open country." What is doubtless a different rendering of the same term was given by Joshua who called a Honey creek site near Plush, Saga'pamatsibua. He claimed that it was derived from saga', a kind of willow, and tsibua, canyon mouth.

Adel, farther south in Warner valley, was called Saibᵃ and was a favorite wintering ground. A camp site just below the present MC ranch house was called Wa'habiⁱ (from wago'pi, pine tree, and habiⁱ, fall down) and was so-named from a creek into which a large tree had fallen. A site "southeast of Adel," described as a few miles east of Dugout,[16] was called Kusi'nütᵉ.

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[16] As the location of this wintering ground is highly doubtful, it has not been entered on the map. Possibly it should be southwest instead of southeast of Adel. In a letter, Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, Lakeview, states that the locality known as Dugout falls within Township 40 South, Range 23 East. This would place it definitely southwest of Adel.

103 361 In Surprise, the Gidü'tikad^{a} sometimes wintered on the slopes below Lake Annie. This site seems to have been unnamed; it was probably known from the lake, or, because of its proximity, may have been included in the name applied to the Bidwell vicinity. This whole latter district was known as Tusi'yamüs (from tusi''p^{i}, a kind of grass, *Distichlis spicata* Greene, and yamü's, corner), and ample justification for the name may be found by glancing at Russell's map of Surprise valley surface types.[15] Tusi'yamüs was a favorite spot, and winter camps were strung along the foot of the Warners from the site of the present camp through the Indian School grounds, as well as along Bidwell creek from the fair grounds below town up the canyon to the old flour mill.

There were three wintering grounds about Lake City. One was in a juniper stand a short distance north of town and was called Wa''-dunu'ba (from wap^{i}, juniper, and dunu'ba, bunch, stand). Another site was near the lake shore and was called Sawa'-dunu'ba (sawa', sagebrush). Informants state that it is now cleared and planted in wheat. Camps were scattered from below the peak known as Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose, just south of Lake City, all along the range slopes south toward Cedarville and on to Eagleville.

Near Cedarville, the Gidü'tikad^{a} wintered along the creek at the foot of Cedar pass, which place they called Pa-sü''bi, water-willow, "from a kind of willow growing in the stream." One informant claimed that this site had no name, but that "they knew it by Pa'ho't^{a}-wogodni (sand creek, canyon) on the eastern side of the valley."

The southernmost winter camp was near Bear ranch at the foot of Surprise valley. My informant could not remember its name but said that it was near the stream called Wi'gi-pa-hu'^{a} (sideways-water-running) which "runs sideways instead of straight down from the mountain." From inquiry, Bear creek[16] seems most nearly to answer the description.

221 361 According to informants, "Some stayed in the same camp all winter, but most had at least two camps, perhaps one here and one at Cedarville. When all their food was gone, they moved on to the next camp." There was certainly some travel during winter as camps cooperated in communal antelope and rabbit drives.

361 The winter site had perhaps five or six houses; the summer groups were still smaller, perhaps only two or three.

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[15] Figure 4.

[16] Spelled Bare's creek on the Alturas quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey.

6; Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

103. Court of Claims E-344, p. 670.

N 115 551 104. Grandson of Winnemucca, the well-known Northern Paiute leader; age ca. 70 years in 1951; born thirty miles north of McDermitt, Nev., and living, in 1951, on the Summit Lake, Nevada, Indian Reservation.

K 101 551 [701] [622] 105. "Chiliquin" is now used locally by Indians and Whites for Klamath-speaking Indians living in the Williamson-Sprague River area (information from Mrs. Charlotte Roberts, Eugene, Ore., March, 1955). Chiloquin was a Klamath war leader who lived on Sprague River and whose name is second in the list of Klamath signers of the October, 1864 treaty as "Chili-que-nas" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). He evidently had connections with the Sprague River Klamath group; Dick Brown, Motcunka'sket's son, testified in 1926 that his father was "head chief of the Bly [Klamath]," that Le-lu (another treaty-signer) was Motchunka'sket's "chief sub-chief," and that Chiloquin was his "next sub-chief"
K [103] (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129, also p. 952). The present town of Chiloquin on lower Sprague River is named for this leader, but his home was farther up Sprague River (Court of Claims E-344, p. 767; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 113).

106. Reno Transcript, pp. 68-69.

N ● 103 107. Elliott, Journals, vol. 11, pp. 218-220. The Warner Lakes are southeast of the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region. We identify "Salt Lake" as Abert Lake because Salt Lake is the name used for Abert Lake by John Work, Ogden's successor, in Work's journal of his 1832 expedition (Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 11).

108. Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 10.

109. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

110. Ibid., p. 11.

111. Ibid., p. 12.

K 103 137 222 112. Chewaucan Marsh takes its name from Klamath tchua, wild potato, plus keni, meaning locality or place. The wild potato is generally known in Oregon and Washington as the wapato, arrowhead or sagittaria (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 112). Possibly it was this the Indians had been digging.

113. Frémont, Report, pp. 208-209.

114. Ibid., p. 209.

115. Ibid., p. 212.

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe
648 tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed,
622 Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all
their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be
followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern
California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142],
and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS
#1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name
●103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical
Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes
101 River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific
references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or
to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the
Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to
Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along
the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations,
but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging
in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
[114] were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but McKenzie
was a reliable reporter.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

167. Drew, ibid., p. 5. 133

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord. 103

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. 1, p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ni-ne, war chief of a band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864). 648 728

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panai'na's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144. [114]

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panai'na very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panai'na.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above.

N 648 [103]

225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's avoidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group.

K [648] [101]

229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had probably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223.

N [551] [648]

230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19.

N [103]

At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was considered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had

K 361
N K 226

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishwea- [103] wax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and K Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, with- [166] in the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L. S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

13: Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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●103
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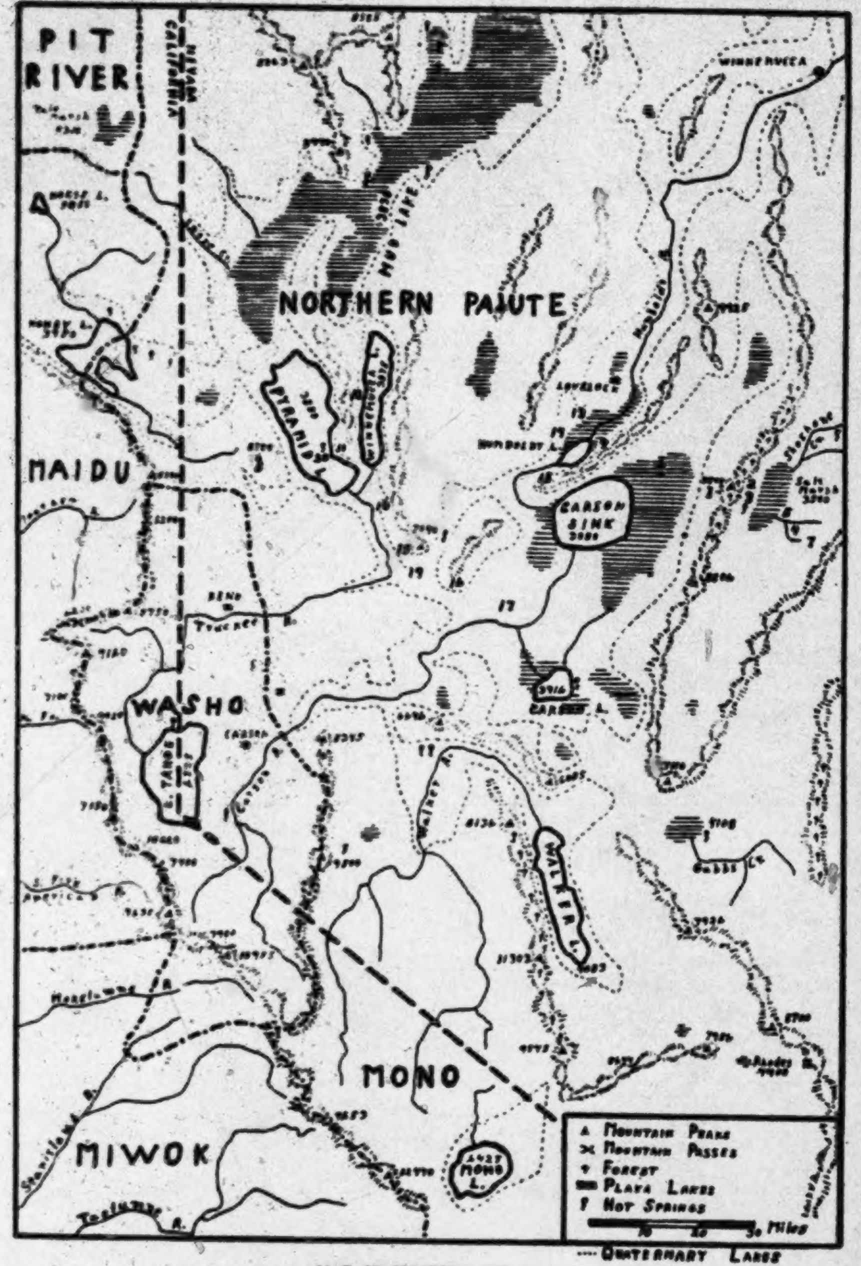
PIT RIVER
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MUD LAKE
WINNEMUCCA
PYRAMID L.
WINNEMUCCA L.
LOVELOCK
HUMBOLDT L.
CARSON SINK
MAIDU
RENO
Truckee R.
WASHO
L. TAHOE
CARSON
CARSON L.
Walker R.
WALKER L.
MONO
MONO L.
MIWOK
Stanislaus R.
Tuolumne R.
Mokelumne R.
Mountain Peaks
Mountain Passes
Forest
Playa Lakes
Hot Springs
10
20
30 Miles
Quaternary Lakes

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]

[End plates 31-67 not processed]

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621 gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131 canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162] Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more [114] correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115] born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is ō-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1,[1] although [103] ● ō-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221] seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224 spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and
● [103] threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a,
[133] Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

773 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. All mention
[114] of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern
[411] Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason for this is that both peoples are held in contempt. 173 186 829

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians. 173 829 [727] [648]

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that they must have been made by the Pit River Indians 173 829 114

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the map, plate 68. 133 172

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The name of the place is tohatoha. [212] [103] ●

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a village site, called otigadatU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadatU. On both sides of the ridge 133 [301] [103] there are absolutely barren level playas. The size of the ridge was not ascertained, but from memory the writer would say it is 10 or 15 feet in height, several rods in width, and 10 miles long. It is covered with sagebrush and is visible 6 or 8 miles away. It was caused by a gravel wash in the Pleistocene lake. In fact Humboldt lake itself owes its existence to a gigantic dam of gravel wash, over a hundred feet in height, built entirely across the valley by the old lake.

15.—There are two caves to the south of the lake, opposite Ocala. On the ridge near the cave, marked 19 on plate 3, Natches said that there is a "stone house." In the hill to the west of this is situated the other cave.

16.—Near Hazen on the side of Black butte there is a cave of considerable size called pusia-tipegI, "louse-cave."

17.—Soda lake, near Fallon, covers an area of 268 acres and is 147 feet deep. It has a crater rim built up above the level of the desert, so that the total depth of the old crater is 312 feet. Natches said that there was an old story that it once burst open in an eruption. This may be a historical tradition, as Russell shows that although volcanic activity began before the Dendritic stage of Lake Lahontan, its last outbreak is post-Lahontan in date.

18.—A mountain nine miles northeast of Wadsworth and famous for its supply of woodchucks is called waha-kutakwA, "two-tips." The English name, Two Tips, is a translation.

19.—The southern end of the range in which Two Tips is located is called pahino-motunta, "hot spring rock-point." The word for the rock deposited by hot springs is pahinopI.

[312] 20.—At present there are several hot springs at the base of Pyramid island, from which steam issues with a noise. The island is knob-like in form with an elevation of 320 feet, composed entirely of rock deposited by the hot springs. There is a tradition that there was formerly a hole in the top of the island which is now entirely filled by the steam deposit.

NW
102
103
131
133
197
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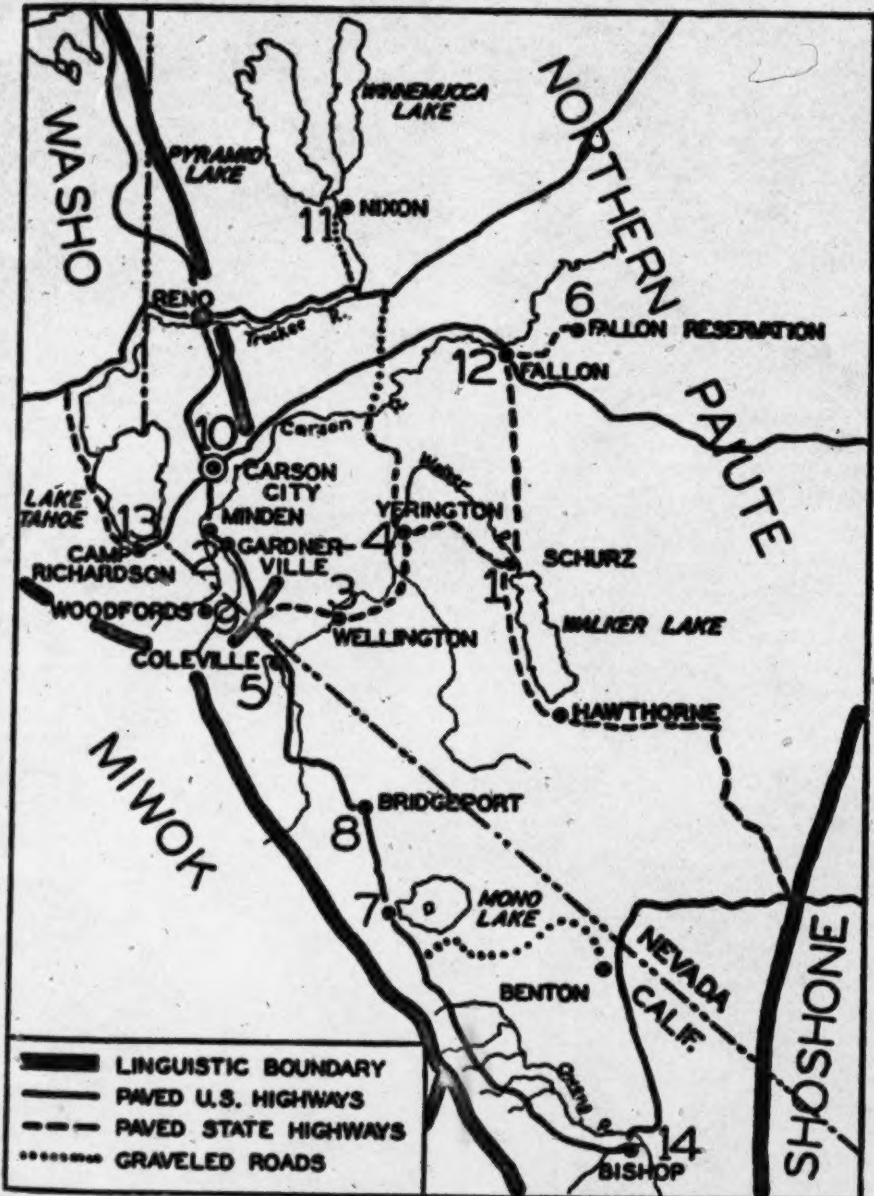
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MIWOK
SHOSHONE
WINNEMUCCA LAKE
PYRAMID LAKE
11 NIXON
RENO
Truckee R.
6 FALLON RESERVATION
12 FALLON
Carson R.
10 CARSON CITY
LAKE TAHOE
13 CAMP RICHARDSON
MINDEN
GARDNERVILLE
4 YERINGTON
Walker R.
1 SCHURZ
WALKER LAKE
3 WELLINGTON
9 WOODFORDS
5 COLEVILLE
HAWTHORNE
8 BRIDGEPORT
7
MONO LAKE
BENTON
NEVADA
CALIF.
Owens R.
14 BISHOP
LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
PAVED U.S. HIGHWAYS
PAVED STATE HIGHWAYS
GRAVELED ROADS

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

N
W
● 103
162
171
484
*795

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on middle of p. 123]

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

N
W
171

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1922.

(*Concluded on next page*)

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

N
W
171

Tribes—(Continued)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

N
W
162
795"
[103]
[171]
[484]

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

N
W
162
795
273
756
157
563

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

Wadátkuht

population was approximately 200 persons. This number could be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of the expectable decrease in population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group. 161 [177]

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The following is a listing of the names and a description of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names. 103 133

1. Wago' yamos^a ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos^a by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is [137]

Wadátkuht

103 133 given this name. This feature is not in Paiute territory but is probably on the Mountain Maidu-Atsugewi boundary. Worley Mountain is plainly visible from Honey Lake Valley and was probably visited on occasional hunting trips, particularly since nearby Eagle Lake was visited for hunting and gathering purposes.

[137] 3. Guha kaive ("Guha Mountain"). Bald Mountain several miles west of Honey Lake has this name because of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) growing there. This small, treeless range of rounded hills has a growth of bitterbrush, grass and sage covering it. Its origin is documented by a Wadatkuht myth.

4. T' kwanguhd ("Tower"). This name refers to Thompson Peak which has a tower-like rock formation in association.

[346] 5. Padotsa dawakuhd ("Bubbling Hole"). This spring is located on the hillside behind (south) of the Bird Flat schoolhouse. The school is approximately a mile west of Herlong Junction on Highway 395.

6. Pasia novi ("Bald Eagle House"). An old pine tree beside Highway 395 a distance of 5.4 miles southeast of Milford was given this name because of a pair of bald eagles who made their nest in it many years ago. When Ike Northrup was a young man he went by this tree with Joaquin who told him about the nesting birds in the tree and the name for it. The eagles had long since ceased nesting there by that time so Ike never saw them. The tree is still standing but it was killed in the summer of 1950 by a brush fire.

[726] 7. Numu wunud^{a} ("Indian Stand Up"). This name was given to a conical rocky hill about four miles northwest of Doyle (T25N/R16E/Sec. 3). This hill received its name as a consequence of a fight between some Pit River and Paiute men. The fight started at Doyle with the Paiutes attempting to escape to this hill. The Paiutes, with the Pit River men in pursuit, gained the sanctuary of this hill and began to roll boulders down on the Pit River men. A Pit River man was killed during the fighting and was stood up by the Paiutes who did it "to be onery". The death of this one man was enough to stop the fighting; "Maybe the headman killed, rest run away".

8. Mogúp^{a} kudak^{w} ("Sharp Mountain"). The range of mountains just east of Doyle is given this name because of its rather jagged appearance.

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9. Moa mutsakian^{o} ("Rough Point") (moav^{a} - "rough"). This rocky point is about five miles northeast of Doyle and may be considered a northern extension of the previous feature. Rough Point is located in T25N/R17-18E and got its name from the rough granitic rock of which this feature is composed.

10. Babáktud ("Big Mountain"). The large mountain a few miles southeast of Flannigan, Nevada, is given this name. Neither this feature nor the following one is considered to be in Wadátkuht territory, but are said to be in an uninhabited region rarely visited due to the scarcity of water. Archaeological sites recorded at several places in this general region testify that the area was not always unoccupied. [172]

11. Kaibak^{u} mutsakian^{o} ("No Wet Point", i.e., "Dry Point"). This is a range of mountains a few miles northeast of Flannigan, Nevada. This feature, as with the preceding one, is said to be in an uninhabited region. The name for this feature gives the reason for the lack of occupation.

12. Tusí katu' ("Bunch Grass Mountain"). Hot Springs Mountain east of Honey Lake bears this name.

13. Humuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). The flat at the western base of Hot Springs Mountain was given this name. The Wadátkuht had a camp on this flat but the informants could not recall its name, or if it had one. [361]

14. Paí dupid^{a} ("Rocks to Bottom"). This is the name given the rock formation on the west face of Hot Springs Mountain. The nearly vertical rock faces of this feature have a pyramidal shape. A snow slide here before contact times killed a herd of deer which was utilized by the Paiute people.

15. Tuhu' ta ("Wildcat Hole"). This point of land which has distinct Lake Lahontan wave-cut terraces on its slopes is located slightly more than two miles north of Wendel. Wildcats are said to have inhabited the caves in the rocks on this point. The track of the Southern Pacific railroad goes around the base of this point.

16. Tukwí mutsakian^{o} ("Burned Rock Point"). This name is given to a sort of lava shelf, or tableland, partially surrounded by low cliffs, or rimrock. This feature is located about two miles northwest of Tuhu' ta and apparently got its name from the lava rock. The Southern Pacific

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passes but a short distance from this feature in T29N/R15E.

17. Páhino mutsakian° ("Limestone Rock Point"). This point, which exhibits wave cut terraces from ancient Lake Lahontan, is but a short distance west of the Gibson ranch. Highway 395 passes several hundred yards south of this feature. It got its name from the rocks that are covered with calcarceous tufa from the waters of Lake Lahontan.

18. Atsa kaduhk^w ("Red Mountain"). Shaffer Peak and its integral domes and peaks, including the peak just north of Litchfield and the dome north of the Gibson ranch, are given this name. The latter, however, is said to have had a name of its own but is now forgotten. The south side of this dome, or rounded peak, was a favored area for gathering atsá seeds (probably Sophia sonnei) for food. (The Gibson ranch is about two miles east of Litchfield on Highway 395).

19. Tubisha muha ("Red Adobe Moon"). This feature was so named because of the color of the soil there and because this saddle-shaped pass resembles the moon when it is in its crescent phase. This low pass lies between Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley and is utilized by both Highway 395 and the Southern Pacific. The area is located in T30N/R15E.

20. Wahahu ("Hay Flow"). Smoke Creek was given this name because the aquatic plants appear to flow downstream as they undulate in the current. Smoke Creek rises on the east side of Shinn Peaks and flows into Nevada.

21. Pakwí patutspuh ("Fish Splash"). Rush Creek, about five miles south of Smoke Creek, was given this name because of the fish that jumped in this stream. As with Smoke Creek, Rush Creek also flows into Nevada.

22. Pasö katuduh ("Willow Set"; "set", in this sense, means "place", or that something is "situated"). This is the name for Mud Spring, or Bull Flat as it was later called.

23. Tubihsha nõna ("Red Adobe Set"). Mud Flat was given this name because of the color of the mud in this playa lake. The lake bottom is covered by a blanket of wild sunflowers after the water dries up each year. This made it a favorite place for the Wadátkuht to collect sunflower seeds. This feature is situated at the south side of Secret Valley and is bisected by Highway 395. [222]

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24. Nadu' pikwa ("Rocky"). Shinn Peaks at the north end of Secret Valley are given this name. 103 133

25. Ṣawa nöna ("Brush Set"). Secret Valley is given this name. Susy Buster stated that both the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht used this area. It is true that the villages in Secret Valley had some Kamötkuht people in them, but the villages were Wadátkuht. It must be kept in mind that the Secret Valley Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht were apparently quite neighborly. [648]

26. Sawá kudakʷ ("Sagebrush Mountain"). This mountain, Snowstorm Mountain, is located about five miles north of Karlo in T32N/R14E.

27. Hudzí kudakʷ ("Sagehen Mountain"). This low sage-covered hill is about four miles east of Karlo and one mile east of Highway 395 in T31N/R15E.

28. Suhngavi ("Cottonwood"). Stoney Creek, a tributary of Secret Creek, has this name. Stoney Creek is about five miles east of Karlo.

29. Masaida patsóna ("Watercress(?) Spring"). This spring is about one and a half miles north of Karlo and a short distance north of the archaeological site Las-7, also known as the Karlo site. This particular spring was not visited with my informant but is probably located in Section 5 or 6 of T31N/R15E.

30. Saga' patsóna ("Willow Spring"). This is a spring at the Shinn ranch (in T33N/R16E) where hunting parties went for deer and groundhogs (marmots) in the spring. This feature was not visited with my informant so the exact location was not recorded. [224]

31. Atsa' tukatud ("Red Dome"). This is the name for Red Rock (a mountain or hill) near (in T35N/R15E) the Red Rock post office on the northeastern side of Madeline Valley. A more exact location for this feature was not obtained since it was not visited with my informant.

32. Saib ("Tule"). Cold Springs, located about three miles north of Red Rock in T36N/R15E, bears this name because of the tules growing there. Both this feature and the previous one might properly be said to be in Kamotkuht territory, however, the Wadátkuht had access to them as if their own. My [137]

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103 133 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudak^{w} ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudak^{w}. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch" in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring provides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28. [312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter [224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley. In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline [172] Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamŏtkuht. Evidence in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pŏ́whanun^{o} ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain, Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and [224] Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular significance because deer were hunted here.

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39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern extension of Pínaktud (Item 37 above). 133 103

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt. [224]

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú nuhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north end of the lake. [137] [361]

44. Wada banú nuhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm. [137] [101]

45. Kukwa^{p}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E. [789]

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering. [262]

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey [136]

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133 103 [136] Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15 and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that place in the river. [148]

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

[226] [251] 50. Ak' muhg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this name. This creek was an important source for suckers which were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu. Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 [182] [177] Specific and detailed information concerning habitation sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain. The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack 361 174

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361 [174] of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructi of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about 1925.

[221] It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only occupied seasonally. The Wadátkuht, similar to the other Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home" for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only village so termed by my informants, although other winter villages may by definition be given this term.

[114] It has been difficult to decide which of the following named habitation sites were villages and which were camps. Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considere as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

103 361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SE¼ of NW¼ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

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361 picking chokecherries nearby. The informants reported that he was never successful.

[172] This site was an occasional winter village for Joaquin and his group of Wadátkuht composed primarily of his own family. Aboriginal occupation is indicated by chipped stone projectile points, flake knives of stone, thermal fractured stones and similar evidence. This village site has the archaeological designation of Las-34.

Parker Creek, which flows by the site, apparently has the same name as the village. In the vicinity of the village and along the creek chokecherry bushes grow abundantly, thus an important source for chokecherries for the Wadátkuht.

2. Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} ("Oak Tree Row"). This camp is located about 1½ miles south of Buntingville among pine and oak trees (T28N/R13E/Sec. 23). The Wadátkuht gathered acorns here and the bedrock mortars in the area attest to the same use of the area in earlier times. In more recent times a group of Maidu lived in this area until about 1930 which seemingly demonstrates a modification in the aboriginal occupation pattern.

3. Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o} ("Oak Tree Point"). This camp, as with Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, was situated among pines and oaks where the Wadátkuht could take advantage of the acorns. It got its name from the fact that a timbered spur, or point of land, extends eastward toward the shores of Honey Lake (T27N/R14E/Sec. 8).

A family of Pit River Indians lived here circa 1910 to parallel the occupation of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} by some Maidu people. It would seem by these two examples that observance of inter-tribal boundaries ceased shortly after the arrival of the settlers.

4. Sawa katud^{a} ("Sagebrush Set"). This village near the mouth of Baxter Creek was inhabited by the Wadatkuht [172] until after contact times. As indicated by the name this village is in a sagebrush region and marks the site of an archaeological habitation area as shown by the numerous stone artifacts recovered from here over the years by local collectors. The culture deposit of this site (with the archaeological designation of Las-93), however, is shallow. The site is located in T28N/R14E/SW¼ of NW¼ of Sec. 17.

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103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (típugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designa-
tion for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp
at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife.
This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sóhud^{a} as

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361 Ike Northrup visited the site with the author but knew nothing concerning its occupation.

7. Pagúshuhad ("Warm Spring"). This most eastern Wadátkuht winter village receives its name from a spring of warm water that pours out from the base of a series of spire-shaped rocks. [312] It is said that east of this village there were no camps or villages until one approaches Pyramid Lake. Lack of water is given as the reason for this region being unpopulated. This village is a desert village, being some 10 or 15 miles east of the timbered Sierra. It is located at the High Rock ranch east of Honey Lake and just west of the Nevada state line. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-88 (T29N/R17E/Sec. 36).

[412] Pagúshuhad was a winter village for Joaquin and his band of Wadátkuht. Informants report that there is a bedrock metate at this village site.

8. Ishuhpa ("Wolf Water"). This winter village was so-named because the spring here was a favorite place for wolves to obtain water. It is located about five miles northwest of Pagúshuhad, and similarly, has considerable archaeological evidence in the form of stone artifacts which have been recovered from the surface. The archaeological designation for Ishuhpa is Las-46 (T28N/R16E/SE$\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 18).

9. Pam^{u} ("Hot Springs"). This name is given for both the hot springs at Amedee and at Wendel. The Amedee site has the archaeological designation of Las-99, the Wendel site, Las-28. Both of them were winter villages, although Ike Northrup said that the people could not remain at the Amedee Hot Springs in wet weather, or when the snow was melting, because the surrounding flat country became too muddy. They had to move to high ground about one mile to the east. This probably meant that the archaeological cave site, Las-90, approximately one mile east of Amedee was used when the area about the hot springs became too muddy.

10. Numúta ("Indian Hole"). Both Tommy Tucker Cave, Las-1 (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956), and Amedee Cave, Las-90, were given this name. It would seem that any cave utilized by these people might be given this same name. Amedee Cave was used by Kitty Joaquin when she was a small girl. [172] She and her family (Joaquin's group, primarily) camped there upon occasion. Recent archaeological excavation in this cave by the author has revealed numerous manos and

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metates, as well as a number of chipped stone projectile points. Tommy Tucker Cave, on the other hand, was not used as a habitation site in recent times. Joaquin had warned Kitty and the other children not to enter the cave, nor did he do so himself as far as Kitty ever knew. Excavation of this cave produced only one mano and no metates, a decided contrast to Amedee Cave, Tommy Tucker Cave yielded numerous shell beads and ornaments, sandals of twisted sagebrush bark, a large number of game counters used in gambling, bone tools and ornaments, basketry fragments and numerous other articles. The upper levels of both caves must be considered to be quite recent, particularly since both are recognized by living informants and one was said to have been occupied. Metal objects occurred on or near the surface of both caves, a fact which tends to substantiate some use and/or occupation in post-contact times.

11. (Name forgotten by informants). During some winters a village was maintained on the flat below and north of Tommy Tucker Cave. The flat was called Hunuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). This was a favorable place because there usually was not much snow. Archaeological sites on this flat include Las-2 and Las-18.

12. Pahodö duhak^a ("Sand Creek"). This camp site is situated just east of Viewland and Highway 395 in a sort of sand dune and sagebrush area (T30N/R15E/ center of Sec. 34). Very little information could be obtained concerning this camp which may have, upon occasion, served as a winter village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. A burial was excavated at, or near this site circa 1930 when an irrigation canal was dug.

A Maidu village on the south bank of Sand Slough was located just west of the Susanville Municipal Airport at Johnstonville. The Wadátkuht called this village Pahodö duhak^a, also. It was a historic site and cemetery with no evidence available as to the length of occupation there.

[172] 13. Tupí' twaba ("Rock Under Water", i.e., a spring under the rocks). This name applies to the archaeological sites Las-15, Las-45 and Las-91, apparently. These archaeological sites (T29N/R15-16E/ Secs. 13, 14, and 24 of R15E, and Sec. 19 and 20 of R16E) belong, in part, to the late archaeological period as demonstrated by the recovery of clamshell disc beads, dentalia shells and glass beads. Evidence of ancient habitation is in the form of a burial with beads ascribably to the Early Lovelock Period dated between 3000 and 4000 years ago.

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361 The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91, and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.
[776]

14. Ak' wuhg^{o} tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg^{o}, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-32 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas
[226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers
[251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidü dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16
[412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other infor-
[231] mation concerning this village was obtainable, except that
[417] Wintun Miller, an Indian; lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

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361 17. ^{k}Távi wanud ("Fir Tree Basin"). The informants said the name meant "Cedar Basin", however, the name for cedar is pawap^{i}, that for juniper is wap^{i}, and for fir is ^{k}tavi. This village was located at the north end of Horse Lake, the remains of which are presumably represented by the archaeological site Las-13. The village took its name from a cedar (sic) tree which was growing in a sort of basin where the village was located. The region about Horse Lake is a juniper/sage environment so a cedar tree would be exceptional in that region. Susy Buster gave the name for this village and additionally stated that the lake belonged to the Wadátkuh

[172] Judging from the archaeological remains the village here must have been of considerable importance, and/or of long occupation. Numerous artifacts and at least one burial have been recovered from this site.

18. Sigu patsóna ("Sagebrush Spring"). This was probably the major village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, and was Ike Northrup's home village. His father, Nunu" kai (nunu', "snake"; kai, "no"), was a shaman and was headman for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. The village was occupied until around 1900 and the houses were of native construction. One of these houses burned one winter with a complete loss of personal property. It was Ike Northrup's house and he lost his bow and arrows, rabbit skin blankets, some moccasins and other gear.

[439] Sam, or Nunu' kai, raised potatoes at this village for sale to the store in Janesville operated by Jim McClelland. He would trade the potatoes for food.

The archaeological designation for this village is Las-104 (T31N/R15E/Sec. 1). The site is among low sandy ridges about one mile east of where the county road turns west off Highway 395 to go to Karlo. There is a spring and a tall poplar tree at the site.

Although this important winter village may be classed as a nogat, a primary winter village, as is Matá at Milford, there were several other sites which substituted for this winter village. When a winter was too cold the Secret Valley group moved to Honey Lake Valley in the vicinity of Gibson's ranch several miles east of Litchfield. Another winter village was located about one mile west of Sigu patsóna on a sandy ridge overlooking a large meadow. This village, however, seems to have been a recent post-contact village

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and is discussed in a following section.

19. Pamaha woiyuad^{a} ("Wiregrass Patch"). This is a temporary hunting camp at Spanish Springs, in the hills between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains. Hunters would camp here in the fall for about five days. This site has the archaeological designation of Las-106.

20. Papát son^{a} ("Springs"). This is a camp at some springs at the west base of Observation Peak where the Madeline ranch is now located. It was not visited with the informant so a precise location was not obtained.

21. Kamö pana wuina ("Rabbit Trail Coming Down"). This is the village at which Ike Northrup was born and is located at the north end of Secret Valley about one mile north of the Secret ranch at a point where Highway 395 leaves the valley and starts toward the summit. An archaeological site, Las-20, has been recorded several hundred yards northwest of this village site (T32N/R15E/SE¼ofSE¼ of Sec. 26).

22. (Name forgotten). As noted in item 18 above the village one-half mile northeast of the Gibson ranch (T29N/R15E of Sec. 7) which is two miles east of Litchfield was a major winter village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Before the Gibson family took up the present ranch the native village's headman was Sani zha, Rawhide Henry's father. Sani zha later in life lived at Matá.

After the establishment of the Gibson ranch the Secret Valley group would occasionally spend severe winters here. When the opportunity afforded itself they would work for the Gibsons.

It must be stressed that all, or nearly all, of the preceding described habitation sites were occupied within the memory of the informants, thus need not necessarily represent the aboriginal Wadátkuht habitation pattern. The additional evidence, however, indicates pre-contact occupation for most of these sites. Often the verbal testimony of the informants is substantiated by archaeological evidence. It can be assumed with considerable certainty that the above described habitation sites include a majority of the more important aboriginal Wadátkuht village and camp locations, at least for that period of time just before contact with the white settlers.

Wadátkuhi

224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the informants named a number of specific places where deer were [103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Tóka kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud), the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide. The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached [777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut, [262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To [412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately [262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung [251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean [237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi', [192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

APPENDIX A

WASHO ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC NOTES

The following ethnogeographic notes were obtained from a Washo shaman, Harry Wilson, whose home was near Doyle, California. The native name for the former Washo village at this place is Mehltútumi wadaiyo ("Shady Place"). These notes were made during a visit of several hours on the 27th of July, 1951. Harry Wilson died in 1954.

1) Dihsuhm - the name for Honey Lake, and has reference to the seeds gathered there. It is quite likely that these seeds are the important wada seeds of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

2) Tahalálak - Hot Springs Mountain.

3) Weodalak - "Warm Mountain", the name for Ft. Sage Mountain. The word for mountain is dalak.

4) Gewuhtmuhláhat - "Coyote Jump Across", the name for the creek on Jim Miller's ranch near the Red Rock Canyon turn-off.

5) Hemogosuhm - no data were obtained for this term, but it may be a place name lying in the vicinity of the preceding and following named places.

6) Daowonga - "Lake", the name for the playa now called Alkali Flat where Scott's Station is located.

7) Mashoni - the name of a creek located on a hillside on the east side of Reno junction.

8) Utsudalak - the name for a mountain northeast of Hallelujah Junction. Utsu is a weed that is unbreakable when green.

9) Tsemiungadalak - "Sand Mountain", on the east side of Hallelujah Junction.

10) Dawioshuhdima - the name of a spring on the east side of the county road where it crosses the summit on the Red Rock road.

11) Bokodalap - this is the name for the mountain on the west side of Winnemucca Valley, and on the east side of

Pyramid Lake. This mountain is now called Tule Mountain.

12) Sesmiht tsihlgonga - "To Dig In", the name for the area of the Evan's ranch near Purdy's.

13) Watíh - the name for Alkali Lake on the Nevada side of the state line, and on the east side of Highway 395.

14) Petsumalidíma - "Wild Rose Water", a spring on the north end of Watíh.

15) Kobihsih' - the name for Lemmen Valley.

16) Kopodíma - "White Rock Spring", the name for White Rock Spring in Lemmen Valley near a chicken ranch.

17) Himu dihasho - the name for Dog Valley, on the west side of Peavine Mountain. It is named after a white rock.

18) Matasikaka - "Upside down", the name for Peavine Mountain.

19) Daobeumawa' - the name for Reno.

20) Balaloa - "Valley", the name for the valley east of Sparks, Nevada.

21) Daobiosho - "Water Through Canyon", the name for the Truckee River Canyon on the Reno side of Sparks.

22) Imgih malim - a place two miles below Lawton Springs where a creek comes into the Truckee River.

23) Daoagawaka - the name for the Truckee River.

24) Daoála - the name for Lake Tahoe.

25) Daogulanga - the name for some hills on the Reno side of Steamboat.

26) Himo gosuhm - the south side of Brown's Station where creeks come down from the west.

27) Dimadatsúsu - "Sweetwater", the name for a spring near the top of a canyon on the east side of Steamboat.

28) Dimatagápopos - "Alkali Water", a spring on top of and

on the south side of Dimadatsúsu.

29) Mehltútumi wadaiyo - "Shady Place", is the village site near Doyle, California, near Harry Wilson's place.

30) T'ashuh' awawa - "Rustling Cottonwood Leaves". This place is about two miles south of Harry Wilson's place and is at a bend of the road, and on the south side of Sam Boni's ranch.

31) Tedehmge - "Metate", the name for the area east of the Nevada State Prison.

32) Pehtsumalidíma - "Wild Rose Spring", refers to a spring southeast of the Nevada State Prison. There is some mining going on in this area.

33) Kabadima - "Gooseberry Spring", is located east of Item 32.

34) Maokápa - "To Break Something". The location of this place was not obtained but is in the vicinity of Item 32 and Item 33 as Harry Wilson was naming the places he knew in the general order in which they occurred geographically.

35) Himomalaiko - "Willows Moving Back and Forth", a place south of Item 33. The name for willow is hímo.

36) Damlihn - a hill a little east and south of Item 35.

37) Himowáka - "Willow Creek", the name for Willow Creek somewhere south (?) of Item 36.

38) Daotishitalak - "Burned Hillside". This is also the white name for this area. It is near Item 37.

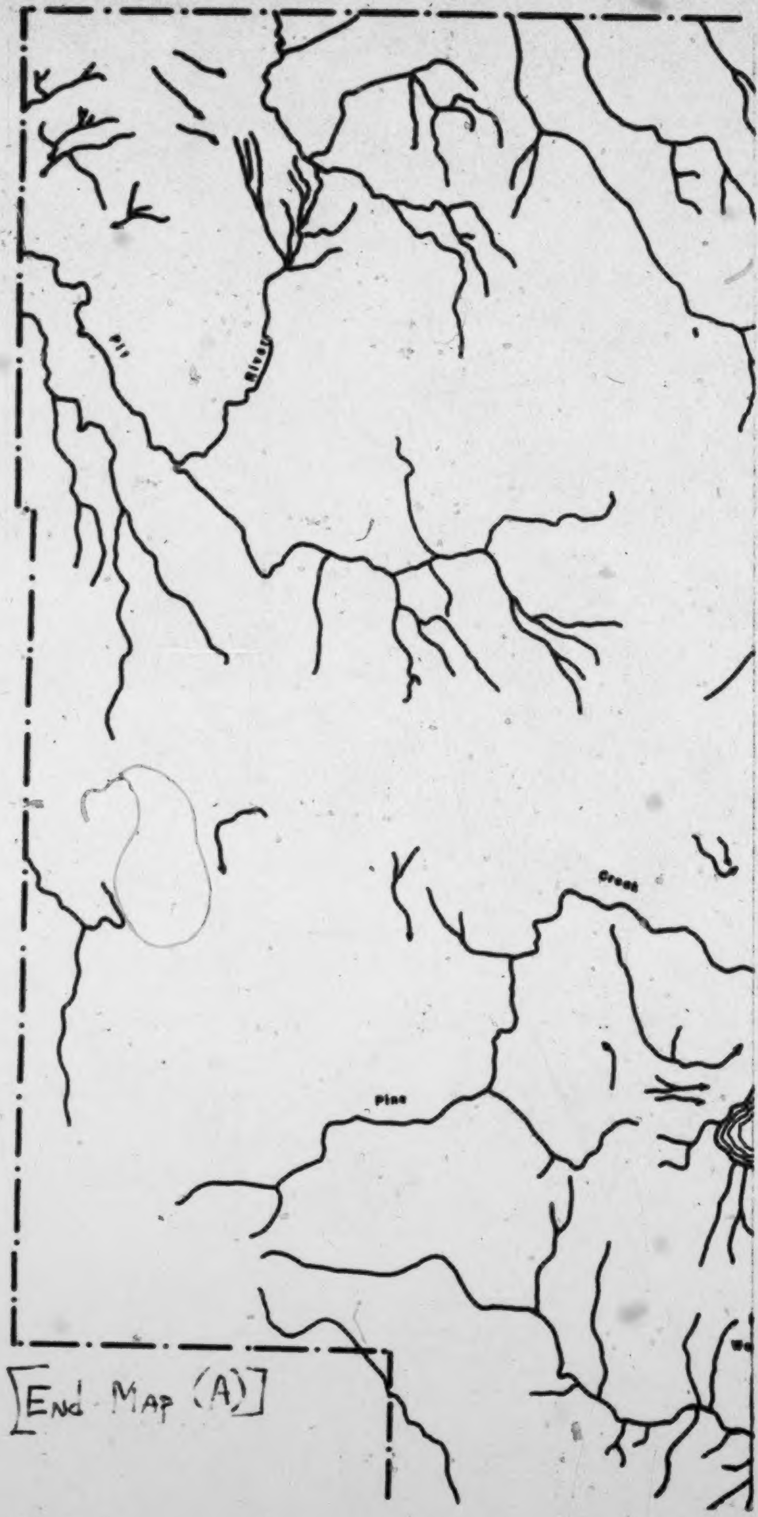
39) Tangíshitalak - the name of a mountain which has a mine upon it and is presumably beyond (south?) of Item 38.

40) Daoldima - a spring southeast of Item 39.

41) Wehtsapalónga - Where the WPRR track passes about four miles southeast of Harry Wilson's Place. It is just below Mr. Evan's field along the west side of the creek at a place where the sagebrush is high. This place was named because of the sagebrush bark which was gotten for clothing.

[287]
[824]

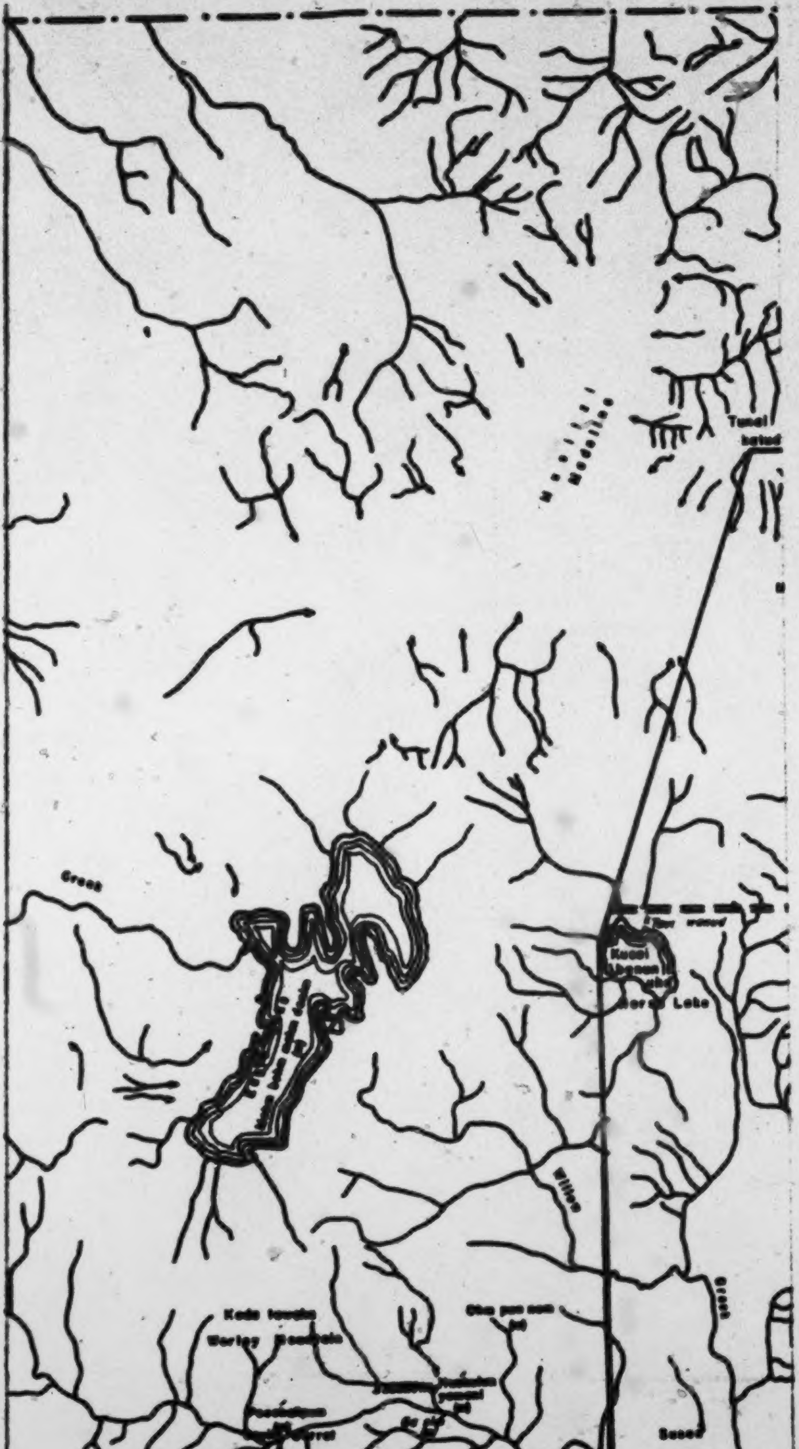
103
102
133


Pit
River
Creek
Pine

[End Map (A)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

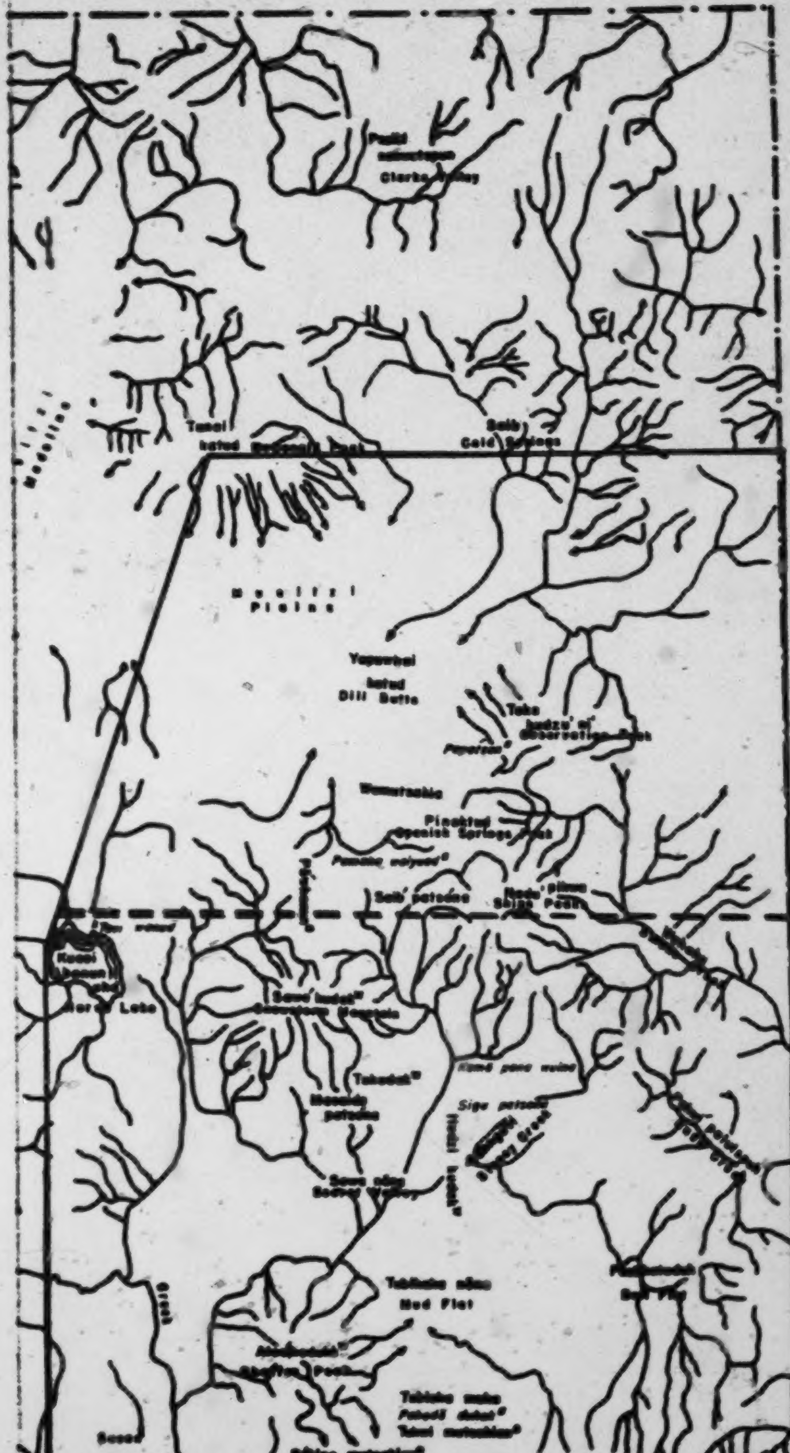
102
● 103
133


Gross
Lake
Willow
Creek

[End Map (B)]

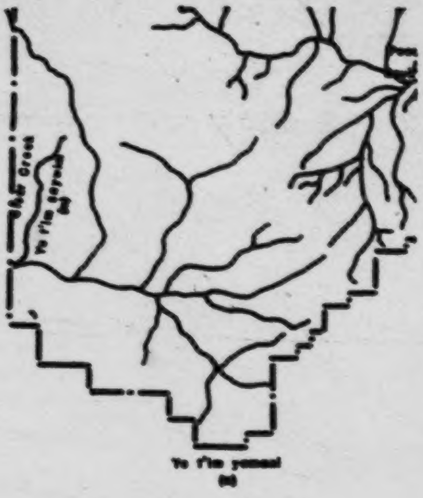
15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
● 103
133


Clarks Valley
Tunoi
Saib
Cold Springs
Plains
Dill Butte
Toha
Observation Peak
Spanish Springs Peak
Saib patadna
Lake
Creek
Mud Flat
Peak
Tui
Hot Springs Mountains

[End Map (C)]

102
● 103
133


Creek
Yo ſ'im yomani

MAP
TERRITO

HONEY L

LASSEN

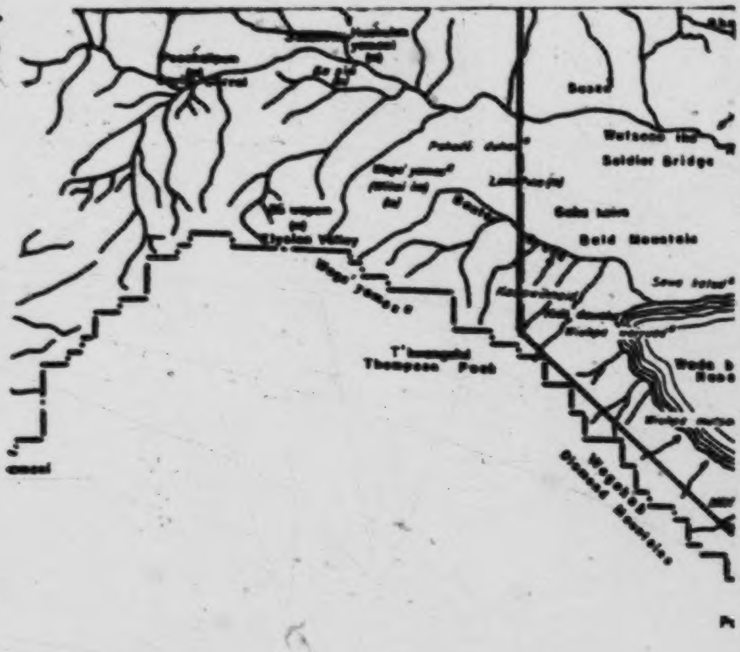
CALI

Physiogra
Villages
Scale

[End Map (D)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
● 103
133


Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
Elysian Valley
T'
Thompson Peak
Diamond Mountains

MAP OF THE
TERRITORY OF THE
HONEY LAKE PAIUTE
LASSEN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

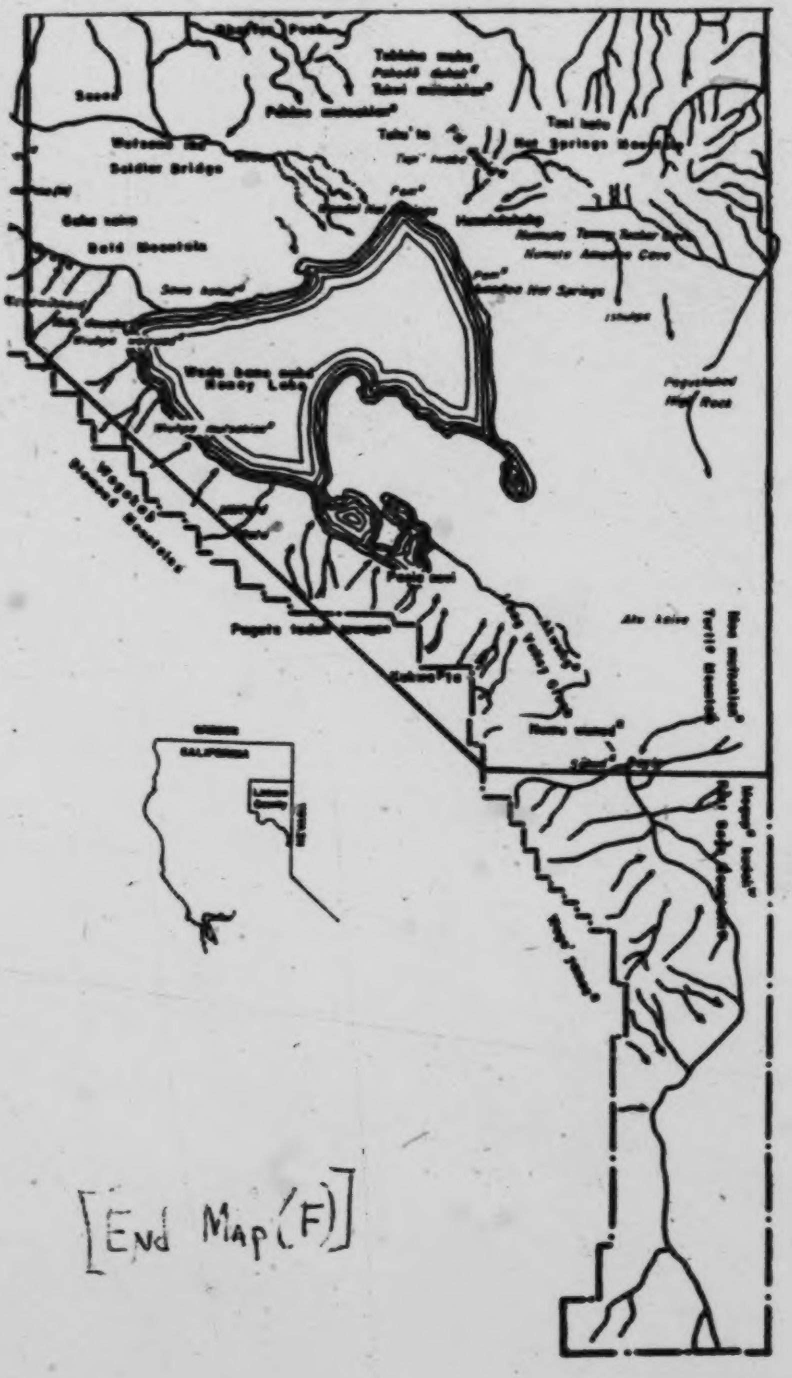
Physiographic features - [illegible]
Villages and camps
Scale —— = one mile

OREGON
CALIFORNIA

[End Map (E)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
103
133


Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
Honey Lake
Hot Springs Mountain
Hot Springs
Cave
Rock

[End Map (F)]

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or
absence of certain elements of culture in repre-
sentative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Infor-
101 mation from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi
131 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose
of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Val-
ley are not included because of Steward's studies
of them.[3] Although some of the groups included
here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahus-
kin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake
and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of cul-
ture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is
now on record to show that these bands are typi-
cally Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly
desert, being modified somewhat by streams carry-
ing water into the area from the Sierra Nevada,
Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their terri-
tory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle
with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its
275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about
600 miles to the north. With the exception of
part of the arid plateau in the north, all the
area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic
province; in fact, the western edge of the Great
Basin is approximately coterminous with the
Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer
137 is the coincidence of the western or northern
tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sage-
brush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dom-
inated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood.
The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-
Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically
on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and
136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are
fairly common throughout the area, although jack
rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game
were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 1947] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; ġ, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p. 361 (A)]

648 622 148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 103 551 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

131 101 151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

648 **N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military**
721 **clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm**
Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it
was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes
[726] **with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into**
the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such
conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid.,
Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver,
W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid
"retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T.,
Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm
Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

579 **Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes**
726 **changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for**
648 **that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had**
"one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 **152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.**

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 **Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington,**
648 **states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive**
177 **at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and**
some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

011 Lastly, it is with pleasure that I acknowledge the extremely large obligation due my wife, Susan Park. Her advice, assistance, and encouragement both in the field and in the preparation and revision that culminated in the present study have been invaluable to me. Her unpublished field notes on the Atsugewi and Cahuilla have also filled in a number of gaps in the literature. In all, her contribution to the finished work has been great indeed.

126
104 The phonetic symbols used in the recording of Paviotso terms follow the simpler system of the *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916).

W. Z. P.

000 E. W. Gifford, late Director Emeritus of the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for their generous support of this project.

114 A linguistic analysis of Honey Lake Paiute was not attempted, being outside the scope of the project. For a discussion of Paiute linguistics see Lamb, 1958. The orthography used in this report is as follows:

104
a, e, i, o, and u have their continental values
eh, ih, and uh are the short forms of the vowels
ö, ü - imperfect umlaut
' elevated is the glottal stop
All elevated letters are whispered
All other consonants are pronounced as in English
/ indicates the accent

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern /22
Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of
1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of
California and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used interchangeably /01
in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all statements
apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the
Gidū'tikad^{e}, or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band [161]
are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, headquarters
for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] /22
to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained /01
from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes,
Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty.

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained 174
is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little 105
of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are
gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods
have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be
seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried
in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole
reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing
to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information.
Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourishing.
At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the 105
older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to 124
the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very

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[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

105 marked reluctance with which informants discuss religious topics.
124 There is yet much to be obtained concerning beliefs and practices, but it will be a difficult matter to overcome the native reserve.

114 Comparatively little has been published on the Northern Paiute. Curtis has some material on the Nevada Paviotso as has Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. A twenty-page paper by de Angulo and Freeland, partly linguistic, concerns the Fort Bidwell Paiute but is avowedly incomplete. For comparative material I have drawn on Lowie's Northern Shoshone and Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. It is scarcely necessary to mention the very obvious debt to Spier's Havasupai Ethnography; and I am further indebted to Dr. Spier for the use of his Klamath material, still in manuscript form.[8] Dr. Kroeber has very kindly allowed access to the unpublished Walapai data which embody the results of the 1929 summer field course of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

122 Acknowledgment should be made to the residents of Fort Bidwell, who were uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but especially to Mr. Henry Kober and to Mrs. Chester Lowell, who with great kindness allowed specimens from their private collections to be brought to Berkeley for photographing; to Mr. L. Shotwell, of the local Indian school, for material assistance in procuring informants; and to Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Schmitz, of Beatty, Oregon, for extraordinary kindness in providing housing and in obtaining informants. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, for the examination of native tobacco specimens; to Mr. Morris Halperin, University Farm, Davis, for classification of several grasses; and to Mr. John Thomas Howell, of the California Academy of Sciences, for all other plant identifications and for incidental botanical information. Thanks are also due Professor E. O. Essig, of the University of California, for identification of insects and for use of manuscript material; and Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, of Lakeview, for data concerning the geography of southern Oregon.

115 A list of informants is given below. Initials following the names indicate the key by which statements will be identified with certain informants. This has been done when evidence is conflicting, or of particular importance, or derived from a single individual. Statements in which the interpreter plays more than his part are jointly attributed. The ages given below are no more than crude approximations.

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[8] Since published in volume 30, this series.

501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

Résumé.

105 191 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit even fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.)[1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

General Impression.

197 193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

Phonology.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

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[1] See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
181 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chew-
[223] aucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
? range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p. 212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol. 1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew, Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., 1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

● 50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is sup-
posed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the off-
114 ing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

MATERIAL CULTURE

THE material culture of the Harney Valley Paiute is similar to that of the Surprise 105 Valley Paiute. In the following description emphasis has been placed on those artifacts which are different either in manufacture or use to those described by Isabel Kelly (University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Volume 31, No. 3), pp. 67-210.

HOUSES

1. Tule Mat House. Most usual type of winter house in the memory of old informants. 342

Frame. Four willow, poplar or young pine poles about 15-20 feet long were lashed together with a deer-skin thong or sagebrush twine. The poles varied in the amount that they extended beyond the lashing but probably averaged about one foot. They were spread out in a circle about ten to twelve feet in diameter and sunk in the ground about four to six inches. The two main poles at the front were close together and formed the door. Additional poles, usually eight, were leaned between the main poles—two in each space, and sunk about two inches in the ground. Two horizontal willows were lashed around the outside of the poles (one informant claimed they were lashed on the inside), one about four feet from the ground and the other about eight feet. It usually took two willows to extend around the circumference. (One informant stated three rows of horizontal willows were used.) The men cut the poles and the women helped drag them to the camp site.

Covering. The frame was covered with tule mats. The mats were about five feet 285 high and varied from four to six feet in length. Four or five sections went around the 342 base. The mats were made by sewing the tule together with a rye grass or sagebrush bark thread and a willow, greasewood or thorn bush needle. A willow stick was attached at each end of the mat; a hole was made in the top of one willow and the thread was knotted, and then the mats were sewn across back and forth about every six inches, and the thread looped around the willows at each side. At the bottom, the tule was bent under and held in place by two rows of twining. (Some informants stated there were also two rows of twining at the top.) The mats were attached at each end to one of the poles and tied to the horizontal willows about a foot from the top in order to make an overlap of three to eight inches. The sections of mats were connected by tying the end willows together. The top mat was not lashed to the frame but to two additional poles, consequently it was adjustable and the smoke hole could be completely closed. One informant stated that this was a relatively recent innovation and that in the old days the smoke hole was not adjustable. Extra layers of mats were sometimes added in cold weather. The

[p. 92 is blank]

648 Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

● 105 The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent [177] introduction of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

[182] A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

115 A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white N
culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the 177
Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. 178
It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as 619
Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from 621
aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance
of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets N
(Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tend- 177
ency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The
first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they in- 62
troduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the ac- 554
ceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the
peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in
postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, W
however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communi- 177
cation with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particu- 554
lar status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to 622
believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo
tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt
to introduce new ideas through such men.

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among W
the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although 177
there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to 178
deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock
mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

Summary and Conclusions

N
This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and W
post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time 105 ●
of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 106 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected, by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. W [106] Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the N W
Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo 105 ●
women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bed- 177
rock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to 178
have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful parapher- W
nalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does [186]
not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day- [668]
labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or [464]
ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute
have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south N 105
and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common eco-
logical adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The 177
withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off 182
intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus,
when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white live-
stock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a
modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock,
and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to
treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reser-
vations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and en-
couraged political development but also provided land for farming.

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo W
range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big 105
animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was
simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify 177
the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, 182
Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed.
The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands
changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

[3] This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stockraising and farming but most Washo do not.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W ● 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 W [122] 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

000 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

111 NR13 Northern Paiute

1: Kelly, Isabel T. Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 67-210, plates 17-22. Berkeley, 1934.

Yale: C52. 07. 31

[This general ethnographic report is based upon field work among the Northern Paiute or Paviotso of Northeastern California. It concentrates attention upon aspects of material culture, and is particularly informative as regards basketry techniques, hunting, and games. Ten text figures illustrate basketry techniques in detail. --Analyst]

Field date: 1930
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954

2: Lowie, Robert Harry. Notes on Shoshonean ethnography. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, 20, pt. 2. New York, American Museum Press, 1924.

1, 185-314 p.; 36 text figures.

Yale: Nk10 Am45e. v. 20.

[Lowie visited the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute (Southern Paiute), the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Fallon and Lovelock, Nevada, the Ute of Navaho Springs, Ignacio, Colorado and Whiterocks, Utah, and the Wind River Shoshoni of Wyoming, and the information he gathered is presented in this collection of notes. He was probably in the field with these groups in 1906 and in 1912-1916. The information is scattered and incomplete, and only the sections pertinent to the Paviotso or Northern Paiute have been categorized for inclusion in this file. There are a number of excellent photographs, particularly of houses and baskets.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954, 1975

3: Angulo, Jaime de and L.S. Freeland. Notes on the Northern Paiute of California. Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris, Nouvelle Serie, Vol. 21, pp. 313-335. Paris: Societe des Americanistes de Paris, 1929.

Yale: C51 ≠ So13 II 21-22

[This article consists of a short sketch of Northern Paiute ethnography and a more lengthy discussion of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. Two sample texts are included. The material was gathered during a short stay at Fort Bidwell in northeastern California--Analyst]

Field date: 1926
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Physician, physical anthropologist-5
Processed in 1962

4: Stewart, Omer C. Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. Anthropological Records, University of California, Vol. 4, No. 3. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941.

Yale: Nk10 C34 vol. 4.

[This volume which is one of the many University of California culture element distribution studies for western North America, presents detailed data on the presence or absence of over 2700 culture elements among twelve bands of the Northern Paiute. Information on the neighboring Washo and Achomawi are also included for comparative purposes. The data in this volume is best for material culture and economic life whereas it is somewhat weak in regards to religion and social organization. Many pages of excellent notes supplement the culture element lists.--Analyst]

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

5: Park, Willard Z. Paviotso Shamanism. American Anthropologist. Vol. 36, pp. 98-113. Menasha, Wisconsin: The American Anthropological Association, 1934.

Yale Nk10 Am37 II.36

[In this paper the author discusses shamanism as found among the Paviotso at the time of contact and at the ethnographic present (1933). The main topics discussed are the acquisition of spirit power, shamanistic curing, magical powers of shamans such as weather control and the accusations of sorcery directed against shamans. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

6: Wheeler-Voegelin, Ermine. The Northern Paiute of Central Oregon: A Chapter in Treaty Making. Ethnohistory. Vol. 2, pp. 95-132, 241-272; Vol. 3, pp. 1-10. Bloomington, Indiana: The Ohio Valley Historic Indian Conference. 1955-1956.

Yale: C61 26 1,2,3

[In this article the author seeks to determine the identity of two so-called Northern Paiute bands in Central Oregon. Through a careful search of early documents and other archival materials she discovered that previous to 1864 the name Yahuskin was applied to a band of Northern Paiute. After this date for some unknown reason it came to be applied to a band of Klamath although most research workers and government officials still thought that the Yahuskin were a Northern Paiute band. This is followed by a history of the efforts of the U.S Indian Service and Army to remove various bands of Northern Paiute to the Klamath Indian Reservation. In the final section the author criticizes anthropologists who have attempted to reconstruct and describe the American Indian cultures in an "ethnographic present."--Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1962

7: Whiting, Beatrice Blyth. Paiute Sorcery. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number 15. New York: The Viking Fund Inc. 1950.

Columbia University. 302.06 V.69 No. 15

[In this monograph the author describes the mechanisms of social control used in regulating interpersonal relationships within the family and band of the Northern Paiute. Her attention is primarily focused upon sorcery (including the fear of sorcery and the fear of sorcery accusations), shamanistic curing and native theories of sickness. In the final chapter she has compared the conclusions derived from this study with those derived from a cross-cultural study of sorcery in fifty other societies in the world. An appendix of supplementary ethnographic notes has been added--Analyst]

Field date: 1936-1938
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

8: Park, Willard Z. Paviotso Polyandry. American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 39, pp. 366–368. Menasha, Wisconsin: The American Anthropological Association, 1937.

Yale: Nk10. Am37. II. 39.

[This short paper is a reply to an earlier paper by Julian Steward who claimed that polyandry was absent among the Northern Paiute. The author of this paper, basing his information on field data gathered in northern Nevada, presents known case histories and general information on the occurrence of polyandry among the Northern Paiute--Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1935
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

9: Stewart, Omer C. Northern Paiute Polyandry. American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 39, pp. 368-369. Menasha, Wisconsin: The American Anthropological Association, 1937.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 39

[This short paper is a reply to Julian Steward's contention that polyandry was absent among the Northern Paiute. The author of this source noted that though polyandry was infrequent it did and still does occur among the Northern Paiute of Northern Nevada and Eastern Oregon. His evidence is based upon his field notes from the area. --Analyst]

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

111 NR13 Northern Paiute

10:Wheat, Margaret M. Notes on Paviotso Material Culture, Number 1. Nevada State Museum, Anthropological Papers, No. 1 Carson City, Nevada, October, 1959.

Pp. 7; 9 end plates

Columbia University: 302.9774 N412 No. 1

[In this source the author, a professional anthropologist at the Nevada State Museum, describes the making of a tule balsa boat and a cattail house, from the gathering of the basic raw materials to the finished product. Her descriptions are further illustrated by many photographs taken during the various stages of construction. The boat and house were both made for the author's benefit by present day Paviotsos living near Stillwater, Nevada. --Analyst]

Field date: 1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

11: Park, Willard Z. Shamanism in Western North America, Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 2, pp. i-viii, 1-71. Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University, 1938.

Pp. viii, 166; preface; introduction; bibliography; tribal index

Yale: C54 .600

[This source, written by a professional anthropologist, presents an exhaustive study of Paviotso Shamans and Shamanism, collected by the author during three summers of ethnographic field investigations in 1933-1935.

The following aspects of Shamanism and related phenomena are discussed in this work: source of Shamanistic power, acquiring Shamanistic power, loss of power, paraphernalia, cause of disease, Shamanistic doctoring, weather-control and clairvoyance, Antelope Shamans, and the position of the Shaman in the Paviotso social order.

Pages 72-166 of this source have not been processed for this file because they deal with the Shamanistic complex among other tribal groups of Western

111

NR13 Northern Paiute--2

11: Park, Willard Z.

North America.--Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1935
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

12:Heizer, Robert F. Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture. The Nevada State Museum, Anthropological Papers, No. 2. Carson City, Nevada, January, 1960.

Pp. ii, 16; 9 end plates

Columbia University: 302.9774 N412 No.2

[This source consists in its entirety of a series of nine photographic plates, with explanatory texts for each plate. The Paviotso personalities discussed in this paper are those of Chief Winnemucca and his daughter Sarah. The remainder of the source is devoted to a study of Northern Paiute house-type construction, and Kutsavi gathering. An appendix to this article gives additional information on Paviotso chieftainship. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1962

13: Loud, Llewellyn L. Notes on the Northern Paiute. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 25, pp. 152-164. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931.

Yale: CE51 C32 25.

/This brief article contains information on Northern Paiute bands, hunting, fishing and gathering activities, the many uses of native plants in the economy, basketry, and several examples of Northern Paiute mythology. The author also mentions Northern Paiute traditions regarding the existence of a now extinct people living in the area prior to their occupancy, which coincides in many cases with present day archaeological knowledge of the region, and its ancient inhabitants.

Much of the data provided in this source comes from the information given to the author by Gilbert Natches, a native informant./

Field date: 1914
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Unknown-5
Processed in 1965-1969

14: Stewart, Omar Call. Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism. California, University, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 40, pp. vi, 63-136. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944.

4 appendices (containing 9 tables); 2 maps; bibliography.

Yale: CE51 C32 40.

/The author's first field experience with Washo-Northern Paiute peyotism came in the summer of 1938, when he, at the invitation of Dr. S. F. Cook, joined the latter on a series of interviews on the topic of peyote with various Indians in communities stretching from Reno to Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. Eventually the author was able to attend an actual peyote meeting held at Mono Lake, conducted by Sam Dick, one of the first converts of Ben Lancaster, the proselyter of the Peyote cult among the Washo-Northern Paiute people. As the result of this work the author was given a grant from the University of California for a further study over a five week period. The data collected from the above field work comprise the contents of this monograph.

In general coverage the author discusses the peyote plant itself, its spread among various Indian tribes, the ideology of peyotism, and the peyote ceremony. Additional data, more pertinent to this file, is provided on the history of Washo-Northern Paiute peyotism, first contacts with the cult, its introduction by Ben Lancaster, and its effects upon the society as a whole. A further discussion of two theories

14: Stewart, Omar Call.

of cultural diffusion is presented to explain the acceptance of the peyote cult by the Washo-Northern Paiute, the first being the theory of cultural compatibility and the second, the theory of cultural disintegration. Four appendices add additional information on details of Washo-Northern Paiute ritual; a peyote element distribution list; statistical data on the composition of the peyote cult; and peyotists and their relatives. Sub-heads have been added for relevant information pertaining to tribal groups outside the Washo-Northern Paiute area. Copies of certain pages with numerous categories and subgroups have been paginated as indicated below:

103 103A
104 104A
105 105A
106 106A 106B
107 107A 107B
108 108A
109 109A
110 110A 110B
111 111A 111B
112 112A 112B
113 113A 113B
114 114A
115 115A 115B
116 116A
117 117A 117B
118 118A 118B
119 119A 119B
120 120A 120B
121 121A 121B
122 122A
123 123A

The end plates with their explanatory pages have been repaginated as pp. 137-141 inclusive./

Field date: 1936-1938
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethologist-5
Processed in 1965-1968

15: Riddell, Francis A. Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography. Nevada State Museum, Anthropological Papers, No. 4. Carson City, Nevada, 1960.

Pp. vi, 92; frontispiece; 5 plates; 2 maps (1 in text, 1 end map); appendix; bibliography.

Smithsonian Institution: 572.0673 N499 Anthr.

[This source provides a generalized sketch of the ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute or Wadátkuht people, who are located in Lassen County, northeastern California. Data presented in the source pertain to: topography, culture history, tribal boundaries and population, camp and village names, subsistence economy, material culture, certain aspects of the life of the Wadátkuht individual (e.g., birth, child care, punishment, puberty ceremonies, etc.), religious and social life, games and gambling and mythology. Little information is given on social organization or kinship. All or nearly all of the ethnographic information presented in this source has been obtained from native informants, and in particular one Ike Northrup. As stated in the preface the author's original intention in his field work was to prepare a chart of the territory as an aid in archaeological investigations, but in so doing he became acquainted with the people and developed an interest in other aspects of their society, the data which he collected appearing here.]

Field date: ca. 1948-1954
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1968

Hopkins, Sarah Winnemucca. Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann. Boston: For Sale by Cupples, Upham & Co., 1883.

Pp. 268; appendix

Yale: C63 95

/This source, by a native Paiute woman who preached the cause of her tribe through the United States following the Bannock War, is a very personal record of her life as a native and the encounter of her tribe with Western culture as exemplified by the U. S. Military. Although there is a good deal of incidental ethnographic material in the book, most, if not all, of it may be found in other sources processed for the NR13 Northern Paiute file. -- Analyst/

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●NR13 Northern Paiute
NS29 Yokuts

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Yale: C52 07 47: 3

/This source is an evaluation of ethnic spreads within recent times, based principally on the literature. Yokuts and Northern Paiute are two of the groups considered. Since the material is secondary and interpretative, this source has not been processed. -- Analyst/

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Abbreviations:

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AA	American Anthropologist.
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers.
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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Notes

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1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Modoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

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2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognized or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

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At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

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3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

N 114 101

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

N 101 128

5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

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6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

K 101 114 131

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However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnographies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology. 114 121

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Caucasions. This stage of interracial contact which created the milieu of Indian groups under 622 pressure and who needed a strong leader, and of Caucasians who had to handle the "Indian problem" 648 by negotiation rather than by force if possible, is what may have led to the emergence of Old Winnemucca as a strong chief. The record is clear that he had much more prestige, support, and authority among the Paviotso in the 1860–1870 decade than in the 1880's when the Paviotso tribe no longer could be considered a "problem" (i.e., after the Indians had been "reduced" in the Pyramid Lake war).

After Winnemucca, although his name is today remembered and honored among the Paviotso, his son and successor, Natches, was much less important as a chief *because a strong chief was no longer required by the whites.*

The lineal descent of the chief's position survives today, but a man whose father and grand- 622 father were chiefs, and who today claims that title, may be laughed at for his pretensions by most of the Indians he claims to represent. That this is true of the Washoe tribe is probable, and in my own experience of thirty years ago, I recall that Skinny Dave at the Lovelock Indian Colony was the self-styled chief who was laughed at for this by most of his fellow tribesmen. His claim to the office was correct since his grandfather was Captain Dave, who was married to a daughter of Old Winnemucca—what made it different was that in 1930 Indian chiefs were no longer either needed or in vogue. Sarah Winnemucca (1882) says of this: "I will now speak [428] of the chief. His rank is inherited from father to son, the oldest being the chief by law. If he is dead, the one next to him became chief, or, if there are no sons, the next male relative; but never a woman."

For some reason which I do not understand, this subject has been practically ignored by ethnologists. Before Indian memories become too dim to provide accurate testimony, some student should make detailed inquiries into the matter of Paviotso chieftainship and combine these data with the rich documentary record to produce what is a much-needed study.

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APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131 The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 162 [161] 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[98a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

621 [114] [101] The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[99] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

621 101 131 sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsai'i.

● [113]

[98a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[99] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Oseaga, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tonoyiet, Toempe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukeo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Poatsituktikwieh.

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[11] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

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[113] [11] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[43]

1. awago.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus or Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. hu-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. kow-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agai.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

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[113] [43] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31-86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua's. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[44] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahaps, bog-rush, *Juncus*. Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wip.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris*. Gosiute saap, saip. [262]

sawipi, sEwapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata*. Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[44] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:331–405, 1911. [113]

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Abbreviations:

A	Anthropos
AA	American Anthropologist
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH-B	Bulletins
AMNH-M	Memoirs
ASS-P	American Sociological Society, Publications
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins
BAE-R	(Annual) Reports
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology
DU-CE	Denver University, Contributions to Ethnography
ESS	Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences
HU-BML	Harvard University, Botanical Museum Leaflets
GSA	General Series in Anthropology
I-A	Ibero-Americana
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
JH	Journal of Heredity
JRP	Journal of Religious Psychology
NSHS	Nebraska State Historical Society
NU-SSS	Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences
PMM-B	Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin
RMIA	Revista Mexicana de Ingenieria y Arquitectura
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records
UC-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology
YU-PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology

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105 marked reluctance with which informants discuss religious topics.
124 There is yet much to be obtained concerning beliefs and practices, but it will be a difficult matter to overcome the native reserve.

114 Comparatively little has been published on the Northern Paiute. Curtis has some material on the Nevada Paviotso as has Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. A twenty-page paper by de Angulo and Freeland, partly linguistic, concerns the Fort Bidwell Paiute but is avowedly incomplete. For comparative material I have drawn on Lowie's Northern Shoshone and Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. It is scarcely necessary to mention the very obvious debt to Spier's Havasupai Ethnography; and I am further indebted to Dr. Spier for the use of his Klamath material, still in manuscript form.[3] Dr. Kroeber has very kindly allowed access to the unpublished Walapai data which embody the results of the 1929 summer field course of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

122 Acknowledgment should be made to the residents of Fort Bidwell, who were uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but especially to Mr. Henry Kober and to Mrs. Chester Lowell, who with great kindness allowed specimens from their private collections to be brought to Berkeley for photographing; to Mr. L. Shotwell, of the local Indian school, for material assistance in procuring informants; and to Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Schmitz, of Beatty, Oregon, for extraordinary kindness in providing housing and in obtaining informants. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, for the examination of native tobacco specimens; to Mr. Morris Halperin, University Farm, Davis, for classification of several grasses; and to Mr. John Thomas Howell, of the California Academy of Sciences, for all other plant identifications and for incidental botanical information. Thanks are also due Professor E. O. Essig, of the University of California, for identification of insects and for use of manuscript material; and Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, of Lakeview, for data concerning the geography of southern Oregon.

115 A list of informants is given below. Initials following the names indicate the key by which statements will be identified with certain informants. This has been done when evidence is conflicting, or of particular importance, or derived from a single individual. Statements in which the interpreter plays more than his part are jointly attributed. The ages given below are no more than crude approximations.

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[3] Since published in volume 30, this series.

yáitsin, yáatsin, son's wife; husband's parent, husband's brother or sister, brother's wife (m. sp., w. sp.), husband's sibling's spouse 000
yayitsin, collective name for all of husband's relatives
tatáwarin, wife's brother or sister, wife's parent, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.), daughter's husband, mother's sister's husband
tatáwariun, collective for wife's relatives

My Southern Ute material differs from Sapir's for the Northern Ute mainly in two respects. In the case of a single stem to designate two relatives of different generation my informants did not distinguish the junior member of the couple by a diminutive suffix but employed the diminutive form indifferently. Secondly, my two comprehensive terms of affinity are differently defined by Sapir.—*yaitcin*ⁱ as spouse's parent, son's wife; *tantauarin*ⁱ as wife's brother, sister's husband, m. sp. Among the Northern Ute I myself obtained the following renderings:—

yáᵃtsin, son's wife, brother's wife (m. sp.), husband's sibling, spouse's mother, mother's brother's wife;
tantáᵃwin, father-in-law, father's sister's husband, brother-in-law, daughter's husband.

From the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Lovelocks, and Fallon the following list was secured, which tallies fairly well with that obtained by Kroeber from a Pyramid Lake informant[1]: 601 [114]

inó·a[2], father
pía, mother
dúa, son
bódö, pároʼ, daughter
báBi'ⁱ, elder brother, male cousin[3]
baŋá'ᵃ, younger brother, male cousin
amá', elder sister, female cousin
bóni'ⁱ, younger sister, female cousin
haí', hé'ⁱ, father's brother, stepfather, mother's sister's husband
pa'wá, father's sister
átsˑⁱ átsiˑ, mother's brother, mother's cousin
pirú'ᵘ, mother's sister, stepmother
húza, hᵘja, brother's child (m. sp.), stepchild, wife's sister's child (m. sp.)
imidó', my sibling's child (w. sp.)
inanák·ᵘᵘ, my sister's child (m. sp.)
qōnu'ᵘ, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)
hutsi'ⁱ, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
iroγó', my mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)
imu'á, my mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)

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[1] Kroeber, (b), 230 seq.

[2] The initial *i* is probably the first person pronoun, as it certainly is in such combinations as *ídua, ibóni'ⁱi*, etc.

[3] No distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins.

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By JAIME DE ANGULO AND L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort 114
Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number
of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are [101]
congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray
who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in
that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all [102]
possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in
touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of [115]
their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During
the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged
around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George 115
Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on
the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he
was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible
for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very
valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit [121]
my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the
point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the
Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion
of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more
and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior 114
Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a 191

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[1] I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

[2] For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

114 typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of
171 California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the
influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they
have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the
place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain
why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite
[121] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue impor-
tance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the
spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value howere, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with whom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

101 The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the
[131] east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.
133 This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them
and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid*. Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid*. Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

Contrary
262 to what might be expected in such a desert region,
fish and waterfowl were an extremely important
dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless,
because of the inhospitable environment the available
food was so often inadequate that the Indians
learned to eat nearly everything which could support
221 life. Seasonal migrations in search of food
took Indians of nearly every band into the areas
recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

●114 In the two and a half months available for
this study[*] it was impossible to visit all the
bands still represented by living Indians. Of
the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute
bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element
lists were obtained from eleven.

124 Since it was impossible to follow the conventional
methods of gathering ethnographic data,
that is, by indirect questions which force informants
to take the initiative in all descriptions,
some mention of the methods employed
should be made here. At the start of the inquiry
of each complex, such as deer hunting or house
building, a general question would be posed and
the informant was allowed to offer what information
he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary
to ask about particular details, or to inquire
whether something were done this way or
that. With the first informant Northern Paiute
names for various items and concepts were recorded;
subsequently, with the remaining Indians,
124 the native name was used in questioning. To supplement
115 the name, descriptions and pantomimes
were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance
was obtained from several hundred photographs
of material culture and a number of actual
specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games,
and the like. Informants usually identified
known types of material illustrated; consequently,
blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage.
The Indians seemed to appreciate
seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested
particular delight upon seeing representations
of their own types. Thus the pictures
had the double value of establishing friendly
relations between the investigator and the Indians
and provided a means of exact identification
of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

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[*] June 5-August 15, 1936.

[P.361(B)]

124 115 [121] one informant in order to get information about certain aspects of culture. When one informant supplied the data or when several agreed, no indication is made in the list. An asterisk beside the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 114 While arranging the list for publication, I consulted the available literature dealing with Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 131 1, Ts,[7] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers," occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[7] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

127 scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check
114 on information which could not be checked sufficiently
in the field, and as a guide to illustrations.
Of special value is the comparison of
this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent
monograph. Most of my data corroborate
Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection
with traits for which she received conflicting
128 accounts. Where published information
refers to a single band, the abbreviation for
that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a.
Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported
the presence among the Kidü-dökadö of trait number
2721a.

131 Since the Northern Paiute area extends far
101 beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso
by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute
of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui,
and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from
Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California,
now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian
Service officials and other white people in the
area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined
myself to the term Northern Paiute rather
than Paviotso. When, however, references cited
indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I
have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes
section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115 Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony.
Each morning I worked with ND as long as my
throat would stand the required shouting, and
each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as
interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was
a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian
ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a
jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from
1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony
seemed willing or able to give much information,
although I attempted to talk with several, including
Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie
Hinckley.

101 2, Kl, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters,"
131 lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and
Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their
original territory is now included in Pyramid
Lake Reservation, administrative center for which
is Nixon, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna
(DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain
during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget
from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a
Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school
there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-
1889, at the government school at Grand Junction,
Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he
has had many positions with Reservation administrators
and in 1936 had a contract to transport
the mail to and from the railroad. When visited
he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and
hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

Birds Eaten or Used

262 825 [114] 299. Ts: The bird list was obtained by showing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and recording the Paiute names for birds he recognized. Both English and Paiute names were used in questioning subsequent informants. "Red Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (1931, Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax simuatis.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

222 337. Tö: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piüga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262 825 ●114 222 338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with saying "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred in Walker lake, ... Pyramid lake, and Soda lake, near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food," as well as at Mono Lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Küpa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these Lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. Kl: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). To: Some oldtimers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

[p.426 (B)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
262
825
114
222

kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DV said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

W
[222
825]

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A
[222
251]

356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A
[262]

360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W
[262]

362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

365, 368. Wd: - (SC).

W
[262]

367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N
796
262

369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[p.427(A)]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 323 N [114] 1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N 354 482 1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [354 482] 1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 756]

MUTILATIONS

N 304 1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Ku: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GW). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304] 1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(A)]

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755

> There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had 683
> made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

> When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

756 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of
114 the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2]
787 Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturi-
[191] ty, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary
755 in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only
171 mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corrobo-
787 rated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

756 The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is
[755] confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in
[224] detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used
[778] in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that
[191] employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*.; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Sum- 101
mer-Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region 648
is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to
them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin
of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small 101
Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, 131
but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline 648
position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Up-
per Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin
Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Wal-
papi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Bas-
in Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central
Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaiha (vars., Paulina, Pahnine,
Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader.
The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending
from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., al-
though this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reserva-
tion Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a
hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were re-
moved from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the
Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation;
their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the
Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in 101
Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, re- 114
garding the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians 648
stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the North-
ern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part
of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negoti-
ated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to
meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinter-
pretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material
relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the will-
ingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid
aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

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101 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe 114 Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern 648 Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

648 2. 1. *The Treaty Yahooskins.* First specific mention of the Yahuskin, as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades 131 to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance be- 648 low the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

648 In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....,"[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[36] Anglicized as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

648 Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the October, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

114 101 131 The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

101 131 It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

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fusion.[181] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[182] K N 161

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[183] N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[184] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[185] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[186] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 114●

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

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At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

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3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

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4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

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5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

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6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

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to the fact that he did not visit Sprague River (ibid., p. 13). His statements on possible aboriginal Klamath settlements on Sprague River are uncertain; he locates, but does not map, hicdiclucluke as a Klamath settlement on middle Sprague River "west of Gearhart mountain" (idem, also p. 16 and fig. 3), and also says that "...there were settlements of some sort on the [Sprague] river near Yainax before the coming of the Whites" (ibid., pp. 14-15) — yet elsewhere he states "...I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague River as Yainax in pre-Reservation times" (ibid., p. 23).

Philleo Nash, whose ethnographic field work among the Klamath post-dates Spier's, recognized the existence of an aboriginal upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group, largely on the examination of Klamath Agency unpublished letters and reports. Nash, however, does not document the existence of this group in his single publication on the Klamath, nor does he describe the group in any detail (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1 and pp. 386, 403).

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7. Panaiña is Gatschet's transcription of the Klamath name for this war leader (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 29); no Northern Paiute transcription is known to me. Paulina is the spelling generally used for the several geographic features in Oregon named for this leader (McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, pp. 410-411).

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8. No Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs or representatives thereof actually visited the various groups of Northern Paiutes of south-central Oregon until late in 1868, when J. W. Perit Huntingon made his long-delayed trip from Salem, Ore., via Warm Springs and Klamath agencies to Yainax and camps Warner and Harney, etc. (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868).

Fifteen years earlier, in June, 1853, Joel Palmer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, had sent Indian Agent Joseph W. Garrison, with presents of trade goods, on a special mission to interview and collect information about the Indians of "Middle Oregon" (RCIA 1853 [CDS #690] pp. 447-448, 451-452; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-112. Palmer to Garrison, Dayton, O. T., June 22, 1853). This expedition was a failure; Garrison returned home in eighteen days, having been told the Cascades were impassible because of heavy snow (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-122. Palmer to Manypenny, Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Aug. 4, 1853). A year later, in 1854, Superintendent Palmer appointed one Nathan Olney of Dalles, Ore., as Special Indian Agent for central Oregon (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dallas, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854) and in 1855 ordered Olney to visit the Indians of central Oregon east of Klamath Lake and to make a full report on them, since "no agent of the

Government for these Indians has ever visited [them]" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Olney, Feb. 19, 1855 [enclosure with April 16, 1855 letter]). Olney apparently considered central Oregon too dangerous to venture into without military protection, and failed to carry out Palmer's instructions (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dalles, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "D," Neil McArthur et al, Salmon River, O. T., Dec. 23, 1854; NA. WDC. DP. 1-5-1855, Palmer to Bonneville, Dayton, O. T., Feb. 20, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letter Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Manypenny, Dayton, O. T., April 18, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-493. Olney to Palmer, Fort Boise, Aug. 31, 1855). There is also a hint, in Palmer's unpublished correspondence, that Olney expressed anti-Indian sentiments unbecoming to an Indian agent at The Dalles in 1854 and that Palmer became disillusioned with him as an envoy to the Indians (Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Manypenny). In 1856 A. F. Hedges succeeded Palmer as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, and for various reasons exploration of south-central Oregon by Indian Office personnel was delayed until 1868. No adequate mapping of the area existed as late as 1867 (Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign). 114 648

9. See especially sections 2. 2 and 3. 2 for examples of such manipulation.

10. Primary published source material heretofore overlooked includes Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew's official report of his Owyhee reconnaissance trip of 1864 which, although rare, has never been unobtainable; two Senate documents, Klamath Boundary Commission, published in 1897, and Protection Afforded by Volunteers of Oregon and Washington, relating to affairs in south-central Oregon in 1854; and Pacific Coast Army reports and correspondence for the years 1861-1865, published in War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, vol. 50, pts. 1 and 2. Drew's Official Report is reproduced in full in the Documents department of this number of ETHNOHISTORY. 114

Much valuable information is also to be found in two fugitive, but published sources: 1) Publication No. E-344, United States Court of Claims, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. The United States. Evidence for Plaintiff, and 2) Indian Claims Commission, Northern Paiute No. 87R, Statements, 1951 (referred to in this paper as the Reno Transcript). A microfilm of the Court of Claims publication is now in the Ellison Collection of Indiana University Library; the Reno Transcript should also be microfilmed, since it is fugitive and contains a wealth of data on Northern Paiute basic subsistence activities, obtained from a score or so of Northern Paiute informants.

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Two other valuable and fugitive documents, both Mss, are two letterbooks of official letters received, 1869-1872, and letters sent, 1870-1877, from Klamath Agency and Yainax Station; these are now on deposit at Klamath Agency. Nash seems to have been the only ethnologist writing on the Klamath who had consulted these letterbooks prior to 1952 (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1).

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11. See fn. 5. The Indians gathered first at Kowasti, on Agency Lake, but after a few days removed to Council Grove, nearer Ft. Klamath (see fn. 18, below).

12. Huntington was the chief negotiator. He had been instructed to arrange with Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California A. E. Wylie who, since the Modoc lived partly in California, was to serve as the second commissioner, but Wylie was unable to attend. Huntington therefore appointed Warm Springs Indian Agent William Logan, of the Oregon Superintendency, to serve (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270; see also RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 256-259, and NA. NIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H" pp. 743-745, Huntington to Maltby, Salem, Ore., Oct. 28, 1865).

12a. For areas ceded and reserved see Royce, Indian Land Cessions, p. 834, and maps 8 and 51 (California 2, Oregon 1), areas No. 462, 463.

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13. According to plaintiff's Amended Petition in Docket No. 100 before the Indian Claims Commission the ceded area contained 13,700,000 acres, of which 1,650,000 acres were set apart for an Indian Reservation (Klamath Reservation). Since neither the Klamath nor Modoc groups had any settlements in the eastern half of the ceded area (Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region), ethnographers have taken for granted that this part of the total area was ceded on the authority of the twenty-two Yahooskin Snakes present at the treaty council — and then have further assumed that the Yahuskin were the aboriginal occupants of the 5,000 sq. mi. Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in aboriginal times (see Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and p. 131).

14. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864. Kelly's letter is dated Oct. 15, 1864.

15. RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 228-229, 256-259; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272; WR pt 2, pp. 991-992.

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16. A. G. Walling says that Lindsay Applegate was an interpreter at the Klamath-Modoc treaty (History of Oregon, p. 523); Huntington states that "Dr. W. C. McKay and Captain Lindsay Applegate...acted as counsellors and interpreters to the Indians" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272). No Klamath and Modoc witnesses in the Court of Claims and Boundary Commission hearings mentioned Applegate or McKay when asked who interpreted at the treaty-signing. Witnesses spoke of

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Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12.

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17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says:

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"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

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18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827).

19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

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20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged.

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
181 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
[223] Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan
in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

114 49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p. 212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol. 1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew, Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., 1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed
to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing,
114 immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342).

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51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129).

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52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

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53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381.

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

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55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431).

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[114]

Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 551 kaskit, appears fourth on the list of "Klamath chiefs and headmen" who
signed the 1864 treaty (Stats. L. vol. 16, p. 383). In 1896 Motcunka'skEt,
K then about 75-80 years old, testified at Bly, Ore., before the Klamath
648 Boundary Commission that he had been born at Bly and had lived there-
115 abouts all his life, that he had been "head chief of my tribe — the
[622] Sprague River Klamaths —" and had signed "the Huntington treaty" of
1864 (Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 16-18). O. E. Stearns, another witness before the Commission, also testified that in 1865, when he was a member of Company I, First Oregon Infantry, Fort Klamath, the garrison at the fort "always regarded MoghenKaskit and his band as a sort of guardian of the border. We depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes, and when the hostile Indians sent envoys to induce the Klamaths to join them in hostilities, Kaskit and his people held them until we sent for them and took them prisoners" (ibid., p. 19).

K In 1926 and 1931 Motcunka'skEt's two sons, Harrison and Dick
115 Brown, and three other Klamath, Drummer David, Brick Jim and Frank
622 Lynch, all of whom had been born and raised either at Bly or "in the
Bly district" and whose ages ranged between 60 and 80 years, testified that Motcunka'skEt had been "head chief of the Bly Klamaths" around the time of the treaty-signing (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 101, 113-114, 127-129, 145-147, 154-155, 163, 220, 825).

Spier mentions "Motcunka'skEt at Yainax" as one of the few chiefs whose names the Klamath remembered (Klamath Ethnography, p. 36).

56. See fn. 7, above.

N
114 57. Probably the same Capt. John E. Ross who fought against the
Modoc and Rogue River Indians in 1852 and 1853, and was a colonel, 9th Regular Oregon Militia, in the Oregon Indian War of 1855-1856 (Protection Afforded, pp. 39, 32).

58. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

K
101 59. Gatschet gives p'laikni as the name of "the Indians living along
131 the Sprague River, so called to distinguish them from the Indians living
at Upper Klamath Lake, (or its nearest vicinity) on the outlet of William-
114 son River" (Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 269). Elsewhere Gatschet erroneously identifies the P'laikni with a local division of the Modoc (ibid., pt. 1, pp. xxxiv, xxxv); this could only be true for the period after 1870, when a small group of Modoc were removed to Sprague River Valley (see fn. 52, above).

Stephen Powers' "Blyskinnes," which he gives as the name of one of the two Klamath groups, are the p'laikni (see fn. 37, above).

Court of Claims witnesses referred to the "Bly [p'lai] Klamaths" (see fns. 18, 55, above).

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band N [622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Go'y'atikad^{u}, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyatikad^{ü}, or Deer eaters."[249] Kelly obtained some folk tales and one N 115 historical narrative about Tchàktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-
648 pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. In-
622 deed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all
their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104
150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panaiʼna's name
103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panaiʼna's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Des-
101 chutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along
the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habita-
tions, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and o-
bliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

167. Drew, ibid., p. 5.

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343. 133

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord. 103

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. ~~1,~~ p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ai-ne, war chief of a band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864). 648 720

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panai'na's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144. [114] ●

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panai'na very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panai'na.

209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above.

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to McKay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account). [114]

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatchȧ́ktchaksh; see fn. 193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tcháktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatchȧ́ktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties. 114 648

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tcháktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below). 551 622 621

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tchåktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

● N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 3, Conclusions

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

4. Conclusions. In the introductory section of this study the specific results of ethnohistorical research on two so-called aboriginal Northern Paiute "bands" were briefly summarized. We do not propose, in the final section, to enlarge on these specific findings, but instead wish to discuss some of the broader implications that a detailed ethnohistorical study such as this one holds. 121

The majority of ethnological reports on North American Indian cultures that were written by American-trained ethnologists during the period 1910-1940 were couched in the "ethnographic present" (tense), and purported to describe the "aboriginal" cultures of various Indian groups. Yet few if any of the ethnologists who authored these reports had gone into the field to study a tribe, equipped with any except the most rudimentary knowledge of that tribe's early post-White contact background. Lacking command of this ethnohistorical data, it is small wonder that the monographs which these ethnologists produced, although written in the ethnographic present, are curiously divorced from reality. 114 121

By 1945 the possibility of doing "memory ethnographies" of so-called aboriginal North American Indian cultures was generally recognized as a thing of the past. Even ethnographers concerned with western North American Indian tribes perforcedly had to admit this. Interest among North American ethnologists then began to shift to Central and South American "primitive (?) peoples,"

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114 121 and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethno ogists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures —has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions abou North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in
114 121 177 the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs within the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

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had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's? 177 [114] ● [121] [648] 177 167

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes. 114 115 121

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules 114 177

114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area, 177 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun- [648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the direct influences operating on their mode of living and political organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley, beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make 114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of 121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general to a period coincident with the early years of the informants who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based. Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example, we note that the field work which this study is based on was done in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly' material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated i parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49, [621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictu of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times

However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnographies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology. 114 121

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ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are rem-
[177] nants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes.
Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and
Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers
and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far
as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the
Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not
[423 consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their
62] seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were
surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named
after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and
Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the
southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the
Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground
Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the
northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

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[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

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114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Zaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Taitnidi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

754 him, the safest thing to do may be to admit guilt, repent, and bathe so that the
[578] victim will recover. If a person is so terrified by the accusation that he flees from
the band or stays away from all the relatives of the sick person, his action is taken as proof of his guilt.

It will be remembered that a person who has bad power is believed to be able to make others sick by thinking evil thoughts about them. He may use his power intentionally or unintentionally. If he uses it intentionally he may do it in one of the following ways: he may think aggressive thoughts about the victim; he may tell his victim to expect sickness and death; he may throw his power into his victim by hitting him with a stick or stone; or he may put his power in his victim's food, either directly or by biting something which the victim is going to eat. Any one of these things may be done to one of the victim's relatives, rather than to the victim himself. It is believed that the latter procedure will hurt the intended victim even more than injuring him directly.

When a sorcerer is angry, he may unintentionally kill someone in one of the following ways: he may think bad thoughts about the individual without being aware of his thoughts; in a fit of temper, he may express aggressive wishes about an individual without the intention of injuring him; or he may dream bad dreams about an individual. In the latter case, the victim may have dreams in which the sorcerer's power appears.

[114] It is very hard for an ethnographer to get a list of the sorcerers in a community. It was seen in an earlier chapter that as many as seven per cent of the community were accused of sorcery at one time or another. An even larger percentage were rumored to be "mean thinkers." It is also hard to determine the attributes of such persons, but an analysis of actual cases will give a better understanding of these attributes.

Of the eight people accused of sorcery on whom I have adequate material, three were recognized by all informants as being sorcerers. There was no unanimity of opinion on the other five.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter have already been mentioned; the former in connection with the accidental death of his young son, and the death of Polly, the latter in connection with the death of Mr. M.

Mrs. Porter's mother, father, sister, and brother were all said to have been
mean, bad people who had power. Her father had beaver power. He wore beaver
[301] claws in his ears and it was said that when his power was working on someone, the
victim could feel the claws around his neck. I have no specific evidence as to what kind of power Mrs. Porter's mother had or how she used it, but she was evidently domineering and selfish as she prevented one of her daughters from marrying. Mrs. Porter's sister had power, and her brother had power in snakes and was blamed for several deaths. In short, all of Mrs. Porter's family were said to be bad and her husband had also come to be known as a sorcerer. There is no evidence that

8:Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
●114 the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
595 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished
171 field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and
Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.

584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
595

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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.

[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

NORTHERN PAIUTE POLYANDRY

●[114] In his article *Shoshoni Polyandry*,[1] Dr Julian H. Steward said, "It is reasonably
595 certain that it [polyandry] was not practiced by the Shoshoni of southern Nevada
nor by the adjoining Northern Paiute." During the summer of 1936, while making
a culture element survey of the Northern Paiute for the University of California,
101 I recorded the presence of polyandry among five of the eleven Northern Paiute
595 bands visited. The bands admitting polyandry are now located at Burns in Oregon;

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[3] Pages 563, 564.

[2] Page 562.

[4] Page 561.

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

[Pg. 368]

[P.6

When the two tule bundles were tied together and trimmed, Jimmie laid a bunch of cattails across the bow and with a twisted cattail rope tied it to the front of the boat. With more cattail rope he tied similar bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat, this time fastening them with knots instead of by twisting as he had done before. Another small bunch of cattails was laid across the stern of the boat and tied down. Finally the tips of the cattail bunches were tied to the boat along the sides. These bunches were tied along the sides of the boat to make a rim which was used to keep the harvest of duck eggs, ducks, mudhens, etc., from rolling off the boat. Wezzie said that cattails were used for the rim instead of tules because they are much stronger. Then Jimmie stepped into the center of the boat to make a deeper hollow. 396

The completed boat was eight and one-half feet long and so light that it could easily be lifted by one hand. Jimmie demonstrated how the boat was used in the water. It held his weight without trouble. He said that the boats were always poled and never paddled. Most of the time it was used as a raft to carry the game and the gun and was pushed ahead while the hunter waded. It was not pulled, he said. When the boat was taken from the water it was quite heavy from absorption and would have to be dried out before it could be used again. A boat would last for only one year. Only one person could ride on these rafts and they were used more to carry the waterfowl the hunter had bagged or the eggs which had been collected than for transporting people. Formerly each hunter made his own boat. 501

MAKING A CATTAIL HOUSE

The Nevada Artists Association requested the All American Unit of the A. W. V. S. to display an exhibit of Paiute Indian arts and crafts at the California Building in Reno, Nevada, on April 19 and 20, 1958. The exhibit included a cattail house. In the old days such houses were built near the source of the material and were, therefore, common in the valleys near marshy areas. On April 17, 1958, Jimmie and Wezzie George of Stillwater, Daisy Aster, Lily Shaw and Dora John of Wadsworth, Nevada, all Paviotsos, made the house at Wadsworth after which it was transported to Reno. Jimmie and Wezzie George and Daisy Aster had made cattail houses before. Lily Shaw had lived in one but had never seen one made, while Dora John had never seen one before, but had heard of them. 114 342

The material for the house, which had been gathered prior to building, consisted of eleven willow poles which were over ten feet long, many smaller willow sticks about five feet long, and a large quantity of dried cattails. Pieces of worn blue denim were available to be torn into strips for ties. In the old days dried cattails were used instead of the cloth for tying the elements of the house together. 342

Lily and Daisy dug small holes in the ground in a circle, loosening the dirt with sticks and knives. In these holes the willow poles for the house framework were set and the dirt packed around them. Lily then trimmed the poles. Daisy and Jimmie tore the pieces of denim into strips for tying the willow frame. Jimmie started tying willow sticks horizontally around the standing poles. This horizontal brace was about two and one-fourth feet above the ground. He used the torn denim strips for ties. While he tied on the reinforcing willows, Daisy steadied the uprights and Lily tore more rags and hung them across the brace where they were handy. Wezzie trimmed the sticks. On the east side they left an opening for a door. Lily said the door was toward the rising sun. When all the cross pieces were secure, a

121 possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier
114 has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

121 Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an his-
177 torical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of
121 borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he
114 insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events
177 yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

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[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 239–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of 121
only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing 114
have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue 177
that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical 121
distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference 177
warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always [114]
emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions.

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a 121
judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important 171
in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful 121
history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at im- 114
portant points. At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but

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[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

121/114 it is not apparent that shamans everywhere in the New World have performed this function to the same degree. Nevertheless, the changes in the shamanistic practices and beliefs have in each tribe resulted from the borrowing, the interpretations, and the inventions of novel ideas by individual shamans. A thorough study of borrowing processes must take into account such significant events and people. At the present time, however, knowledge of the contributions made by individual shamans to the totality of Paviotso practice is irretrievably lost to us. Therefore, although it is vitally important to bear in mind that these forces are ever present in making history, the limitations imposed on this study minimize the necessity for unverifiable assumptions of individuals, events, or chronology.

DEFINITION OF SHAMANISM

The great diversity of practices and beliefs presented by a survey of shamanism does not readily yield a clear definition of the term. In fact, shamanism usually has been defined descriptively, often in terms of the practices of a particular region. That this procedure is subject to error is evident when it is realized that in one society the shaman may have certain priestly functions, in another his duties relate only to curing. Laufer has shown that the word itself is an old term in the Turkish-Tungusian languages.[11] Frequently, we find that shamanism is defined largely by eastern Siberian practices. In clarifying the differences in current usage and in order to arrive at a definite formulation of the term for this study, it is interesting to review briefly several of the definitions prevailing in the literature.

Shamanism is defined by MacCulloch in terms of the functions of the shaman. According to this statement, the shaman is regarded as one who has undifferentiated priestly, prophetic, and magico-medical functions. Although it is recognized that the shaman exercises certain priestly functions, his main powers are connected with healing and divination. "He has direct intercourse with spirits and actual (bodily or spiritual) access to the spirit-world. All his magical arts are done by virtue of his power over

or influence with spirits."[12] The shaman is accordingly distinguished by his active relations to the spirit world, not by his knowledge of esoteric doctrines and rituals.

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[11] Laufer, *Origin of the Word Shaman*, 361.

Swanton distinguishes two classes of mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men, shamans, and priests. The shaman's authority is entirely dependent on individual ability. The priests are those who act "in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society."[13] This clean-cut differentiation of priests and shamans does not hold everywhere, for in some cultures, such as those of the Northwest coast, shamans exercise certain priestly functions, although in this respect they may be overshadowed by other officials, e.g., the chiefs who act as priests in the performances of the secret societies among the Tlingit, Haida, and Kwakiutl.

A similar distinction between shaman and priest has been made by Wissler. The priest is regarded as one who has knowledge of the rituals and leads ritualistic performances; his office is therefore primarily dependent upon learning, not upon direct personal experience with supernatural forces. The shaman, on the other hand, works by virtue of his possession of supernatural power. With this power he usually performs curative rites and acts as a prophet and seer.[14] This formulation likewise ignores the important points at which there is overlapping, for the appreciable body of knowledge gained by experience or apprenticeship is often an important part of the equipment distinguishing the shaman from his fellowmen.

One point is held in common by all these definitions: the shaman in all cases is one who has direct relationships with spirit powers in contrast to the priest who fills his office largely by virtue of his knowledge of rituals. Among some peoples, however, there is a certain overlapping of the functions belonging to the two offices. Some writers tend to regard as shamans all who experience personal contact with supernatural powers. A characteristic definition of this type is that given by Dixon, who applied the term "to that motley class of persons found in every savage community, who

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[12] MacCulloch, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, 441–442.

[13] Swanton, article "Shamans and Priests" in *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. II, 522–524.

[14] Wissler, *The American Indian*, 197, 200–201.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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are supposed to have closer relations with the supernatural than other men, and who, according as they use the advantage of their position in one way or another, are the progenitors alike of the physician and the sorcerer, the prophet, the teacher, and the priest."[15]

The possession of power alone, however, does not necessarily distinguish the shaman from other men. In some tribes, almost everyone has visionary experiences in which some power to control supernatural forces is acquired. Under these conditions, the shaman may be regarded as one upon whom more than the usual amount of power is bestowed, and is so differentiated in native thought. Usually, the recipient of the power employs it for desirable social purposes, such as the curing of disease or the charming of game. Here shamanism is but a matter of degree; the shaman has the stronger power which enables him to perform certain functions in contrast to weaker powers of the laity. Moreover, the use of power for the good of others differentiates the shaman from the man who manipulates supernatural spirits for selfish ends. Of course this is an arbitrary distinction, for it is often difficult to distinguish between social and purely selfish interests.

For the purposes of this study, the shaman is one who acquires supernatural power through direct personal experience. This power is generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of concern to others in the society. Accordingly, the practice of witchcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game in a communal hunt. We will designate by the term shamanism, then, all the practices by which supernatural power may be acquired by mortals, the exercise of that power either for good or evil, and all the concepts and beliefs associated with these practices.

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[15] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman*, 1.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Ne- 101
vada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speak-
ing peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

Cause of Disease

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753
ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757]
The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164]
that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774]
may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [688]
their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787
dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755]
intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754]
sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114]
cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

By Robert F. Heizer
Director, University of California Archaeological Survey
Berkeley

The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification 114 of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of [101] the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to.

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time 159 before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's [114] *History of the Big Bonanza* (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144).

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the [595] famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise

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[1] Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227–28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a lesser chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1883, pp. 98–99; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

PLATE 4

342 [222 263] *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top,* shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

[415] Plate 4, *bottom,* shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

● [114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

[415 531 252] *Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi.* Plate 5, *top,* is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made watertight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left,* is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 222 251 Plate 5, *lower right,* is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131 The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of
162 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including
[161] 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[39a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

621 The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook
[114] of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[40] but only about half of
[101] them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

621 sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people
101 formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what
131 appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

[113]

[39a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[40] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Saakos and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Genega, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Wararika, Tonoyiet, Toespe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukeo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Poatsituhtikuteh.

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621
gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131
canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent
of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough.
Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near
the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many
sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people
who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162]
Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the
Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more [114] ●
correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place"
given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115]
born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place
is ō-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1,[1] although [103]
ō-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see
sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches
was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the
lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221]
seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224
spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

[103] After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] [133] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. [114] All mention of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

[411] Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to 186
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i,
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason 829
for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exter- 829
minated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid
lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the [727]
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or
throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern [648]
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute 114
implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that
they must have been made by the Pit River Indians

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tohabaha.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [301]
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge
[103]

PREFACE

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A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

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My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

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I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

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Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

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I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

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276 755 *795 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

N W 782 Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

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The Peyote Ceremony

*795 796 [346] [782] Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[778] [276] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

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LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[*]

N 101 The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[*] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N 563 *795 A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

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FIELD METHODS

W 114 Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances
000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[*] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[*] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, *for exact limits of Northern Paiute area.* Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

N That five or six years

114 175 *795 may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

N W 114 *795 To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

N W 124 *795 It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

First Contacts

N W 177 *795 The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

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PREFACE

This report on the ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute has been little more than an objective recording of data as obtained from the informants. No correlations, comparisons or contrasts with data obtained by others has been attempted here. It is fully recognized that much more can be done with the data gathered but one's work must sometimes be arbitrarily terminated. The original concern of this endeavor was to chart the territory of this group of Paiute people as an aid to the archaeological investigations being carried out in their region. This was done, but, in doing so, an interest in other aspects of their society was whetted. As the investigator's interest grew so did that of the informants! If these investigations serve no other purpose than to give some measure of enjoyment and understanding of a past way of native life to those who may read, then I shall have been repaid for what effort I may have put into this work. Actually, I have been repaid many times over by the friendship and kindness that have been shown me by Kitty, Gladys, and the other Wadátkuht people I had the good fortune of meeting and visiting. I am ever-grateful to Kitty and Ike for allowing me to remove myself from the present and go back in time to a different world which is now gone forever. My glimpses into the past were fleeting and clouded by my own inadequacies, but none-the-less, very rewarding. My contact with the Honey Lake Paiute has given me much pleasure and I ask their indulgence in those areas of this work which lack the details necessary for providing a richer and more meaningful illumination of their history and former way of life.

[illegible] INSTITUTION AUG 7 [illegible]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

INTRODUCTION

114 As archaeological investigations in the Honey Lake region of Lassen County, northeastern California, progressed (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956; 1958) it became apparent that it was important to have an ethnogeography of the region in order to provide a base line for the archaeological interpretations. To obtain this information remnants of the indigenous Paiute band were visited intermittently over a period of several years. The results of these visits were a relatively complete ethnogeography of the territory of the Honey Lake Paiute and a fairly detailed account of the group's subsistance activities. In addition to this it was possible to get information on many other aspects of both their aboriginal and post-contact life.

115 Information concerning the ethnogeography of the Honey Lake Paiute primarily was obtained from Ike Northrup (Tabŏk... "Cottontail"), who was born about 1870 at the native camp of Kamŏ pana wuina ("Rabbit trail coming down") at the north end of Secret Valley (see map, Territory of the Honey Lake Paiute).

Additional information and confirmation of Ike Northrup's data was obtained from Susy Buster who was born about 1860. Susy's mother was a Pit River woman who had been captured by Susy's father, a Honey Lake Paiute. Susy Buster, who also served as Stewart's informant (Stewart, 1939, p. 138), died at Susanville in 1951. Ike Northrup died in the same town two years later.

Most of the ethnographic information presented in this report was obtained from Kitty Joaquin with the aid of her daughter, Gladys Mankins, who acted as both interpreter and informant. Helen Joaquin, Kitty's sister, also contributed information at various times. Joaquin, who was the father of Kitty and Helen, was the last headman of the Honey Lake Paiute. He died in 1935 (Stewart, 1939, p. 138) and the two women in 1954.

122 The ethnogeographic data were obtained through a grant-in-aid by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, in the summer of 1951. My own funds were used to obtain a portion of the ethnographic notes given herein. Specimens collected are housed in the University of 126 California Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. Special thanks are here given to Dr. T. D. McCown, Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, and to Professor

000 E. W. Gifford, late Director Emeritus of the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for their generous support of this project.

114 A linguistic analysis of Honey Lake Paiute was not attempted, being outside the scope of the project. For a discussion of Paiute linguistics see Lamb, 1958. The orthography used in this report is as follows:

104 a, e, i, o, and u have their continental values
eh, ih, and uh are the short forms of the vowels
ö, ü - imperfect umlaut
' elevated is the glottal stop
All elevated letters are whispered
All other consonants are pronounced as in English
/ indicates the accent

Wadátkuht

people. The first group that they saw was composed of soldiers (sic), of whom they were afraid. 175

At the end of 1843 and the beginning of 1844 Fremont made a reconnaissance trip from Oregon through Nevada and became the first recorded white man to visit Pyramid Lake (Fremont, 1846). His description of the region and the people is relatively detailed and his visit was surely known to the Honey Lake people since they are closely related neighbors of the Pyramid Lake Paiute. [101]

It was not until 1850, however, that there is any record of actual penetration of Honey Lake Valley by Europeans. In this year Peter Lassen made two trips to this large lake lying just east of the Sierra Nevada in what is now northeastern California. On his second trip he was accompanied by J. Goldsborough Bruff and a group of other men. Bruff was a trained topographer with a curiosity, an appreciation of what he observed and a keen ability for describing his experiences. It is unfortunate that on his trip to Honey Lake he did not have his topographic instruments with him and thus able to make accurate day-by-day locations. Because of the lack of proper instruments it is scarcely possible to trace the party's route with accuracy. His verbal descriptions and his pen and pencil sketches made on the trip, however, are of considerable historical value and interest.

Read and Gaines (1949) have attempted a reconstruction of Bruff's route to Honey Lake but it is not entirely satisfactory. As the party neared Honey Lake, however, their position is more readily apparent. They originally left Lassen's ranch on Deer Creek near its junction with the Sacramento River and proceeded up the creek to its headwaters. They then rode east to the headwaters of the Feather River on the Lassen Trail. They followed this trail north approximately to a point where it meets the Pit River and then apparently branched off toward the north and east to cross Big Valley in Achomawi territory. From Big Valley they seem to have gone to the general area of the present town of Alturas, Modoc County, and then proceeded in a south and east direction, eventually reaching Honey Lake. The "hieroglyphic defile" of which he speaks is a section of the upper reaches of Smoke Creek, just south of Observation Peak and east of Shinn Peak, between Wagontree and Sagebrush Springs. All along the way they saw abundant evidence of Indians, and occasionally the Indians themselves. However, they were generally hostile and Bruff nearly lost his life while exploring a volcanic cone. [114]

Wadátkuht

escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body 175 by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was Joaquin's brother. 648. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the Maidu.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

The boundaries between native groups, both in California 131 and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our 114 own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get precise boundary locations from informants of one group he 115 will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate

Wadátkuht

131 his claim. For example, one Wadátkuht informant said repeatedly that the Susanville area belonged to them, yet she
114 could not give any camp or village names within the area.
115 Maidu informants, however, gave the names and locations of a number of Maidu villages in that area. On another occasion a Washo informant stated that the Washo territory extended as far north as Susanville, yet could not give the names or locations of any Washo villages in that area despite the fact that he did know the region south of Doyle. Similar conflicting statements were recorded from various informants, so one cannot always rely upon what an informant claims for the territory of his particular group; instead one must rely upon names and locations known by the informant.

In most cases the informants were sincere when they gave what they considered to be the boundaries of their group's territory. But it seemed to be a rather common occurrence for an informant to consider as his group's territory those areas of his neighbor's in which the first group made hunting and gathering forays. In drawing the boundary lines for the Wadátkuht an attempt was made to avoid these pitfalls. I did not include those peripheral areas periodically visited by the Wadátkuht and for which they had no camp or village names and for which they could provide no names for the physiographic features. I have tried, however, to note the use of these areas by the Wadátkuht.

131 The eastern boundary of the Wadátkuht territory can best be placed on, or in close proximity to the California-Nevada state line. The eastern neighbors, thus, would be their relatives, the Kuyuitkuht. The southern tip of the Wadátkuht territory extends to Doyle where Washo territory begins. Proceeding northwest of Doyle along the crest of the Sierra the boundary extends to the vicinity of Thompson Peak where it turns directly north. Although some groups of Wadátkuht crossed the summit, or crest of the Sierra into Dixie Valley, Plumas County, to gather products growing there they did not claim this area because it was only used for relatively short periods of time. They called it Tasu^{P}, meaning "Wild game place". This region can be considered to be an area of mutual use by both the Washo and the Wadátkuht, and possibly by the Maidu. Gladys Mankins said that it belonged to the Washo.

At Thompson Peak the boundary line runs north to Horse Lake with the Mountain Maidu territory lying to the west as far north as Antelope Ridge a few miles northeast of Susanville. North of Antelope Ridge the Pit River people are the

Wadátkuht

361 [174] of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructi of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about 1925.

[221] It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only occupied seasonally. The Wadátkuht, similar to the other Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home" for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only village so termed by my informants, although other winter villages may by definition be given this term.

● [114] It has been difficult to decide which of the following named habitation sites were villages and which were camps. Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considered as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

103 361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SE¼ of NW¼ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

Wadátkuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section. 285

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute

Washo NT20

APPENDIX A

WASHO ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC NOTES

103 [U15] [114] The following ethnogeographic notes were obtained from a Washo shaman, Harry Wilson, whose home was near Doyle, California. The native name for the former Washo village at this place is Mehltútumi wadaiyo ("Shady Place"). These notes were made during a visit of several hours on the 27th of July, 1951. Harry Wilson died in 1954.

1) Dihsuhm - the name for Honey Lake, and has reference to the seeds gathered there. It is quite likely that these seeds are the important wada seeds of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

2) Tahalálak - Hot Springs Mountain.

3) Weodalak - "Warm Mountain", the name for Ft. Sage Mountain. The word for mountain is dalak.

4) Gewuhtmuhláhat - "Coyote Jump Across", the name for the creek on Jim Miller's ranch near the Red Rock Canyon turn-off.

5) Hemogosuhm - no data were obtained for this term, but it may be a place name lying in the vicinity of the preceding and following named places.

6) Daowonga - "Lake", the name for the playa now called Alkali Flat where Scott's Station is located.

7) Mashoni - the name of a creek located on a hillside on the east side of Reno junction.

8) Utsudalak - the name for a mountain northeast of Hallelujah Junction. Utsu is a weed that is unbreakable when green.

9) Tsemiuñgadalak - "Sand Mountain", on the east side of Hallelujah Junction.

10) Dawioshuhdima - the name of a spring on the east side of the county road where it crosses the summit on the Red Rock road.

11) Bokodalap - this is the name for the mountain on the west side of Winnemucca Valley, and on the east side of

Washo NT.20

W 103

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off.

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road.

W 103 124

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake.

W N 114 131

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region.

W [124]

N [423]

W N [648]

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. W [825] [771] The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. W [361] It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). W N [177] Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

Northern Paiute NR13

175 648 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

[621] [178] [423] However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 114 231 178 621 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

N 648 N [563] N W [182]

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

N W 136 182

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

N W 114 136 174 182 ●

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A.D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

● 114

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

W 105 177 182

obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648

What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178

Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W ● 114 W [122]

1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

105 marked reluctance with which informants discuss religious topics.
124 There is yet much to be obtained concerning beliefs and practices, but
it will be a difficult matter to overcome the native reserve.

114 Comparatively little has been published on the Northern Paiute. Curtis has some material on the Nevada Paviotso as has Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. A twenty-page paper by de Angulo and Freeland, partly linguistic, concerns the Fort Bidwell Paiute but is avowedly incomplete. For comparative material I have drawn on Lowie's Northern Shoshone and Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. It is scarcely necessary to mention the very obvious debt to Spier's Havasupai Ethnography; and I am further indebted to Dr. Spier for the use of his Klamath material, still in manuscript form.[3] Dr. Kroeber has very kindly allowed access to the unpublished Walapai data which embody the results of the 1929 summer field course of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

122 Acknowledgment should be made to the residents of Fort Bidwell, who were uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but especially to Mr. Henry Kober and to Mrs. Chester Lowell, who with great kindness allowed specimens from their private collections to be brought to Berkeley for photographing; to Mr. L. Shotwell, of the local Indian school, for material assistance in procuring informants; and to Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Schmitz, of Beatty, Oregon, for extraordinary kindness in providing housing and in obtaining informants. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, for the examination of native tobacco specimens; to Mr. Morris Halperin, University Farm, Davis, for classification of several grasses; and to Mr. John Thomas Howell, of the California Academy of Sciences, for all other plant identifications and for incidental botanical information. Thanks are also due Professor E. O. Essig, of the University of California, for identification of insects and for use of manuscript material; and Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, of Lakeview, for data concerning the geography of southern Oregon.

115 A list of informants is given below. Initials following the names indicate the key by which statements will be identified with certain informants. This has been done when evidence is conflicting, or of particular importance, or derived from a single individual. Statements in which the interpreter plays more than his part are jointly attributed. The ages given below are no more than crude approximations.

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[3] Since published in volume 30, this series.

The following are Gidü'tikad^{a} informants:

Pindy (P), born in Adel, Warner valley; aged about 75, perhaps more; the oldest and best of the Gidü'tikad^{a} informants.

Joshua Brown (JB), born in Surprise valley; aged 65 to 70; also an excellent informant; blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), the present "chief"; born in Surprise; aged 65 to 70; remembers but little of the old life.

Bige Archie (BA), also of Surprise; aged 50 to 60; one of de Angulo's informants; unsatisfactory for ethnographic data but fairly well versed in tales.

Minnie Anderson (MA), of Cowhead lake, near Fort Bidwell; aged 75 to 80; chief informant on birth, marriage, crafts, etc.

Daisy (Limpy) Brown (DB), born near Plush, Oregon, and later of Fort Bidwell; aged about 60; good information supplementary to that of Minnie Anderson.

Nannie Ochiho (NO), of Fort Bidwell; aged 50 to 60; minor information, principally tales.

This completes the list of Gidü'tikad^{a} informants. The following have different band affiliations:

Tom Anderson (TA), originally of a Nevada band (?) but has been in Fort Bidwell many years, aged 65 to 70; remembers virtually nothing of the old life.

Billy Steve (BS), also of Nevada (Summit lake, formerly of Pyramid lake); an occasional visitor at Cedarville; aged about 70; gave excellent tales and could doubtless have given good ethnographic material had time allowed.

Dr. Sam Wata (SW), of Beatty, Oregon; aged about 80; the best potential informant of the lot; a former shaman; vigorous, alert, intelligent, and willing to answer questions. Unfortunately his grandson was suspicious of exploitation and made it impossible to work with him more than two half-days.

Mettie Petty (MP), of Beatty, aged about 60; inconsequential information on a variety of subjects.

Nina Nanee (NN), of Beatty; aged possibly 50; principally tales.

Lizzie Godowa (LG), of Beatty, aged about 60; information on basketry techniques.

My interpreters were Nellie Townsend (NT) of Fort Bidwell, Susie Archie (SA) of Fort Bidwell and Beatty, and Nora Henderson (NH) of Alturas. They were all three intelligent women, averaging perhaps 35 to 40 years of age, and possessed of a good command of English. Their persistence and staunch support were largely instrumental in overcoming the well-known Shoshonean reticence, a characteristic which these people share to a marked degree. Joshua, Charlie Washo, and Bige Archie worked without interpreters; Nellie interpreted for the Andersons and for Billy Steve; Susie, for Nannie Ochiho and for Beatty informants, save for a half-day with Dr. Sam during which her brother, David Chocktoot, officiated. Nora interpreted for Daisy Brown and for Pindy.

An effort has been made to record native terms in the orthography employed by Waterman.

APPENDIX

There are here appended two verbatim testimonies which resulted from the desire of informants to place on record the events attending their dispossession by the whites, the one topic upon which unsolicited information was volunteered. 115 ●

1. TESTIMONY (P: NH)

I want to tell how the whites came here. The whites took a man named Wiwu from this side of Malheur and asked him, "How about this man Ochiho (Gidü'tikad^{a} chief)?" He said, "Don't kill Ochiho, just capture him." These whites were coming here with lots of soldiers. They made ten Indians come too. 173

Johnny Cook (General Crook?), a white man with no right arm, was head of the soldiers. Another man was called Johnny Howard. They came from the north but not into this valley. They caught Ochiho gathering roots at Atkukwi'b, a mountain across from Plush.

The soldiers told him, "Let's have no more war. Let's both drink this water from the springs and rivers. You people, don't steal anything belonging to the whites. Put your bows and arrows under your blankets, and I'll put away my gun." He said more, "You have nice land here. You steal the white people's things. That's why they sent me here to capture you. Both of us (whites and Indians) will use this timber for fires; both can let our horses eat the grass. We'll be friends and eat together."

After this the white people came. They made a fence and pushed these Indians out. That's all.

Ochiho always wore a leather bag the soldiers made for his papers. They wanted these Indians to go to the Klamath reservation. Finally Ochiho said, "My father and my mother died here. I want to stay." They asked, "Where are your children going to school?" He said, "I don't want my children to go away. I want them to go to school here." That's how they had the school here after the soldiers left.

Some white inspector came from the south and talked to Ochiho, saying he had come from Washington to see if the Indians were behaving well. Old Ochiho said, "You talk to me like that! I think you come from down the valley, not from Washington," and he slammed that leather bag down. After Ochiho died, Dick Ochiho and his wife destroyed the papers in that bag.

2. TESTIMONY (SW:DC)

It is seventy years since I realize what is good for me. Beyond that I don't know. I am about eighty-one years old; I was a full grown man at the time of the Modoc war.

Beyond my age there wasn't a white man in this country. There might have been some in the east, but not here.

The Indians rested the seventh day like white people. Then they had a dance or worship. They danced around a big pole[260] . . . . after which they

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[260] Here follows the account of the shaman who foretold the coming of the whites, p. 189.

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By Jaime de ANGULO and L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort 114
Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are [101]
congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray
who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in
that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all [102]
possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in
touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of [115]
their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During
the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged
around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George 115
Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on
the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he
was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible
for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very
valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit 121
my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the
point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the
Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion
of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more
and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior 114
Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a 191

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[1] I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

[2] For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

Contrary
262 to what might be expected in such a desert region,
fish and waterfowl were an extremely important
dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless,
because of the inhospitable environment the available
food was so often inadequate that the Indians
learned to eat nearly everything which could support
221 port life. Seasonal migrations in search of food
took Indians of nearly every band into the areas
recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

In the two and a half months available for
114 this study* it was impossible to visit all the
bands still represented by living Indians. Of
the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute
bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element
lists were obtained from eleven.

124 Since it was impossible to follow the conventional
methods of gathering ethnographic data,
that is, by indirect questions which force informants
to take the initiative in all descriptions,
some mention of the methods employed
should be made here. At the start of the inquiry
of each complex, such as deer hunting or house
building, a general question would be posed and
the informant was allowed to offer what information
he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary
to ask about particular details, or to inquire
whether something were done this way or
that. With the first informant Northern Paiute
names for various items and concepts were recorded;
124 the native name was used in questioning. To supplement
● 115 the name, descriptions and pantomimes
were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance
was obtained from several hundred photographs
of material culture and a number of actual
specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games,
and the like. Informants usually identified
known types of material illustrated; consequently,
blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage.
The Indians seemed to appreciate
seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested
particular delight upon seeing representations
of their own types. Thus the pictures
had the double value of establishing friendly
relations between the investigator and the Indians
and provided a means of exact identification
of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual
knows all about everything in any culture, I
checked, whenever possible, many parts of the
list with two or more informants from the same
band. Often it was necessary to use more than

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*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[p. 361 (2)]

124 115 [121] one informant in order to get information about certain aspects of culture. When one informant supplied the data or when several agreed, no indication is made in the list. An asterisk beside the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 114 While arranging the list for publication, I consulted the available literature dealing with Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 131 1, Ts,[1] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers," occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[1] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

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127 114 scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received conflicting accounts. 128 Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dökadö of trait number 2721a.

131 101 Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

● 115 Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101 131 2, Kl, Kuyui-dokadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

115 lethargic. He was less informed than ND and volunteered little except upon direct question. Although he also worked with Park, he seemed inclined to give an answer whether or not he was sure. Because his mail route required half of each day, I used his brother, Dick Mahwee, when he (DG) was not available, thereby obtaining a duplicate list (K2 in list).

101 3, K2, Kuyui-dökadö.

115 Informants.—Dick Mahwee (DM), age 59, born at Honey Lake; DG's younger brother. Except for visits to Virginia City and Reno, he lived at Nixon most of his life. Waterman,[8] who took DM in 1910 to San Francisco to use him in linguistic work, said DM spent his childhood in Long Valley near Honey Lake. When interviewed he was nearly blind, but was otherwise in good health. Having been a "singing doctor" for 20 years and "dance captain" at times, DM was an excellent informant for certain phases of culture.[9] For material culture his knowledge seemed reliable, but he refused to say anything about childbirth, puberty, and the like, professing complete ignorance. DM spent only four years in school, leaving in 1888. He spoke fair English. I worked with both him and his brother (DG) without interpreters. Ten days were spent in Nixon, slightly more time with DG than with DM.

Additional ethnogeographical data were obtained from Jane Holbrook, Kuyui, and Hattie Whitehead, Kamö. There were several other informants at Nixon who possibly could have given valuable information.

101 131 4, Kü, Küpa-dökadö, "ground-squirrel eaters," lived on the lower Humboldt River and near Humboldt Sink. In 1936 several lived in the Indian Colony at Lovelock, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Gilbert Natchez (GN), age ca. 54, born at Brown's Station, 20 miles SW of Lovelock, Nevada. Both his parents were Küpa. GN lived about 36 years at Nixon, but learned of "old Indian ways" from his mother and grandmother. He lived at Lovelock in 1936. He fell off a train when a young man, which left him badly crippled. His sight and hearing were good. He was forced to remain much of the time at home, which, he said, was spent in talking old Paiute lore. I was impressed by his breadth of knowledge and by his ability to express himself. His lack of personal experience with aboriginal culture limited his knowledge; notwithstanding, he surpassed anyone else I found at Lovelock. He was taken to San Francisco and used as a linguistic informant by A. L. Kroeber. He proved very apt and was kept three months. He learned to write his language in phonetic script and he has a paper published under his name.[10] He also supplied the culture data recorded by Loud.[11] I worked with GN four days.

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[8] UC-PAAE 10:13-44, 1911.

[9] ada (crow) is DM's power.

[10] Northern Paiute Verbs. UC-PAAE 20:254-259, 1923.

[11] Lovelock Cave. UC-PAAE 25:1-183, 1929.

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● 115 Skinny Dave, or Parviano, the "Küpa chief," proved to be an unsatisfactory informant. He had unlimited self esteem, but very meager knowledge.

Annie Lowry (AL), age 69, half-breed Küpa, has lived always at Lovelock. She was one of Lowie's informants for myths and had a ready answer for most questions. I asked her particularly about traits concerning women. She had lived too much with white people to be extremely well informed, and some of her information was obviously colored by European concepts.

101 131 5, To, Toe-dökadö, "tule eaters," possessed Carson Sink, Carson Lake, and lower Carson River; now found on Stillwater Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, Indian Colony.

115 Informants.—Bob Springer (BS), age ca. 70, born at Stillwater and always lived there. Parents were Toe. He seemed very active and his sight and hearing were unimpaired, but he was not a willing worker. Although Lowie had used him, he refused to do systematic work with me. He seemed to know sufficient English to be a good informant without an interpreter. I spent four or five hours with him.

Little Pete, or Kupida (LP), age ca. 70, has always lived at Stillwater, as had his parents. LP could hear and see sufficiently, but his English was limited. His knowledge of aboriginal conditions was certainly not the best. He was aided by his wife (a Toe), who also acted as interpreter. About twenty hours were spent with them.

101 131 6, Tö, Tövusi-dökadö, "grass-nut eaters," in Smith and Mason valleys and upper Walker River in SW Nevada.

115 Informants.—Maggie Wright, or Tugövino (MW), age ca. 75, born at Wellington in Smith Valley. Both parents Tövusi. MW's hearing, sight, and memory were good. She had lived much of the old culture and also had heard about it, and was well informed, but needed an interpreter.

Goggles Wright, or Povawotso (GW), age ca. 85, born near site of Fort Churchill; MW's husband. Father was Agai, mother was Wada of Honey Lake, but GW had lived most of his life at Smith Valley, where he had been a famous hunter. In spite of his age, his sight, hearing, and memory seemed good, and he was willing to tell all he knew. His knowledge supplemented MW's, and their information is combined in the element list. He also needed an interpreter.

Interpreter.—John Wright, age 39, son of MW and GW. John had traveled considerably, having been two or three years in Oklahoma and more than a year at Fort Hall, Idaho. He lauded the Peyote cult as the "Indian New Deal," but, although he desired to, he could not start it at Stillwater, because he did not have a drummer and the fire. Of all the Indians I met the Wright family seemed to be the most active participants in the old Paiute culture. They had just moved their house [768] and taken up new land because of a death on the previously occupied farm. Old Paiute superstitions and charms were carefully observed. The family lived at Stillwater. I spent three days with them.

[illegible]-363 (B)]

N
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131 7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

N
115 Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother "half Pakwi, half Kutsavi" (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

W
131
101 8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, are the present Washo centers.

W
115 Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

N
101
131 9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuviwarai, "red-butte dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

N
115 Informants.—Pete Snap, or Nino'o (PS), aged ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

[p.364(A)]

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 131 10, Sa, Sawa'waktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sawa. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupimatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sawa. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sawa list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 131 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. She listened to the interviews [124] and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101
131 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," centering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 Informants.—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit (SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life, visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to time. [124] He went blind a few years ago, but his hearing was good, and he was alert mentally. I talked with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Töŋgio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, BJ lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 365 (A)]

Achomawi NS5

N 101 131 13, Ki, Kidü-dökadö, "woodchuck eaters," occupying Surprise Valley, California, and adjacent territory in southern Oregon and northwestern Nevada, were interviewed at Fort Bidwell, California.

N 115 Informants.—Bob Anderson (BA), age ca. 80, born near Gold Mountain; parents Kidü. BA started acting as interpreter and scout for General Crook and later worked in this capacity two years at Fort Harney, Oregon, and six years at Yainax on the Klamath Reservation. He lived at Fort Bidwell forty years. He was nearly blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), age ca. 75, born in Surprise Valley; present "chief"; parents Kidü. CW lived alternately in Susanville and Surprise Valley; was nearly deaf.

Key Henderson (KH), age 66, born near Warner; parents Kidü. KH spent life in Warner and Surprise Valley.

Joshua Brown (JB), age ca. 75, born at Surprise Valley; blind for many years; parents Kidü.

The first three informants combined their resources to tell as much of the old life as they knew; JB, better informed than the others, supplemented their knowledge, but he was too ill to work with me for long periods. Kelly[18] used all except Key Henderson for her monograph on the Surprise Valley Paiute, rating JB "excellent." Although informants told all they knew willingly, circumstances were far from satisfactory in obtaining completely reliable information. Twenty-eight hours were spent with informants.

A 101 131 14, AE, Achomawi (non-Paiute). Claiming the western slopes of Warner Range, the Achomawi were neighbors of the Kidü Paiute. Their principal area consists of the upper Pit River drainage, and there is still a rather larger colony in the vicinity of Alturas, California.

A 115 Informants.—Sam Fox (SF), aged ca. 80, born and reared near Likely, California; parents both of the Likely band of Achomawi. SF's sight and hearing were still good, and in spite of extremely poor health he was mentally very alert and willing to tell of old culture. His understanding and use of English were good.

Lily Chip (LC), about 60, SF's niece, born near Likely; could supplement SF's knowledge about such things as childbirth, girl's puberty, and other topics. I consider the Achomawi list among the best recorded: twenty-four hours were spent with informants.

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[18] UC-PAAE 31:69, 1932.

[p. 365 (B)]

N
721 raided them and drove them out of the country
173 (GW). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave
(LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and
MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley. This explains why so many arrow and spear points have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The war against Sai is only one about which DV knew. "The Sai were from around Klamath River and raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands aided in battle. This happened three generations
W
[721] ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger"
was remembered by LR. One person was killed. Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe) only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War. The Indians showed generals how it could be done. They formed a circle around German trenches (JM). Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The Tagö had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Paiute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was
A
[721 generations ago, the other was in historic time
173] and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and killed all the girls who had been taken captive to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble at home. There were many people killed, "maybe 4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N
178 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered,
832 mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin,
the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm.
753 It is dangerous to possess such a charm because
it might enter one's body through a sore or something and kill owner. It causes sickness like blood poisoning. Tö: A mole charm is dan-
N gerous medicine. One made an Indian boy sick a
[755] little while ago, and he would have died if the
Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was painted and father was forced to throw away his mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to
N be very dangerous.
844 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and
[115] denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement 5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the 177 [114] peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon [121] had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, [648] and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, 177 the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes 167 in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our 114 example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, 115 in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to 121 those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in 114 our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 177 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

40. Army officials of this period were generally critical of the many unprovoked attacks on Indians by White settlers and miners. Such attacks too often precipitated needless Indian "Wars." Thus Dew, in narrating the clash between the White prospectors and Indians near the head of Goose Lake during his Owyhee Reconnaissance expedition, begins: "During our stay in the [Goose Lake] valley there occurred one of those incidents, that are unfortunately too common on our frontier, and often end in the injury or murder of innocent and unoffending citizens" (Drew, Official Report, pp. 7-8). 648

41. The Northern Paiute respected Army officers, who had a reputation of making few promises, but keeping their word. Col. Elmer Otis underscored the necessity for this sort of behaviour, in a letter written in the 1870's to Special Commissioner I. D. Applegate: "All promises to Indians must be kept faithfully, or they soon lose confidence and when once lost it is hard to regain" (NA. WDC. DC. 0-31-Encl. 4-1870). [609]

42. Thus Frank Lynch, a Sprague River Valley Klamath testifying in Court of Claims E-344 in 1931 on how he happened to attend the treaty council of 1864, said: "The eastern part of the Indians was requested to come to that council and they arrived at the place they called — below the place where they now call Chiloquin; and from that point we moved to this place of council. And I went there because I wanted to learn something and we had been promised to get some stuff from the Government, was word sent out. That is how I come to be there" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 827).

43. Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, p. 135; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, pp. 16-18.

44. In fact, Drew indicates in a letter dated July 12, 1864 that he considered the Silver-Summer lakes region as being occupied at that time "by Indians of Ou-a-luck's band who are giving so much trouble near Canyon City" (Drew to Assistant Adjutant General, WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 877, 900). In his official report Drew blames another "Snake chief," Pauline, for an attack on a wagon train near Silver Lake on June 6, 1864 (Official Report, pp. 5). Information about Ou-a-luck or Howlark is fragmentary; after 1865 nothing is certainly known about him (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 89). 131 648

45. Kelly, ibid., p. 67; Omer C. Stewart, idem; Whiting, idem. 000

46. Kelly, ibid., p. 69.

47. Kelly, ibid., p. 70.

48. Frank John, a Surprise Valley Paiute witness at the Reno hearings, who was born in Warner Valley near Adel, Lake Co., Ore., ca. 1885, 115 ● 131

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
181 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chew-
[223] aucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p.
212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol.
1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of
Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew,
Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., 1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
attention...They are a roving, nomadic race...a tribe hard to tame, not
423 accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the off-
114 ing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

103. Court of Claims E-344, p. 670.

N 115 551 104. Grandson of Winnemucca, the well-known Northern Paiute leader; age ca. 70 years in 1951; born thirty miles north of McDermitt, Nev., and living, in 1951, on the Summit Lake, Nevada, Indian Reservation.

K 101 551 [701] [622] 105. "Chiliquin" is now used locally by Indians and Whites for Klamath-speaking Indians living in the Williamson-Sprague River area (information from Mrs. Charlotte Roberts, Eugene, Ore., March, 1955). Chiloquin was a Klamath war leader who lived on Sprague River and whose name is second in the list of Klamath signers of the October, 1864 treaty as "Chili-que-nas" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). He evidently had connections with the Sprague River Klamath group; Dick Brown, Motcunka'sket's son, testified in 1926 that his father was "head chief of the Bly [Klamath]," that Le-lu (another treaty-signer) was Motchunka'sket's "chief sub-chief," and that Chiloquin was his "next sub-chief" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129, also p. 952). K [103] The present town of Chiloquin on lower Sprague River is named for this leader, but his home was farther up Sprague River (Court of Claims E-344, p. 767; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 113).

106. Reno Transcript, pp. 68-69.

N 103 107. Elliott, Journals, vol. 11, pp. 218-220. The Warner Lakes are southeast of the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region. We identify "Salt Lake" as Abert Lake because Salt Lake is the name used for Abert Lake by John Work, Ogden's successor, in Work's journal of his 1832 expedition (Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 11).

108. Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 10.

109. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

110. Ibid., p. 11.

111. Ibid., p. 12.

K 103 137 222 112. Chewaucan Marsh takes its name from Klamath tchua, wild potato, plus keni, meaning locality or place. The wild potato is generally known in Oregon and Washington as the wapato, arrowhead or sagittaria (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 112). Possibly it was this the Indians had been digging.

113. Frémont, Report, pp. 208-209.

114. Ibid., p. 209.

115. Ibid., p. 212.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 N [622] The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Goˀyʼatikad^{u}, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühüʼtcyatikad^{ü}, or Deer eaters."[249] N 115 Kelly obtained some folk tales and one historical narrative about Tchákto t from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tchǻktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

● N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

648 Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

105 The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent introduction [77] of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

[182] A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

●115 A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their usefulness for comparative purposes. Three shamans, Dick Mahwee 115 and Joe Green at Pyramid Lake, and Rosie Plummer at Schurz on the Walker River reservation, were very willing and intelligent informants. Joe Green spoke English sufficiently well so that an interpreter was not required. An interpreter was necessary in working with both Dick Mahwee and Rosie Plummer. However, Dick Mahwee had spent several months in 1914 at the University of California Museum of Anthropology at San Francisco, acting as an informant in linguistic studies. This was a number of years before he became a shaman. As a result of his experience in San Francisco, he was well aware of, and sympathetic toward, the aims of ethnographic investigation. He had acquired also a limited knowledge of English which enabled him to check the translations of the interpreter. Frequently he stopped the interpreter in his English renditions and insisted on a re-phrasing or a correction of a misstatement. This, coupled with a very sincere desire for accuracy, gives to the material recorded from Dick Mahwee a high degree of creditability.

Daisy Lopez, who acted as the interpreter for Rosie Plummer, was very intelligent and sympathetic. She had an unusually good command of English, in addition to a far better knowledge of the Paviotso language than is usual among the younger generation. The usefulness of Daisy Lopez was not, however, confined to interpreting. As she was the daughter of Rosie Plummer and had been constantly with her mother, except for a few years spent at school, she was well informed on much of the aboriginal culture.

As has been noted, Joe Green did not require an interpreter. He at one time acquired power, but through a misadventure described below had lost it. Joe was one of the most intelligent and conscientious of all the informants and he took an unusually active interest in the work of recording cultural data. Well liked and respected by his fellow tribesmen, he was able to obtain the help of others when information of which he was unsure was requested of him. This service was of considerable value, as many of the older people disliked talking to strangers. Joe Green thus made it possible to tap a number of rich sources of material which would have otherwise remained unexploited.

Important as shamans were in giving information, they did not

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The [131] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of 128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture were recorded from informants belonging to each of these localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso 756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances [782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

sawa-hate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621
gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-tcaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131
canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent
of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough.
Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near
the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many
sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people
who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162]
Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the
Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more [114]
correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place"
given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee
river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook
gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of
Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as
those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.'
A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because
a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy
is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115]
born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place
is ō-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1,[1] although [103]
ō-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see
sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches
was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the
lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221]
seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224
spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25a).

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[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

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PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, *for* the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

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My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greatest part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

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I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

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Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

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I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

Frontispiece

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KITTY JOAQUIN
1954

[Facing P. i, A]

PREFACE

This report on the ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute 114 has been little more than an objective recording of data as [115] obtained from the informants. No correlations, comparisons or contrasts with data obtained by others has been attempted here. It is fully recognized that much more can be done with the data gathered but one's work must sometimes be arbitrarily terminated. The original concern of this endeavor was to chart the territory of this group of Paiute people as an aid [121] to the archaeological investigations being carried out in their region. This was done, but, in doing so, an interest in other aspects of their society was whetted. As the investigator's interest grew so did that of the informants! If these investigations serve no other purpose than to give some measure of enjoyment and understanding of a past way of native life to those who may read, then I shall have been repaid for what effort I may have put into this work. Actually, I have been repaid many times over by the friendship and kindness that have been shown me by Kitty, Gladys, and the other Wadátkuht people I had the good fortune of meeting and visiting. I am ever-grateful to Kitty and Ike for allowing me to remove myself from the present and go back in time to a different world which is now gone forever. My glimpses into the past were fleeting and clouded by my own inadequacies, but none-the-less, very rewarding. My contact with the Honey Lake Paiute has given me much pleasure and I ask their indulgence in those areas of this work which lack the details necessary for providing a richer and more meaningful illumination of their history and former way of life.

INSTITUTION AUG 7

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

INTRODUCTION

As archaeological investigations in the Honey Lake region of Lassen County, northeastern California, progressed (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956; 1958) it became apparent that it was important to have an ethnogeography of the region in order to provide a base line for the archaeological interpretations. To obtain this information remnants of the indigenous Paiute band were visited intermittently over a period of several years. The results of these visits were a relatively complete ethnogeography of the territory of the Honey Lake Paiute and a fairly detailed account of the group's subsistance activities. In addition to this it was possible to get information on many other aspects of both their aboriginal and post-contact life. 114

Information concerning the ethnogeography of the Honey Lake Paiute primarily was obtained from Ike Northrup (Tabük... "Cottontail"), who was born about 1870 at the native camp of Kamö pana wuina ("Rabbit trail coming down") at the north end of Secret Valley (see map, Territory of the Honey Lake Paiute). 115

Additional information and confirmation of Ike Northrup's data was obtained from Susy Buster who was born about 1860. Susy's mother was a Pit River woman who had been captured by Susy's father, a Honey Lake Paiute. Susy Buster, who also served as Stewart's informant (Stewart, 1939, p. 138), died at Susanville in 1951. Ike Northrup died in the same town two years later.

Most of the ethnographic information presented in this report was obtained from Kitty Joaquin with the aid of her daughter, Gladys Mankins, who acted as both interpreter and informant. Helen Joaquin, Kitty's sister, also contributed information at various times. Joaquin, who was the father of Kitty and Helen, was the last headman of the Honey Lake Paiute. He died in 1935 (Stewart, 1939, p. 138) and the two women in 1954.

The ethnogeographic data were obtained through a grant-in-aid by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, in the summer of 1951. My own funds were used to obtain a portion of the ethnographic notes given herein. Specimens collected are housed in the University of California Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. Special thanks are here given to Dr. T. D. McCown, Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, and to Professor 122 126

Wadátkuht

escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was Joaquin's brother. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the Maidu. 175 648.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

The boundaries between native groups, both in California and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get precise boundary locations from informants of one group he will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate 131 114 115

Wadátkuht

131 his claim. For example, one Wadátkuht informant said re-
114 peatedly that the Susanville area belonged to them, yet she
could not give any camp or village names within the area.
115 Maidu informants, however, gave the names and locations of
a number of Maidu villages in that area. On another occasion
a Washo informant stated that the Washo territory extended as
far north as Susanville, yet could not give the names or
locations of any Washo villages in that area despite the fact
that he did know the region south of Doyle. Similar conflicting
statements were recorded from various informants, so one
cannot always rely upon what an informant claims for the
territory of his particular group; instead one must rely upon
names and locations known by the informant.

In most cases the informants were sincere when they gave what they considered to be the boundaries of their group's territory. But it seemed to be a rather common occurrence for an informant to consider as his group's territory those areas of his neighbor's in which the first group made hunting and gathering forays. In drawing the boundary lines for the Wadátkuht an attempt was made to avoid these pitfalls. I did not include those peripheral areas periodically visited by the Wadátkuht and for which they had no camp or village names and for which they could provide no names for the physiographic features. I have tried, however, to note the use of these areas by the Wadátkuht.

131 The eastern boundary of the Wadátkuht territory can best be placed on, or in close proximity to the California-Nevada state line. The eastern neighbors, thus, would be their relatives, the Kuyuitkuht. The southern tip of the Wadátkuht territory extends to Doyle where Washo territory begins. Proceeding northwest of Doyle along the crest of the Sierra the boundary extends to the vicinity of Thompson Peak where it turns directly north. Although some groups of Wadátkuht crossed the summit, or crest of the Sierra into Dixie Valley, Plumas County, to gather products growing there they did not claim this area because it was only used for relatively short periods of time. They called it Tasu^{P}, meaning "Wild game place". This region can be considered to be an area of mutual use by both the Washo and the Wadátkuht, and possibly by the Maidu. Gladys Mankins said that it belonged to the Washo.

At Thompson Peak the boundary line runs north to Horse Lake with the Mountain Maidu territory lying to the west as far north as Antelope Ridge a few miles northeast of Susanville. North of Antelope Ridge the Pit River people are the

Wadátkuht

to produce powder which was mixed with water before being applied. Black paint, yadubi, was dug from the ground. 386

Skin Dressing. Deer's brains were boiled and dried and put away in a bag and kept until needed for use in tanning hides. When a deer was skinned the hide was left to dry for a bit and then soaked in water for about a week, until the hair began to slip. It was then taken from the water and a deer rib knife, pŏwhanuhn^{e}, was used to scrape the loose hair off. 281

The dried brain, which had been stored, was dissolved in warm water and then the hairless hide was put into the solution and rubbed with the hands. This rubbing continued intermittently for several days until water would run through the hide. It was then removed and one end tied to a post and a stick put through the other end and twisted to wring the water from it. The damp hide was then warmed near a fire while it was stretched and pulled with the hands and feet. This latter action thinned and dried the hide. It was then placed over a smokey fire with the skin forming a sort of conical tent over the fire. The smoking process took about one-half hour, and the hide had to be carefully watched at this time until the color was just right. Willow or cottonwood was used for fuel, although oak was sometimes used.

The act of tanning a hide was called tusung oiya. White buckskin was made the same way as was the smoke-tanned buckskin except that the smoking process was not done.

When the hide was first removed from the carcass a rough stone about the size of a mano was used to clean the inner surface. This same stone was used during the tanning to "clean the skum off". Tanning a hide took at least three days, with softening the hide while drying it being the most tedious. The tanning of hides was done by both men and women. [413] [462]

Kitty said her father, Joaquin, smoked hides by sewing a piece of canvas to the skin along one edge. The canvas was pegged to the ground around a smoking fire-pit and the skin pulled up to a cone by a rope thrown over a limb.

Weapons. The best information with respect to the manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, as might be expected, was obtained from Ike who had used them when he was young. The bow was called adúh and was generally made of juniper, wap^{i}. It was usually about three feet long, or as Ike said, 411 [115]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute

Washo NT20

APPENDIX A

WASHO ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC NOTES

103 [115] [114] The following ethnogeographic notes were obtained from a Washo shaman, Harry Wilson, whose home was near Doyle, California. The native name for the former Washo village at this place is Mehltútumi wadaiyo ("Shady Place"). These notes were made during a visit of several hours on the 27th of July, 1951. Harry Wilson died in 1954.

1) Diheuhm - the name for Honey Lake, and has reference to the seeds gathered there. It is quite likely that these seeds are the important wada seeds of the Wadátkuht Paiúte.

2) Tahalálak - Hot Springs Mountain.

3) Weodalak - "Warm Mountain", the name for Ft. Sage Mountain. The word for mountain is dalak.

4) Gewuhtmuhláhat - "Coyote Jump Across", the name for the creek on Jim Miller's ranch near the Red Rock Canyon turn-off.

5) Hemogosuhm - no data were obtained for this term, but it may be a place name lying in the vicinity of the preceding and following named places.

6) Daowonga - "Lake", the name for the playa now called Alkali Flat where Scott's Station is located.

7) Mashoni - the name of a creek located on a hillside on the east side of Reno junction.

8) Utsudalak - the name for a mountain northeast of Hallelujah Junction. Utsu is a weed that is unbreakable when green.

9) Tsemiungadalak - "Sand Mountain", on the east side of Hallelujah Junction.

10) Dawioshuhdima - the name of a spring on the east side of the county road where it crosses the summit on the Red Rock road.

11) Bokodalap - this is the name for the mountain on the west side of Winnemucca Valley, and on the east side of

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

[P. 88]

Plate 1

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a. Kitty Joaquin

b. Kitty Joaquin and her daughter Gladys

c. Lena Joaquin Cable

d. Grant Servilican

e. Gladys Mankins, Kitty Joaquin, and Ike Northrup

[End Plate 1]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

[P. 89]

Plate 2

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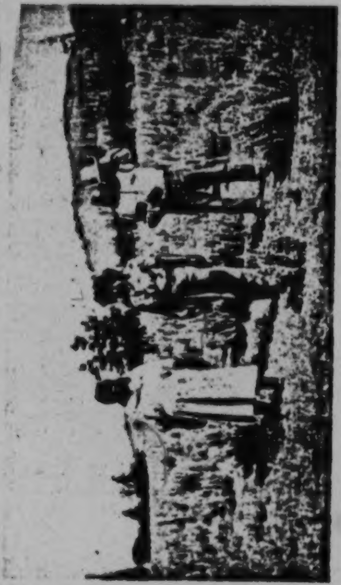
● [115]



b. Kitty Joaquin, Gladys Mankins, and Ike Northrump at Matū

d. House pit at Matū

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a. Village at Matū

c. Slide at Matū

[End Plate 2]

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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ETHNOGRAPHY
OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

ISABEL T. KELLY

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Vall

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Surprise Valley

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of 1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of California and the Bureau of American Ethnology. 122

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used interchangeably in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all statements apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the Gidü'tikad^u, or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, headquarters for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty. 101 [161] 122 101

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information. Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourishing. At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very 174 105 105 124

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[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

105 105 marked reluctance with which informants discuss religious topics.
115 124 There is yet much to be obtained concerning beliefs and practices, but it will be a difficult matter to overcome the native reserve.

74 114 Comparatively little has been published on the Northern Paiute. Curtis has some material on the Nevada Paviotso as has Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. A twenty-page paper by de Angulo and Freeland, partly linguistic, concerns the Fort Bidwell Paiute but is avowedly incomplete. For comparative material I have drawn on Lowie's Northern Shoshone and Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. It is scarcely necessary to mention the very obvious debt to Spier's Havasupai Ethnography; and I am further indebted to Dr. Spier for the use of his Klamath material, still in manuscript form.[3] Dr. Kroeber has very kindly allowed access to the unpublished Walapai data which embody the results of the 1929 summer field course of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

122 122 Acknowledgment should be made to the residents of Fort Bidwell, who were uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but especially to Mr. Henry Kober and to Mrs. Chester Lowell, who with great kindness allowed specimens from their private collections to be brought to Berkeley for photographing; to Mr. L. Shotwell, of the local Indian school, for material assistance in procuring informants; and to Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Schmitz, of Beatty, Oregon, for extraordinary kindness in providing housing and in obtaining informants. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, for the examination of native tobacco specimens; to Mr. Morris Halperin, University Farm, Davis, for classification of several grasses; and to Mr. John Thomas Howell, of the California Academy of Sciences, for all other plant identifications and for incidental botanical information. Thanks are also due Professor E. O. Essig, of the University of California, for identification of insects and for use of manuscript material; and Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, of Lakeview, for data concerning the geography of southern Oregon.

115 A list of informants is given below. Initials following the names indicate the key by which statements will be identified with certain informants. This has been done when evidence is conflicting, or of particular importance, or derived from a single individual. Statements in which the interpreter plays more than his part are jointly attributed. The ages given below are no more than crude approximations.

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[3] Since published in volume 30, this series.

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The following are Gidü'tikad^{a} informants:

Pindy (P), born in Adel, Warner valley; aged about 75, perhaps more; the eldest and best of the Gidü'tikad^{a} informants.

Joshua Brown (JB), born in Surprise valley; aged 65 to 70; also an excellent informant; blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), the present "chief"; born in Surprise; aged 65 to 70; remembers but little of the old life.

Bige Archie (BA), also of Surprise; aged 50 to 60; one of de Angulo's informants; unsatisfactory for ethnographic data but fairly well versed in tales.

Minnie Anderson (MA), of Cowhead lake, near Fort Bidwell; aged 75 to 80; chief informant on birth, marriage, crafts, etc.

Daisy (Limpy) Brown (DB), born near Plush, Oregon, and later of Fort Bidwell; aged about 60; good information supplementary to that of Minnie Anderson.

Nannie Ochiho (NO), of Fort Bidwell; aged 50 to 60; minor information, principally tales.

This completes the list of Gidü'tikad^{a} informants. The following have different band affiliations:

Tom Anderson (TA), originally of a Nevada band (?) but has been in Fort Bidwell many years, aged 65 to 70; remembers virtually nothing of the old life.

Billy Steve (BS), also of Nevada (Summit lake, formerly of Pyramid lake); an occasional visitor at Cedarville; aged about 70; gave excellent tales and could doubtless have given good ethnographic material had time allowed.

Dr. Sam Wata (SW), of Beatty, Oregon; aged about 80; the best potential informant of the lot; a former shaman; vigorous, alert, intelligent, and willing to answer questions. Unfortunately his grandson was suspicious of exploitation and made it impossible to work with him more than two half-days.

Mattie Petty (MP), of Beatty, aged about 60; inconsequential information on a variety of subjects.

Nina Nanso (NN), of Beatty; aged possibly 50; principally tales.

Lizzie Godowa (LG), of Beatty, aged about 60; information on basketry techniques.

My interpreters were Nellie Townsend (NT) of Fort Bidwell, Susie Archie (SA) of Fort Bidwell and Beatty, and Nora Henderson (NH) of Alturas. They were all three intelligent women, averaging perhaps 35 to 40 years of age, and possessed of a good command of English. Their persistence and staunch support were largely instrumental in overcoming the well-known Shoshonean reticence, a characteristic which these people share to a marked degree. Joshua, Charlie Washo, and Bige Archie worked without interpreters; Nellie interpreted for the Andersons and for Billy Steve; Susie, for Nannie Ochiho and for Beatty informants, save for a half-day with Dr. Sam during which her brother, David Chocktoot, officiated. Nora interpreted for Daisy Brown and for Pindy.

An effort has been made to record native terms in the orthography employed by Waterman.

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TERRITORY[4]

101 The band of Northern Paiute known as the Gidü'tikad^a, or
131 Groundhog-eaters, with whom this paper is primarily concerned, lived in the northeastern corner of California and adjacent parts of Oregon and Nevada, along the western fringe of the Great Basin. Their territory included the whole of Surprise valley and considerable of the hill country immediately to the east. Statements as to eastern extension are extremely vague, but their holdings included Coleman valley and probably Long valley, running well toward Summit lake in Nevada.

To the west Gidü'tikad^a territory extended over Warner range to include the eastern shore of Goose lake, south as far as Buck creek. The Paviotso-Achomawi boundary fell somewhere between this point and Sugar hill, the latter being indisputably Achomawi (Izi'sa'wi). My informant claimed Fandango valley and Lassen creek for the Paiute but said that both they and the Achomawi used to fish in the last mentioned stream. Save for a slight overlap in the Fandango region, this statement is in substantial agreement with Kniffen,[5] who places the northernmost Achomawi village on Lawson (i.e., Lassen) creek. The Paiute regarded all this region west of the Warners merely as hunting province, thus, "We didn't own it; we just hunted there." Hunting parties crossed into the Goose Lake country via Bidwell canyon, coming out near the present town of New Pine Creek.

To the northwest were the Klamath (Modoc ?), known as Pama'ha sai^n[6], or, more commonly, Sai^n, given once as Sa'ib^{a}tikad^a, Tule-eaters. Piudy gave Pakwi'tikad^a, Trout-eaters, as the name for the Modoc; all other informants failed to distinguish between them and the Klamath. Piudy seems, however, to have reversed the two terms, agreeing with other informants that the "Klamath" hunted on the western shore of Goose lake and placing the Modoc in the Klamath marsh district, the heart of Klamath territory.[7] It seems likely, there-

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[4] The bulk of this material is based on information given by P and JB.

[5] P. 308 and map 2.

[6] This is said to be a name given by the Yainax Paiute, and hence recent. My informant was not certain, but suggested that it might be derived from pa'mühab, water grass.

[7] According to Spier, Klamath, 3 and figure 1. See Bibliography for complete citations.

I: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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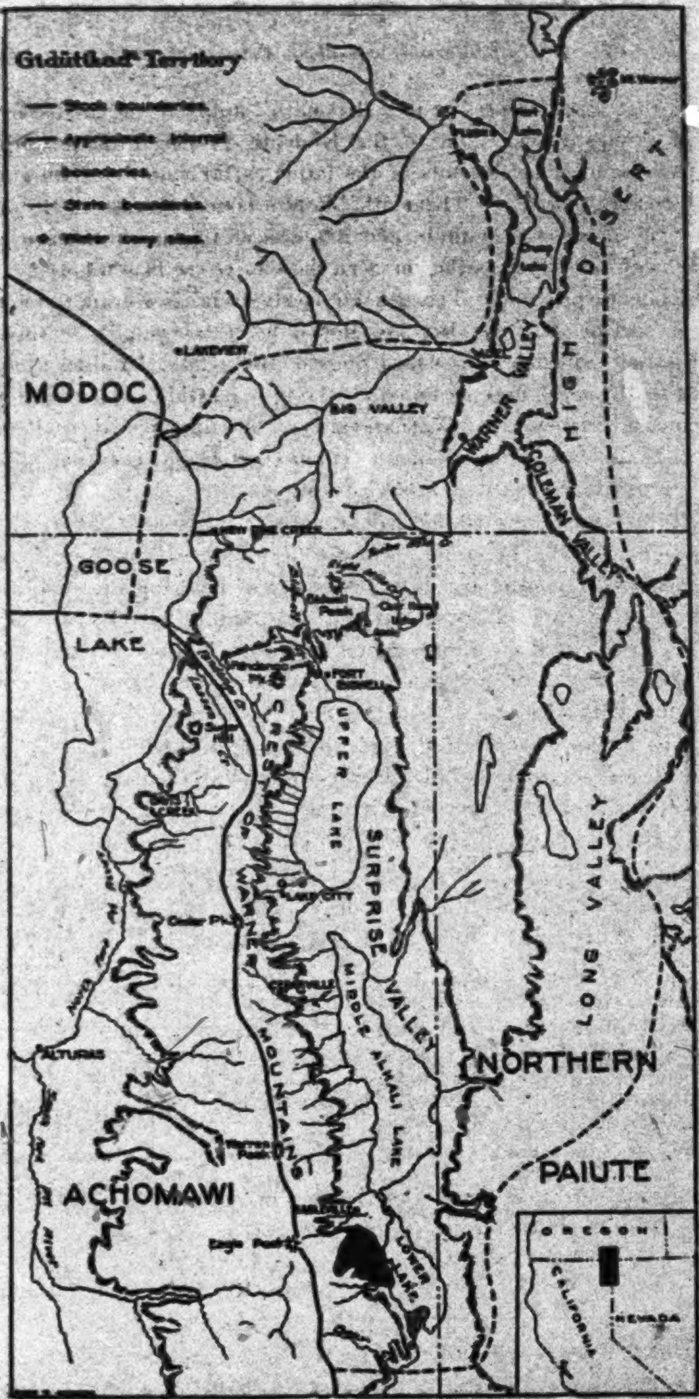
Gidütikadᵊ Territory
Stock boundaries
Approximate internal boundaries
State boundaries
Winter camp sites
MODOC
LAKEVIEW
BIG VALLEY
WARNER VALLEY
HIGH DESERT
COLEMAN VALLEY
GOOSE LAKE
FORT BIDWELL
UPPER LAKE
WARNER MOUNTAINS
LAKE CITY
Cedar Pass
CEDARVILLE
SURPRISE VALLEY
MIDDLE ALKALI LAKE
LONG VALLEY
ALTURAS
NORTHERN PAIUTE
ACHOMAWI
EAGLEVILLE
Eagle Peak
LOWER LAKE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA

Map 1. Gidü'tikadᵊ territory.

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fore, that all references to the "Klamath" apply to the Modoc or to both groups rather than to the Klamath proper, although Spier reports summer settlements of the latter as far east as Sycan river. Informants placed the "Klamath"-Paiute boundary east of Bly and west of Gearheart mountain and it seems at this point to have run northwest, inasmuch as the northern shore of Goose lake was regarded as Klamath province. This northwesterly trend is substantiated by Spier's Klamath map, but his Modoc boundary might be shifted somewhat to include the eastern shore of Goose lake. Tradition has it that the Klamath once occupied all the present Gidü'tikad^{u} territory, including Surprise and Warner valleys. At this time these Paiute were living east of Steens mountain, in Oregon, but eventually they drove out the Klamath and took possession.

To the north the Gidü'tikad^{u} ranged more or less continuously through Adel and Plush in Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise. They seem not to have wintered north of Plush, but in summer they probably reached the head of the valley. To the north, south, and east, they were bordered by other Paiute, although most of the country between Plush and Burns is said to have been alkali and uninhabited.

The names of some of the neighboring Paiute bands follow, but anything in the way of detailed geographical distribution is not feasible. Informants are unfamiliar with distant areas, especially to the east.

Dühü'teyatikad^{u}, Deer-eaters, Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon.

Go'ya'tikad^{u}, Crawfish(?)-eaters, Yainax and Beatty, Oregon. These Paiute were brought from Silver lake in recent times and the name is therefore post-reservation.

Wada'tikad^{u}, Wada'(seed)-eaters, Burns, Malheur district, Oregon; and Susanville, California.

Tübu'initikad^{u}, (?) Berry-eaters, east of Steens mountain, Oregon.

Kwi'nadüva^{a}, Kwi'nodub, Smoke (?) Indians, McDermitt, Nevada. The country north of McDermitt is said to have been uninhabited.

A'ga'itikad^{u}, Fish-eaters, Summit and Walker lakes, Nevada.

Kuyui'tikad^{u}, Sucker-eaters, Pyramid lake, Nixon, Nevada.

To'itikad^{u}, Cat-tail-eaters (from toib^{u}, cat-tail), Fallon and Yerington, Nevada.

[622] My informant did not know the name of the band immediately to the south but stated that their headman was named Sa'ihida^{a}. Similarly he gave Wobi'ñünabügai as the chief of the Paisley Paiute but did not know the group designation. Paisley is known as So'ho. He stated definitely that two bands, those of Burns and Susanville, were known as Wada'tikad^{u} and that the Walker and Summit lake bands,

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although distinct, shared the same name. The Summit lake group bounded the Gidū'tikad^{a} to the east.

Two subnames were recorded. One, Saib^{a}tikad^{a}, Tule-eaters, applied to Adel in Warner valley. This name was given any persons camped there; in other words, it was associated with the site rather than with the people. The word, Saib^{a}tikad^{a}, is apparently in accord with the Handbook[8] which gives the Saidyuka as a group of eastern Oregon. Loud[9] has it "sai", short for sai-duka'a, 'tule eaters,' a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada." It should be noted that this is identical with two of the three versions for Klamath. The other subname is said to be of recent derivation. As the Bidwell Paiute were ridiculed by their neighbors for eating the flesh of animals dead from natural causes, they came to speak jestingly of the Cedarville and Eagleville groups as Itsū'natikad^{a}, they-eat-them-alive.

These band names must not be regarded as having serious economic significance. They are based, in fact, on natural resources rather than on staple foods and are certainly no more than convenient labels. For example, concerning the name given the Yainax Paiute, my informant said, "Go'ya'tikad^{a} is a new name given since the Paiute were put on the Klamath reservation.[10] It is named after the crawfish (?). There are many there; I don't know if they ever eat them or not."

The only one of the above bands not named according to the "-tikad^{a}" pattern is the McDermitt band. Informants could not explain this exception, nor could they give the exact meaning of the name. One translated it "Smoke Indians"; another said somewhat doubtfully, "It sounds like the word for smoke; I don't know why they call them that."

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[8] Handbook of American Indians, 1:932.

[9] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[10] Go'ya' is apparently a loan word as Spier, 15, notes a Klamath village called GoyEäks'Egis, crawfish crawl out. It seems plausible that crawfish, foreign to the old Paiute habitat, were designated by the Klamath term.

PLACE NAMES

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This is a convenient place for recording a few random notes on place names. One is struck by the fact that the Gidü'tikad^{u} do not, as a general rule, name the larger geographical features. Thus, they lack a name for Surprise valley as a whole, for Warner range, for the valley lakes, etc. There is no paucity of names for minor features, and such names are almost invariably descriptive or refer to some plant or animal formerly plentiful in the region.

Springs seem to have been named more frequently than streams. Bidwell creek, the largest stream in the northern end of the valley, was unnamed, and Buck creek, on the western side of the Warners, was also unnamed.

Gearheart mountain, Oregon, was called Pasi'akwo, from pasi'a, a large bird resembling an eagle;[11] Steens mountain was known as Tsütsüüd^{a} "because it was always covered with snow (apparently related to ütsü'ts, cold). Eagle peak was called Ma'ta'gan (from ma'ta', metate) because material for grinding stones was plentiful on its upper slopes. Bidwell mountain was unnamed, but a point to one side of it was called Tüba'-motsi'kia, pine-nut point. An unidentified peak up Bidwell canyon was called Tsa'"na-tsu'ga, the name of an edible root which formerly grew on its slopes.

A small reddish hill on the road between Lake City and Fort Bidwell was called Atsa'-motsi'kia, red peak. Both Indians and whites observe that winter snows always melt there first, and by the whites it is called Red hill or Hot point. A series of rock cliffs along the same road[12] is known as Gidü'-motsi'kia, groundhog-point. A peak just south of Lake City projects at an upward angle and is called Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose.

The three lakes which formerly covered a good part of the valley floor were not named, but the strip of land between Upper lake and Middle lake had a name which my informant could not recall. At Eagleville the break between Lower and Middle lakes was called Pü'hü-kanu, duck-catch. Lake Annie, a small body of water at the head of Surprise valley, was known as Sia'pa'^{a}, gravel, from a deposit along its southern shore. Cowhead lake, somewhat larger and lying five or six miles northeast of Fort Bidwell, was known as Toha'-kidü-pamün (white-groundhog-lake) because a white groundhog was once seen there. Piudy knew no name for Goose lake, but Joshua said that it was called Paha'-pamün, big lake. 103 133

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[11] De Angulo, 330, gives pasia' as bald-headed eagle.

[12] On the Max Fulcher ranch.

Big valley, west of Warner valley, was called Guyü, the name of a food plant gathered there. Sugar hill, Toga'-pokwad (dark point or peak) gave its name to near-by Fandango valley. Fandango pass was called Pahu'a'-agum from pahu'a', grizzly bear.

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEASONAL PURSUITS AND WANDERINGS

For food these Paiute, like the bulk of Great Basin tribes, were entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering, and even proto-agriculture in the form of wild crop irrigation[15] was unknown. From an economic point of view, Paiute habitat seems to have been peculiarly uninviting, and only through literally unceasing toil could it be made to yield a livelihood. Whereas peoples dependent upon one staple, such as acorns, camas, or mescal, normally enjoy a season of plenty, often followed, to be sure, by one of privation, the Gidü'tikadü had no one product upon which they could rely. It follows, therefore, that their food gathering activities were extensive and continuous rather than concentrated and seasonal. Starvation was frequent, especially in late winter when the stores of cached food had been exhausted. 221 221 262

The geography of the Surprise region has been covered by Russell, but it may be well to call attention to a few general features. A large part of the valley floor is occupied by the playa beds of three lakes, now dry most of the time, but well filled within the memory of informants and early settlers. The remainder of the valley is said to have been meadowland in aboriginal times, but nowadays, owing to the introduction of sheep and to subsequent overgrazing, the meadow has been almost completely replaced by sagebrush, excepting, of course, land actually under cultivation. This means that the pre-white environmental conditions were definitely more favorable for the support of a non-agricultural population. In fact, it is difficult to see how a hunting and gathering people could possibly maintain themselves under present conditions. 133 137

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[15] Which Steward, 149, reports for the Eastern Mono.

133 On either side, Surprise valley is bordered by steep rising ranges. The badlands to the east bear little apparent vegetation save sage, but they were the principal root-gathering grounds in the old days. The slopes of the Warners, to the west of Surprise, are covered with a juniper-sage growth, with pine and fir on the upper reaches. To the north of the valley the Warners break down and run northeast to bound Warner valley on the east. Here they are known as the High Desert, a region used today only for grazing. Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise, differs markedly from the latter in that it is almost entirely tule swamp and lake country, although the ubiquitous sagebrush covers what dry land there is.

221 The Gidü'tikad^{u} exploited this unpromising habitat to the best of their ability, wandering seasonally in pursuit of food. Perhaps the annual cycle is best introduced by the following:

> In the old days they used to dig food all summer—until it was gone. They gathered seeds and roots and buried them in the ground. In winter they stayed until the buried food was gone and then moved on to the next place. They hunted every day, all year. In those days there were many sage hens, ducks, geese, swans, jackrabbits, cottontails, deer, and antelope (NT).

Early in spring, when the snow was still on the ground, they fished in the creeks and streams. As soon as the snow melted sufficiently, those camped in Surprise abandoned their winter quarters and crossed to the hills along the east side of the valley, stringing from Cowhead lake south to Poison spring, there to consume food buried the previous year and to dig whatever roots they could find. All spring and well into summer they continued to wander about, gathering roots which they dried and cached for future use. Their wanderings did not follow any set scheme; they roamed wherever the food supply seemed most promising. A considerable range was necessary, however, for roots such as camas are essentially swamp plants, and others such as epos occur only in higher and drier country. In late summer they returned to the valley to pick berries and to harvest seeds. With the approach of fall, the season for plant foods terminated, and attention was centered upon hunting.

This activity, as well as gathering, groups itself into seasonal cycles. Deer, antelope, and rabbits were hunted the year round. Sage hens and grouse were got in spring. From May to July groundhogs, porcupines, and squirrels were available. In midsummer crickets and occasionally larvae(?) were gathered. In late summer and early fall, hunting of deer and antelope loomed as compared with other pursuits. Wildcat was hunted in fall, which was likewise the season for com-

munal rabbit drives and for hunting water fowl such as mud hens, ducks, geese, and swans. This very considerable range of activities implies residence from which the valley lakes and flats, as well as the hill country, were accessible. There seem to have been no set camp spots, but the Adel and Bidwell districts were particularly favored for fall residence. 221

Winter was the season of food shortage. At this time the Gidü'tikad^{u} returned to more or less permanent sites, there to consume the seeds, dried roots, and meats which they had cached. Hunting of deer, antelope, and rabbits continued. In addition, bear, wildcat, and otter were hunted because "then they were fat, and their skins were good." Winter was also the season of antelope charming. [789]

When asked concerning the relative importance of animal foods my informant replied, with an excellent display of logic:

> They ate more deer and rabbits than anything else because they hunted them all year round. Rabbits are not so good this time of year; squirrels are better now. It all depends on the season (P:NH).

WINTERING GROUNDS

The Gidü'tikad^{u} had a number of established wintering grounds, and, as a corollary, recognized certain regions—such as the country west of the Warners, the area between Surprise and Warner valleys, Big valley, and the east side of Surprise—which were best shunned during winter because of heavy snows, insufficient resources, etc. 103 361

The northernmost winter camp was in the vicinity of Plush, Oregon. According to Piudy, it was known as Sa'ga'^{p}namatsibui and refers in some obscure way to "the place where the river comes from the mountain into the open country." What is doubtless a different rendering of the same term was given by Joshua who called a Honey creek site near Plush, Saga'pamatsibua. He claimed that it was derived from saga', a kind of willow, and tsibua, canyon mouth.

Adel, farther south in Warner valley, was called Saib^{u} and was a favorite wintering ground. A camp site just below the present MC ranch house was called Wa'habi^{i} (from wago'pi, pine tree, and habi^{i}, fall down) and was so-named from a creek into which a large tree had fallen. A site "southeast of Adel," described as a few miles east of Dugout,[14] was called Kusi'nüit^{u}.

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[14] As the location of this wintering ground is highly doubtful, it has not been entered on the map. Possibly it should be southwest instead of southeast of Adel. In a letter, Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, Lakeview, states that the locality known as Dugout falls within Township 40 South, Range 23 East. This would place it definitely southwest of Adel.

103 361 In Surprise, the Gidü'tikad[8] sometimes wintered on the slopes below Lake Annie. This site seems to have been unnamed; it was probably known from the lake, or, because of its proximity, may have been included in the name applied to the Bidwell vicinity. This whole latter district was known as Tusi'yamüs (from tusi'p', a kind of grass, *Distichlis spicata* Greene, and yamü's, corner), and ample justification for the name may be found by glancing at Russell's map of Surprise valley surface types.[15] Tusi'yamüs was a favorite spot, and winter camps were strung along the foot of the Warners from the site of the present camp through the Indian School grounds, as well as along Bidwell creek from the fair grounds below town up the canyon to the old flour mill.

There were three wintering grounds about Lake City. One was in a juniper stand a short distance north of town and was called Wa'-dunu'ba (from wap', juniper, and dunu'ba, bunch, stand). Another site was near the lake shore and was called Sawa'-dunu'ba (sawa', sagebrush). Informants state that it is now cleared and planted in wheat. Camps were scattered from below the peak known as Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose, just south of Lake City, all along the range slopes south toward Cedarville and on to Eagleville.

Near Cedarville, the Gidü'tikad[8] wintered along the creek at the foot of Cedar pass, which place they called Pa-sü'hi, water-willow, "from a kind of willow growing in the stream." One informant claimed that this site had no name, but that "they knew it by Pa'ho'ts-wogodni (sand creek, canyon) on the eastern side of the valley."

The southernmost winter camp was near Bear ranch at the foot of Surprise valley. My informant could not remember its name but said that it was near the stream called Wï'gi-pa-hu'ᵘ (sideways-water-running) which "runs sideways instead of straight down from the mountain." From inquiry, Bear creek[16] seems most nearly to answer the description.

221 361 According to informants, "Some stayed in the same camp all winter, but most had at least two camps, perhaps one here and one at Cedarville. When all their food was gone, they moved on to the next camp." There was certainly some travel during winter as camps cooperated in communal antelope and rabbit drives.

361 The winter site had perhaps five or six houses; the summer groups were still smaller, perhaps only two or three.

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[15] Figure 4.

[16] Spelled Bare's creek on the Alturas quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual division of labor was not ironbound but was sufficiently definite to permit of a general statement. Hunting was the male province, but women often assisted, as in communal drives and the capture of water fowl. Traps for small game, such as sage hens, might be set by women or even girls. All equipment connected with the hunt, such as weapons, snowshoes, etc., was made by the men. In net making women might twist the bark fiber, but men did the netting "because they knew how." Such stone working as there was seems to have been done by the men, although with a domestic article as the metate, women seem occasionally to have taken a hand. 462

Women were concerned with the gathering of roots, seeds, berries, and insects, but men occasionally assisted with the last mentioned. Women also prepared food, hauled wood and water, and generally concerned themselves with domestic tasks. Men, home from the hunt, are said to have done the grinding when women were out gathering. Handicrafts such as basketry and sewing were preeminently a woman's work, although it is interesting to note that a man sewed his own quiver.

Both men and women cooperated in house building, the men setting the frame, the women applying the covering. Both sexes also worked hides, although the skinning, as an adjunct of hunting, was always done by the man. Both sexes likewise made rabbitskin blankets.

It is quite apparent that the sexual division of labor followed normal cleavage lines, men engaging in the violent and sporadic tasks, women in the less active and more continuous pursuits.

HUNTING

A boy was eight or nine years old when he started to hunt. After a light snowfall he was sent out to track cottontails and often would bring a few home. A small boy was also directed to hunt wildcats as they climbed in the junipers. He stood beneath the tree and shot the animal with his bow. 224 857

When a boy was ten or eleven years old he learned to hunt deer. He accompanied his father and was given instruction in technique. 224 868

If I have a boy I tell him how to hunt. I say, "Get up before daylight and go to the hill. Soon you will see deer. Get close and kill one. You must watch

224 the wind. Be sure to walk carefully. Watch the rocks where you step. Don't fall down or make a noise" (JB).

868 My father said, "You must watch the wind when you hunt so that the deer will not scent you. Track deer all day; then you will catch them easily. Get them early in the morning. Groundhog is the same way as deer. It is frightened if it scents you. But rabbits, ducks, and geese are not afraid; they do not smell" (CW).

A boy was not allowed to eat his first game, otherwise he would never become a successful hunter. When he had shot his first deer, or possibly antelope as an alternative, he was required to go through a set procedure, after which the food taboo was removed and good luck assured him. An account of this performance[17] follows:

A man told his son, "Do not eat the first deer you kill. Butcher it and hang it up. Then let me know. I will go with you to bring back the meat."

Once I killed a deer up above Lake City. My father came and asked me, "What kind of tree would you like? Service?" I said, "Yes, that is stout; maybe it will make me strong." Then we cut green service to make a ring. I pulled over the stem and my father cut it, saying "I cut you." Then he sliced thin meat from inside the ribs and twisted it around that service ring.

Then my father told me, "Take off your shirt, your moccasins. Take the beads from your neck." I took off my clothes. My father said "Step in this ring. Do it carefully; be sure not to touch it." I did that, and he lifted the ring up over my head and then let it down, and I stepped out. Then he put it over my head and pulled it down. I stood still. "Step over," he said. Every time my father did this he called all kinds of game—goose, swan, mountain sheep, bear, elk, and otter.

This is called natsa'tim'sin,[18] and afterwards a person will always be lucky. My father said, "You can eat this meat tomorrow." I wanted some that day, but I waited (JB).

The account given by Piudy was in substantial agreement with the foregoing but differed slightly in detail. A willow was used in lieu of service, and the meat was strewn on the ground and the youth required to step over it. At the conclusion of the performance, the boy was allowed to eat any part of the animal he wished. Although he had previously killed small game, such as rabbits, he had not been allowed to eat them.

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777 Success in hunting was a matter of luck and skill, but the former was not attributed to any particular factor. Continence, which seems to be a widespread requisite, was reported by one informant[19] but denied by others.[20] According to Piudy:

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[17] Cf. Hopkins, 50.

[18] I am not sure if this term applies to the whole performance, or to the ring, or to both. It is probably the first, as Piudy said, "It is the same way they call skinning an animal," a neat case of imitative magic.

[19] DB.

[20] NO, JB, P.

I'm a deer hunter and I don't know any way to bring luck. Sometimes people dreamed of killing game and it brought good luck. I was a good hunter long ago when my eyes were strong, but I never had such a dream.

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Charms were not ordinarily carried, but according to Daisy, "Sometimes they cut little things (fetlocks) from the legs of deer and carry them along. The deer can smell them a long way off and they come." In the old days a deer hunter took a sweat bath and prayed to the sun at dawn.[21] Nowadays persons who have hunted several days without success sometimes resort to the sweat-lodge.

ANIMAL FOODS

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Deer (dühü'tc) and antelope (dü'na') were the two chief larger game animals. One informant had heard of buffalo (pagu'ts^{u}),[22] which he said were hunted on the other side of Eagleville. All informants knew of mountain sheep (koip^{a}), although none had ever seen one. They were not found in Surprise but occurred beyond Plush as well as this side of Gerlach, Nevada. The hunter sighted his quarry and attempted to sneak close enough to shoot. He occasionally wore an antelope disguise, but this seems not to have been usual.

Deer.—Deer were hunted the year round. They were sometimes stalked, but this method was used principally in the north, around Adel and Plush, and but rarely in Surprise. The hunter wore an antelope head with ears and horns attached, but no body disguise.

One or two men might organize a deer hunt and on the following day the party would go forth, eight or ten strong. When five or six animals were located in the brush, two men would go in and frighten them; the others shooting as the deer ran past. The two or three brought down were skinned and butchered on the spot. The hide went to the one whose arrow had killed the deer; the head and back sinews went to the "boss"; the meat was divided evenly. It was cut with a six-inch obsidian knife which was carried about the waist in the same sack with fire sticks.

Deer were never taken in nets but were sometimes captured in pitfalls.[23] A hole, five or six feet in width and the same in depth, was dug on a deer trail and covered with small sticks, pine needles, etc. The hunter came there at night and watched. Sometimes he caught two deer this way. The animals were not shot but were dispatched by a sharp jab with a stick. The pitfall method was "a little too hard" because of the time and labor involved in digging and was infrequently employed. It was never used for antelope.

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[21] This point is of some interest as Dr. Lowie tells me that the Washo claim to use the sweat-lodge only in connection with deer hunting. Among the Wishram (Spier and Sapir, 180) men sweated preliminary to a hunt. The Navaho myth of the Mountain Chant (Matthews, 389–390) associates sweating with success in the chase.

[22] From pa, water. These Paiute have the belief that the buffalo comes from the water.

[23] The Achomawi are said to employ this technique.

The only means of taking deer wholesale was by firing. This method was called kupi't^{a} and was practiced in late summer, about the middle of August. When deer were sighted on a hill, a group of hunters hastened there, some on either slope of the mountain. They started fires, working them around until the band was completely encircled. This accomplished, the fires were brought closer, constricting the circle until the animals were bunched on the crest of the hill where they could be shot conveniently. Deer firing was ordinarily executed without undue noise, but if a bear were accidentally caught in the fire, a great hue and cry was set up to warn the others and to inform them in which direction the animal was headed. Upon hearing the shouts, someone would sneak into the circle and conceal himself until he had opportunity to let fly. Deer were never driven into a corral "because they lived in the mountains and not in the open country."

Joshua Brown gave an account of deer hunting which is of particular interest because it involves individual hunting rights:

> Deer have a road; they go south for winter. My father had a place on a rock butte at the head of Buck canyon. He made a brush fence running downhill from each side of the butte where he left an open place like a gateway. He hid in a hole about ten feet from the road, and as the deer came through the gate, he shot. He killed one every night.
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> One night my brother and I went there. My brother said I was too young to go, but I went anyway. I had a little bow and arrow. I went to sleep. When the deer came by my brother woke me and told me to keep still. He shot with a big bow which he held horizontally so the animals wouldn't see it.
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> When my father went to Yainax he told his friend Ochiho he could use the place. Nobody else could go. When my father died anybody could use it.

Antelope.—Antelope were stalked, but, as with deer, this was more frequently practiced in Warner than in Surprise. The hunter wore an antelope head with the small horns attached and also a hide body disguise. The latter was not necessary for deer stalking, but was required for the more alert antelope. The hunter carried white paint in a sack, and when he approached the animals he smeared it on his face and arms and on his body and legs below the hide covering. He carried a stick about the length of the antelope's leg as an aid in walking and gradually got within shooting range by imitating the movements of the animal, pawing the ground and simulating grazing in order to make the deception realistic. The antelope disguise was called düma'-dua. 224

In the fall of the year four or five persons cooperated in hunting antelope. One or two would hide and the remaining members of the party would go far around, approaching the herd from the opposite direction and frightening them toward the concealed marksmen.

According to Dr. Sam, a herd might start for the rim, pursued by the hunter. "Any kind of game" might be so caught, even elk (pa'dühüte; pa, water, dühü'te, deer).[24] As Gidü'tikad[a] informants denied driving game over a cut bank, this statement may hold only for the Silver lake band.

In winter, when antelope ran in large herds, they were driven into 224
brush corrals and slaughtered in great numbers. This is the so-called 787
"antelope charming," several accounts of which follow. 622

Two men here and one in Warner could charm antelope. Charlie Washo's father could drive them into the corral like cattle.

One or two men were bosses, just as in the rabbit hunt. The headman (boss) sent one or two young fellows to look around for a band of antelope. In the evening they said, "We found one band." Then the boss called everyone; 15 or 20 camps came, maybe 100 men. In the evening that headman talked like a doctor, not like a common man: "We are going to have a song. We'll make them turn here." They had singing.

The doctor (headman) took a stick about so long,[25] and a string of horse hair (or other string before we got horses; maybe a deer string), and twisted this around the stick. Then he took off his coat, put it on a hide, and folded it into a bundle about four feet long like a body. He tied it tight lengthwise with a rope. Then he rubbed the rope with his stick, and made a noise on the string like a violin.

The boss faced the antelope; the young men faced him, and the other men sat around the fire in a circle, inside a brush fence. They sang maybe ten songs. They danced and made a noise like antelope.

The doctor (headman) stood up. The young men touched all the dancers and knocked them down. Then the boss sat down. All was quiet.

Soon there was talking, "The antelope come. Get up, boys. What do we know? The antelope are looking this way. They will come tomorrow. They say, 'If you do no wrong we shall come. You boys and girls, mind well.' "

We had a circular brush corral, two miles [*sic*] around, with an opening each side of which everybody lined up in a long wing. Four or five men went after the antelope. The boss stayed at the corral and directed the people: "The antelope are coming. Watch out. All steady; all quiet."

As the antelope galloped between the wings into the corral they never were frightened. If angry they would escape through a wing. The doctor stood

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[24] Which seem to have been extremely rare.

[25] About 18 inches.

224 in the center of the corral with a married woman [not his wife], who knelt.
622 He told her, "Don't move. The antelope will come to you. Don't be frightened."
She kept still.

789 We camped in a circle and before sundown built campfires. The headman came to me and said, "Steady, take off your cap and scare them for about three hours until the sun is over there [indicating mid-afternoon]."

One man scared them around inside the corral until the headman said, "That's enough. They are tired already. When the headman said this, all the men tried to get one antelope apiece. The first man who shot a big buck put it in the center where the woman knelt (JB).

Just one man can charm antelope; I don't know how he learns. He is like a doctor. He sits with everyone in the circle and sings, making music on a doe hide (deer or antelope) that is stuffed with clothes and tied with string. If the people know how, they help him sing. A plain stick (unnamed) is wrapped with any kind of braid, and the charmer works it back and forth on the bundle. After a long time he says, "They haven't looked at us yet." Finally he says, "The deer are coming," and falls senseless on his drum and visions an antelope. Finally he recovers, sits up, says: "We are sure to kill antelope. I see them coming inside the corral. I see them lying there."

They have already placed sagebrush, root ends up, in a big circle, about as far as from here to camp.[26] There were many people so it didn't take long to pile the brush. Men and women line up in wings by an opening in the circle, the women nearest the corral, the men at the outer ends.

Then the fastest runner goes out, returning when he has sighted a herd of antelope. Then the men go out in 2 parties and circle the herd and drive them in. They close the opening of the corral and stand between the piles of sagebrush that form the corral. If an animal starts their way, they head him back.

The fastest runner chases the antelope around in the corral until they are tired and frightened, when he kills a doe and throws it on top of a sagebrush pile in the center, and then a buck. They eat these two first and everybody gets a share. Then the headman tells his people it is their turn to shoot. They shoot from the circle as the animals approach. A wife stands with each man and drags away his kill. A man (charmer or fastest runner?) stands in the center with a woman (maybe his wife), who takes the animals he kills.

When they stop for the night, the fastest runner guards the antelope. They set fire to that sagebrush[27] to frighten the animals.

The headman tells them to go ahead and kill. There are so many animals that they don't have to divide them; they never kill all of them, some escaping. Almost everyone kills one. Sometimes an antelope becomes so tired that it falls down, and a woman can kill it. A woman might even kill two or three.

The headman shoots too; he takes most of the buck horns, but not the does'. They put the horns on a pile of sagebrush in the middle of the camp circle. All the heads are turned toward the charmer's camp. He wants everyone to come. They cook the heads under the ashes and all eat, each person perhaps getting one head.

They butcher the antelope and dry the meat on sagebrush bushes. Coyotes and wolves never bother it.

When there is no sagebrush for a corral, they braid sagebrush bark and make a fence by tying it to posts about four feet tall. Loose strands of bark

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[26] About a half-mile.

[27] These seem to be the only circumstances under which antelope are fired.

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hang down the poles and when the antelope are in the corral the people pull the braid, and the bones sounds [illegible].

I have done this kind of antelope hunting. In winter the antelope are in big herds and that's the time to kill them. This kind of hunt is called ku'a'; every camps join. They tell everybody to come.

It takes just one day to charm antelope (P).[28]

In the old days they made a sagebrush corral and danced around it. They did not smoke. The [illegible] woman knocked over each man in imitation of an antelope. As each fell, he said, "ha, ae, ae."

Early in the morning when all the antelope were bunched, the people went out in two parties and drove them into the corral.

The antelope boss was a doctor. He wore an antelope head with horns and stayed behind in a corner of the corral.

Then the people took off their clothes, put them in a big bundle, and tied it with cord from the neck of an antelope. Then the doctor took a good straight (unnotched) stick and made music on that bundle.[29]

The first antelope killed was given to the boss. Sometimes two hundred were killed and divided evenly among all. If one person got more than his share the people would never be able to catch antelope again (TA).

When they were charming antelope, everybody stood up. The doctor made the antelope act as if they were poisoned. They got tired and ran slowly. Then the boss told one man to chase them. Every now and then the man would call out. Soon he caught one buck and threw it on a stack of brush, then another and threw it on top of the first. Then everybody went after them.

The boss got all the heads. They cooked them in the ground, covered with grass and dirt and with a fire on top. Then all the people came and ate them (BA).

Long ago many people were starving. My great-uncle told them to come to him and he would charm antelope for them. Many came. He made a big circle with piles of sagebrush and told a man and woman to stand at each pile of sagebrush. He said not to drop any clothing, or the antelope would run through the hole.

He went out alone on foot and drove in forty or fifty antelope. Then they had plenty to cook (DB).

One way to get antelope is to have a doctor do it. A doctor sent two men to sight antelope. When they returned he had the people stack sagebrush in piles (wa'Ya) to form a great corral, leaving a wide gap for an entrance.

Then the doctor asked all the people to come. They put out the fires and gathered. The doctor made his things into a bundle and tied it with sagebrush-bark twine. He took a notched stick[30] and made music.

He picked out ten men to dance and these ran around making noises like an antelope. The doctor sang, "The antelope are coming; I meet them coming through the canyon." Then he fainted, falling to the ground, his body hot and smoking. Finally he got up and said, "We have two, a doe and a fawn."

Next morning everybody went to the corral and surrounded the antelope. They made noises like wolves, and the antelope came into the corral. One man was selected who walked up and caught a doe and a fawn which were called "first luck," and divided among everyone.

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[28] But the killing evidently continues into the second day.

[29] In other accounts the music comes before the animals are driven into the corral and this is probably a slip in sequence.

[30] Dr. Sam here reports the notched stick for the Silver Lake band, but it was explicitly denied by Gidü'tikadü informants.

224 They kept those antelope there all night. Nobody had to watch them. Just this man who caught the doe and the fawn killed the antelope for the people. It 622 took him two days.

789 Sometimes they stretched a long rope of sagebrush around like a corral. To it they tied bunches of sagebrush which shook and frightened the animals as they moved about.

Afterward they had a big feast. The doctor got most of the heads. They roasted them in the ground. The hides were divided. The doctor gathered all the horns which he strung and wore about his neck. A doctor never hunted, but he went where they killed the game. He had just certain medicine for game (SW).

These several accounts have been included because, though two or three are obviously cursory, each contributes something novel in the way of detail and, at the same time, confirms the general features of the procedure. It is of some interest that the notched stick figures only in the account of Dr. Sam; Gidü'tikad^a informants vigorously denied its use.[31] None had heard of charming horses[32] and the suggestion was received with great amusement. Now and then a certain person could charm bears. He could make a bear "so tame that it would come right up to him." Deer were not charmed "because they aren't in bands and aren't in open country," not, apparently, because of any innate incapacity.

224 *Bear.*—Piudy gave names for three kinds of bear: padu'a'^{a}, grizzly oha'-paiyuna'^{a} (oha', yellow, tan)) brown bear;[33] toka'-kwatea'^{a}, black bear. Pa'hwa', father's sister, is a term applied to any kind of bear; sona'^{a} is also bear, perhaps only grizzly.

Bears were plentiful in Warner range and Fandango pass (Padu'a'-agan) derives its native name from that fact. In the old days, before the Paiute had horses, they shot bears from ambush. Early in the morning one or two hunters would conceal themselves in thick brush near a plot from which roots had been dug and shoot the bear when it came in search of roots. It was skinned and butchered; the hide was taken directly to camp and the meat left for a subsequent trip. In more recent times bears were hunted from horseback. The hunter went forth early in the morning carrying a spear in addition to his bow.

In winter several men would hunt bear. They tracked the animal to its hole into which they thrust a dry tree. The hunters then stood to one side, calling, and shouting.[34] Eventually the bear emerged,

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[31] See section on Musical Instruments for further discussion.

[32] Which Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, 57, claimed her brother could do.

[33] De Angulo, 329, gives oha'yo'na as grizzly bear.

[34] Hallowell, 53, discusses the matter of address. Informants claim that they do not address a statement to the animal but only shout to attract its attention.

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slowly, its progress impeded by the limbs of the tree. The hunters aimed at the jaw; two or three arrows were required to kill. There was no address of apology or other trait of the complex discussed by Hallowell; but the bear is said to pound on the ground and ask the earth if anyone is talking about it or ridiculing it. The earth gives such information, and the bear takes revenge on the offending individual.

Wildcat.—Wildcat (duhu'^{u}) was hunted with the bow. The flesh was considered edible and the hide highly prized. Small boys were sent out to shoot wildcats with bow and arrow. They stood beneath a juniper and shot the animal as it climbed in the tree.

Groundhog.—Groundhog (gidü') was hunted in summer. In the old days it was run down by the native dog. If it were caught before reaching its hole, the dog would hold it until the hunter arrived; but if he were too slow, the dog would kill the animal. If the groundhog were run to its hole, it was pulled forth with a stick, hooked according to one informant, straight according to others. It was given a sharp crack on the jaw and carried to camp in a bag slung on the hunter's back. Groundhog meat remains a fairly important item in Paiute diet even today.

Minor game animals.—Badger (hu'na) was not hunted, but if a person happened upon one he shot it. Raccoon (pata'kai'^{i}) was found along the creek and shot with the bow. Porcupine (sagwü'd^{u}) was hunted in the junipers in summer. Sometimes at night a hunter attracted the animal by bearing a torch of juniper or sagebrush. Otter (pata'gu) was shot with the bow. Both flesh and pelt were utilized. Skunks (pahü'ts^{u}) were never hunted according to Pindy, but Minnie Anderson said that they were hunted at night. They were found in caves and smoked, because when death resulted this way there was no odor. They were extracted by twisting a stick in the skin and pulling on it. The hide was used and, according to Minnie, the flesh as well.

Squirrels.—Ground squirrels (küigwü'), *Citellus douglasii*,[illegible] were hunted with the dog. They were run beneath a rock and pulled out by twisting a straight stick in the skin. Charlie Washo said that they were hunted particularly in midsummer this side of Fandango.

Smaller squirrels (sipi'e^{e}), *C. oregonus*, were caught in great numbers. They were captured in traps which from description seem iden-

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[illegible] This, as well as the identification following, is through the kindness of Mr. A. Hope of the United States Biological Survey.

224 tical with the small one figured in Loud and Harrington.[36] A person might set such traps at twenty-five holes; often he set one either side of the hole. "Anybody could trap squirrels this way—a man, a woman, or even a girl."[37] Nowadays these squirrels[38] are shot with a gun, and a white family at Cedarville makes a practice of hunting them Sunday mornings and peddling them to the Indians for five cents apiece.

Rabbits.—In the fall and continuing into January, jackrabbits (kamü') were taken in communal drives. Nets (wa'na) about two feet in height and with meshes "just big enough for a rabbit's head" were strung in a straight line[39] perhaps four hundred feet long. There were at least two or three such nets, and their owners were the headmen for the drive. These men stood at the nets, a man at each intersection. Rabbits were driven in, one or two at a time. When a plot was exhausted they shifted the nets and drove in a different direction. Women stood by and watched; they also helped drive the animals into the net. Girls might stand at the net and twist the necks of entangled animals or kill them by pressing with the finger upon the soft spot on the head. Rabbits were carried by thrusting the head under the hunter's belt and allowing the body to dangle.

Joshua stated that one rabbit went to each participant, the remainder to the headmen. Pindy and Daisy maintained that the rabbits were divided evenly except in cases of unusual success, in which event the headmen received more than the others. Four or five camps might join in such a hunt. At least ten men participated and it is said that in the fall twenty or thirty might go to the brush flats near Lake City to hunt rabbits. On such excursions the women stayed home.

Rabbits were also tracked by dogs in the snow and shot with the bow. None of my informants had ever heard of the rabbit stick.[40] Both jacks and cottontails (dabu') were snared by catching their heads in a noose set on the trail. Cottontails were taken along the creeks, under the willows. Their flesh was preferable to that of the jacks; "they have good white meat."

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[36] Fig. 25.

[37] Strangely enough, Pindy denied that squirrels were trapped.

[38] Other members of the squirrel family were doubtless eaten, as, for example, sawa", described as a little larger than a chipmunk and having yellow and black stripes.

[39] Pindy alone asserted that the nets were placed in a semicircle.

[40] I am positive of this point. Cf. de Angulo and Freeland, 320.

Rats.—There are two kinds of edible rats, "tika'wa, which lives under the junipers, and ka'wa, which is smaller and lives under small rocks, but not in the hills." Neither was the object of much hunting, but if a person happened upon one he shot it. The smaller rat was sometimes taken by inserting a straight stick in the hole. The rat bit at this and was then pierced with a sharp thrust. If it died under the rocks, it was pulled forth by twisting the stick in the skin. 224

Birds.—On the whole, land birds figured slightly in Paiute diet. The sage hen (ka'da')[46] seems to have been the only one of any importance and was the only bird snared. A green willow or service shoot, about ten feet in length, was set in the ground and bent over and a string with a noose on the far end was attached to the top of the shoot. The noose encircled a slight depression in the ground and was there secured by a little rock or a small pin. When the sage hen walked into the noose, the cord slipped from the pin, releasing the willow and holding the bird fast by the leg. A man might set five or six snares of this sort every morning. 223

Sage hens were also caught by the hunter from a small pit screened by a brush or willows. On such occasions a man did not shoot; he merely reached out and captured the birds. In spring the sage hens have a "dance," at which time they are thick and easy to catch. In the old days a hunter sometimes wore an antelope disguise[47] and approached the dancing birds undetected. He carried a short stick with which he knocked them on the head.

In spring when the birds came to water, a net, ten or fifteen feet across, was spread horizontally about a foot and a half above the ground. One side was pegged down and the other was supported at the corners by posts. A central post, slit at the top to receive the cord, prevented sagging. The hunter concealed himself in a pit near-by and when a large number of sage hens were beneath the net, he pulled a string, releasing the supporting posts. The net fell, securing the birds, their heads protruding upward through the meshes.

Grouse (kahil'a) were hunted in the spring with bow and arrow. The prairie chicken (paka'gi) was also shot with the bow. Other birds such as blackbird (paka'dayi) and robin (si'gu) were undoubtedly eaten in the old days but seem to have been of slight importance. Valley quail are plentiful now but have been recently introduced. Informants could not remember mountain quail from the old days.

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[46] The generic term for bird is ka'da'-pa'a.

[47] SW. Probably this holds only for Oregon where the antelope disguise was more frequently used.

223 *Water fowl.*—Water fowl, however, such as ducks (pü'hü), geese (nagü'tᵃ), and swans (wahi'tᵃ), seem to have been hunted to a considerable extent. With the exception of the mud hen (sa'iyü), they were usually shot with the bow. Mud hens were gathered in fall by means of communal hunts headed by a "chief" who organized the expedition. Any man could become such a "chief" by gathering a party of eight to fifteen men. All of these proceeded to the lake where one of them embarked on a balsa while the others remained on shore. The man on the balsa frightened the birds, driving them toward shore into the hands of the waiting hunters. The birds were captured and dispatched with sticks; sometimes they were caught with dogs. Women occasionally assisted the men on shore.

Ducks were plentiful in the fall. The hunter concealed himself in a brush blind (pai''ka'ni) early in the morning. He shot four or five birds before startling the flock and continued shooting as they flew. According to Joshua, ducks were hunted with the aid of one or two decoys (pühü-dua') to which long strings were attached. The duck skin was stuffed with grass and could be dried and used again. He stated that these decoys were used on Cowhead lake, but the remainder of informants, both from Bidwell and Beatty, claimed that they were not used locally. Ducks were never taken in nets.

Swans are said to have approached of their own accord and without the lure of a decoy. Young geese unable to fly were captured on the lake from a balsa. Geese were also frightened to shore where the women grabbed them and dispatched them with a stick. Eight or ten geese were taken this way. Occasionally an individual trapped geese the same way as sage hens. There was no "chief" for geese hunting because only a few persons participated. In the fall, Goose Lake valley was visited by birds which informants called cranes (waaa'). The small birds, large enough to be eaten but too small to fly, were shaken from the trees.

222 *Insects, etc.*—Crickets[33] (ni'su') were found in late summer on the slopes of hills. They were collected early in the morning when cold and bunched. Women usually did the gathering, but men occasionally assisted. The insects were picked up in the hand and dumped into the carrying basket. All informants explicitly denied beating the brush and driving the crickets into a pit. One informant stated that "the whites did that when they wanted to kill them." Grasshoppers

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[33] These were described as "two finger joints in length" and as "traveling in bunches." Professor Essig says they are almost certainly Mormon or Western crickets.

222 (hu· 'adada·^{a})[44] were never eaten but an unidentified insect similar to the grasshopper was considered edible. Ants (a˙ 'ni) were gathered early in the morning when they were bunched on the top of the hill. Ant eggs (a˙ 'ninoho) were gathered. "Worms" or larvae of some sort, probably caterpillars[45] (called biū̃ 'gū̃), were gathered early in the morning. They did not come every year and nowadays are never found in this vicinity. My interpreter saw some this summer near Gerlach, Nevada.

262 224 Animals not eaten. -- Coyote (iza''^{a}) was hunted with the bow but was not taken in a deadfall. Gidū̃ ´tikad^{ū} claim not to have eaten the flesh because it tasted badly, but they made use of the pelt. Wolf (i˙ ''sha) is said by Minnie to have an unpleasant odor. With exceptions of Piudy, all informants agreed that it was never eaten. He claimed that is was hunted with the bow and that the flesh was roasted on the coals.

Informants also denied eating fox (wañi·^{i}), dog (soko´puku),[46] lizard (kwida´mugus; kwida,˝ excrement), frog (waha´tsa), snake (dogo`kw^{a}), and skunk (poñi´tc^{ū}). They stated that the Achomawi ate coyotes and that tribes to the east ate snakes and dogs. Several declared skunks inedible, but as I obtained an account of its preparation, I presume it was eaten by some; the Burns Paiute are said to have eaten it. Mice (puña´ ż) were declared too small to eat. Magpies (kwida`kagai^{i}; kwida,˝ excrement; kagai^{i} from kai, kai, kai, the bird's call) and eagles (kwiña´ ·^{a}) were not eaten.

252 Preparation of animal foods.-- Meat was prepared by stone boiling or by roasting in the pit oven (dū̃´avida) or on the coals. It was sometimes pounded or given other sorts of special treatment to be noted below.

Deer flesh was usually boiled in a willow basket. The meat was added when the water was simmering and it was "boiled rare, not like white people boil meat." The Gidū̃´tikad^{ū} did not cook food in a paunch or hide sack, but when a person was traveling in winter and no water was available, he dug a hole and lined it with a deer hide. He then heaped snow on the skin and added hot stones. Such melted snow was called pa'sa.˝

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[44] This term is said to be onomatopoeic.

[45] They are described as black with yellow stripes and as about four inches in length. [46] Two informants had heard of eating dogs in time of great scarcity, but the others vehemently denied it. One gets the impression that dogs were much too scarce to have been of any dietary significance.

When a hunter was hungry and had no cooking equipment at hand, he boiled deer in the carcass. He cut the body at the neck and below the ribs, stood the thorax on a grassy spot, and added water, meat, and hot stones. Deer meat was also roasted on stones at the side of the fire; or if one were hungry, he might put the meat directly on the coals. Deer legs were impaled on sticks thrust into the ground at an angle to bring the meat over the fire.

Antelope was usually boiled or was roasted on the end of a stick. One informant thought that it could be cooked in the carcass as was deer, but this was denied by another. At all events, it was not the normal procedure. The fact that antelope were usually taken through a community of effort implies a certain amount of organization and presumably attendant equipment. After a drive the whole camp feasted on antelope heads which were roasted in a pit oven with a fire on top. Deer head was similarly prepared; the tongue was not cooked separately.

The hoofs of deer and antelope were dried with the skin on. They were then singed and boiled, or, lacking vessels, they were cooked under the ashes.

The Gidü'tikad^{a} had no aversion to bear meat and no particular parts were tabooed. Minnie Anderson stated that bear flesh had to be boiled a long time, but Mettie Petty said that it was always cooked in the ground. She also said that bear "was eaten right away; it was not kept over night." According to Pindy, "Build a fire. Get lots of coals. Put grass on the coals and spread the meat on it. Then put on more grass and cover it with earth. Don't leave it all day or all night, maybe four or five hours will be enough. If you cut the meat thin it takes just a little while." According to Daisy Brown, bear was cooked differently from anything else. "They made lots of flat rocks good and hot and set them together like a pavement. Then they spread the meat on top. They took fir boughs and put them on the meat, and then they put on more hot rocks. They call this way of cooking padü'n^{a}. Nothing else was cooked this way."

Flesh of the wildcat and of the raccoon was roasted on the coals. Groundhog was roasted in the earth oven with a fire on top. The hair was burned off before cooking and the intestines were discarded. Groundhog flesh cooked quickly; it is said to be salty and comparable to bacon in flavor. Badger was cooked in the same manner as groundhog but was probably skinned.

Skunk, otter, porcupine, squirrel, rabbit, and rat were cooked in the pit oven. Otter was skinned before being placed in the ground. Porcupine was edible save for the intestines and the membrane covering them. Minnie said that squirrels were placed head to tail in the oven, but Daisy said that "they were thrown in any way, just so they were not too close together and there were plenty of coals and ashes between them." Squirrels were cleaned, singed, and left in the ground one to three hours. One informant thought they were skinned before being roasted. The intestines were sometimes eaten. Rabbits were usually skinned and cleaned before being cooked. 252

Sage hens were cleaned inside by scraping with grass, the feathers were then plucked, and the birds roasted in the coals. Sometimes they were dried and stored. Grouse and prairie chickens were roasted on the coals. The latter were not dried; "they ate them right away; there were not enough of them to dry." Mud hens were prepared for roasting the same way as sage hens. Swans were usually boiled, but were sometimes cooked in the earth oven. Geese were skinned, not plucked. They were cleaned and cooked under the ashes or roasted on the coals. Sometimes they were dried but are said not to have kept very well. Small cranes were plucked, cleaned, and cooked beneath the ashes. They were not dried.

Crickets were gathered early in the morning. A fire was built in a hole some three feet in diameter and two feet deep. If many women participated in the gathering, the hole might be five or six feet in diameter with the piles belonging to different individuals separated in the pit by a few handfuls of grass. The live crickets were dumped on the coals and roasted from a few minutes to several hours, time varying with informants. After cooking they could be dried. Biŭ″gŭ (caterpillars, larvae?) were poured on the coals and covered for two or three minutes, then eaten immediately. Ants were gathered, parched, and ground on the metate. Ant eggs were likewise parched.

Preservation of meat.—Deer, antelope, or mountain-sheep meat was cut in strips and dried near the fire or in the sun. It was hung on sagebrush, any convenient tree, or on a rack. The latter, of recent introduction, consisted of two unforked poles stuck vertically in the ground with a cross-bar tied near the top of the uprights. 251

Meat was sometimes smoked in addition to being dried. In that case, willows were leaned together to make a frame and a small smudge fire of green willows started beneath. When the meat had partly dried, it was taken from the rack, and placed on the frame over the

251 fire. Here it was allowed to smoke until red when it was removed and turned, afterward being replaced on the rack for further drying.

Dried meat was pounded with tallow, stored in tule bags, and buried beneath rocks and earth. It could be eaten without additional cooking, but was usually roasted on the coals or boiled. In any event, it was softened by pounding. Jackrabbits were dried, but not so cottontails, probably because the latter were not caught in any quantity. Birds of all kinds, particularly sage hens and mud hens, were dried and boiled. Swans were also dried but did not keep well.

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252 *Special dishes.*—Eggs (noho) of various sorts were gathered, principally those of mud hens which were formerly plentiful in Warner valley and near Paisley. Goose, meadowlark (pa'tsi'don'), and blackbird eggs, as well as those of a large crane, were utilized. The eggs of a bird[48] frequenting the Warner valley lakes were also eaten, but never those of the magpie. Eggs were cooked beneath the ashes or boiled, the latter possibly due to white influence.

Deer guts (asi')[49] were dried, boiled, and eaten. The fat from deer buttocks was dried and eaten raw with any kind of unsalted dried meat.

"Lard" (dũza') was made from marrow. Bones were broken over a cavity in a rock, pounded, and water and hot stones added. After the mixture had cooled, the grease which had risen to the top was skimmed off with the hand and squeezed into a container. Fat which had been pounded, heated, and made into rolls was called yu'hu-so'ho (fat-pound). It is said to have kept well.

251 Meat was not mixed with berries but was sometimes pounded with tu'nu'yu roots, dried, and stored in a skin bag. Joshua described a sort of pemmican of deer meat, bone, and fat. The ingredients were pounded and shaped into rolls,[50] eight or ten at a time, and then stored for winter use. Rabbit backbones and adhering flesh were pounded and fat added. This kept well and might be eaten without further preparation or made into soup. Mashed meat (soho'-tuku'; pound-meat) and tallow were cooked with dried kuyi roots and the mixture eaten immediately.

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[48] "This bird was called cha'lit; it was about the size of a duck and was red around the eyes. The body was reddish brown" (DB).

[49] Asi' is also the word for umbilical cord.

[50] "Just like head cheese" (JB).

FISHING

Fish were of slight importance to the Paviotso of this region who fished almost exclusively in early spring when the snow was melting and before roots were ready to be gathered.

It is surprisingly difficult to identify the native names for even the commonest fish. It is certain, however, that a'gai served as a generic word for fish and was applied also to salmon procured in trade.[illegible] Two informants[illegible] gave a'gai as trout. Pakwi', which Dr. de Angulo[illegible] regards as trout, was identified as minnow by Susie Archie. According to Joshua, pakwi' was "small like a sardine" and was found principally in Warner valley. It may be what is known locally as a chub. A fish a little larger was called sigu'[illegible] and was found in creeks running through open country, especially near Beatty and Burns and across from Adel.

Ha'wa'gu and tüitsi'[illegible] (tüitsi', snake?) were both translated as sucker. They were found in small streams in Warner, especially around Adel. Mu'su'hi-a'gai (mu'su'hi, whisker) and doda'na were given as names for catfish. They were known from the Achomawi country near Alturas.

Fish were never taken in nets[illegible] or by means of poison,[illegible] but this is not surprising in view of the fact that local fishing was done entirely in small creeks. There were no fish in Lake Annie[illegible] nor the Surprise valley lakes, and, although fish were caught in creeks tributary to Goohead and Goose lakes, no effort was made to fish in the lakes themselves.

Fish were scooped from creeks by means of a twined tray or a handled basket. Inasmuch as these were not distinguished by name from the regular open twined tray or the seed beater, it is probable that they were not made especially for fishing. The true fish trap

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[illegible] SW-DG gave sts'nad as an alternative word for salmon. Kroeber's data (Shoshonean Dialects, 96) show pakwi to be the generic term for fish among the Pueblo and Plateau Shoshoneans, save for two groups, the Walker Lake Paviotso and the eastern Oregon [illegible]. Of these two, the former has both aihai and pakwi, the latter, a'gai alone. The Surprise Valley Paiute seem to apply a'gai to fish in general, pakwi more specifically to small fish.

[illegible] JB, SW-DG.

[illegible] P. 252.

[illegible] "They used nets at Nixon (Nevada) because they had big rivers there" (DB).

[illegible] In a Pyramid Lake tale Wolf catches fish by putting grass in the water. Lowie, [illegible], 235.

[illegible] It has been stocked in recent years.

226 (wi'ha') with constricted neck was known; it was described as a stiff willow "sock-like" basket, five to eight feet long and three feet in diameter at the mouth. Piudy noted that it was used especially by the Malheur Paiute. A woman held the contrivance in the stream while the men or boys frightened the fish toward her. When she felt a fish enter, she snatched the basket from the water, knocked the fish with a club, and placed it in a burden basket. Fish were not allowed to struggle because they would tire and taste badly.

The bone gorget (wina'in^{a}) was described by Dr. Sam for the Silver Lake band, but Gidü'tikad^{a} informants were openly doubtful or definitely denied its use. The gorget, usable only in lakes or deep streams, was unsuited to the Surprise valley small-creek fishing.

Piudy described a double-pointed fish harpoon (hu'ü) of willow, as long as the stick allowed, possibly eight feet. The point consisted of a forked stick to which bone points were fastened with sinew. This forked point, said to have been detachable, was tied to the shaft with wiha'b' twine. The instrument was thrust, not thrown, and did not leave the fisherman's hand. Piudy said that it was used in Buck creek because "there was more water there." Dr. Sam gave a similar description but added that trout were caught in this manner from a tule blind constructed near the spawning grounds. According to Nannie Ochiho, the fish spear (harpoon?) had a single point of greasewood. It was used for winter fishing through a hole hacked in the ice, presumably of Warner lake.

Fish were not shot ordinarily, but according to Piudy this was sometimes done in small streams near Adel. "If there are many suckers, make greasewood arrows without feathers and shoot the fish."

The same informant described a combined dam and trap which was used about Malheur. A frame was made by placing two rows of sticks together lean-to fashion with the series of projecting tops on the downstream side somewhat lower than on the other. The lower part of the frame was filled solid with willows and formed an effective dam. Fish proceeding upstream tried to jump the barrier and were caught in the trough formed at the top by the projecting crossed rods. This dam was called wa'ma and was used for "fish that were pretty big, but not salmon."

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439 Red paint and roots, such as ya'pa', hapi'i, and hu'nibui, were given the Achomawi in exchange for fish which had been split and dried. My informants[57] expressly denied that dried fish had ever been

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[57] JB, SW. Piudy denied any traffic in fish.

received in powdered form.[88] Joshua listed the fish obtained through 439
trade as kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), yüsni, taia'ra, and tuwa'm.

Preparation of fish.—Fish were usually cooked in the ashes of the 251
fireplace, although they could be boiled. They were dried on a rack 252
or hung from the boughs of a juniper, but were never placed near the fire to dry as was meat. Usually fish were slit before drying but sometimes not, doubtless depending upon size. As a general thing, fish were not smoked.

Dried fish were packed in an open-twine tule or sagebrush-bark 251
sack "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." These bags 416
were called mago"o (general word for container) and were possibly four feet in length and two in width. Their size argues considerable quantity. Minnie Anderson said that fish did not keep very long; "they tasted funny." Dried fish were prepared by boiling or by roasting but were not pounded.

Fish eggs (a'gai noho) were dried and ground.

VEGETABLE FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION

The Gidü'tikad", like other non-agricultural peoples, gathered 222
such seeds, berries, and roots as their habitat offered. All informants 137
stressed the great plenty of these foods in the early days, and their statements are corroborated by those of the first settlers, who maintain that, although now sage-covered, the whole valley was formerly meadowland. Plant specimens are difficult to obtain and on the whole the data are pretty meager. Surprise valley itself yielded little, but a number of specimens were procured on the southern shores of Cowhead lake, a few miles northeast of Fort Bidwell; some were also gathered west of the Warners and a few more near Beatty, Oregon. The seed material is particularly sparse; the list below probably includes less than a fourth of the original number. It does appear however, that the most important seed plants are represented. The list of berries and roots is somewhat larger and seems relatively complete.

Seeds.—In late summer women gathered seeds in a twined conical 222
basket or in a light sack of deer or antelope hide. For ordinary seeds, 415
such as grasses, the woman held the container in her left hand and knocked the seeds into it with the twined beater which she wielded in her right hand. She gathered other seeds, such as those of sunflowers, by pulling the dry blossoms and depositing them in the burden basket.

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[88] Cf. de Angulo, 220.

252 415 A standard procedure was followed in preparing seeds of all sorts. They were placed in a fan-shaped willow tray and parched with coals from a sagebrush fire. The hulls were then winnowed from the same tray, either by working them to one side with a rotary motion or by pouring and allowing the chaff to blow off. The remaining seeds were ground on the metate and the meal thus produced was ready for immediate use or for storage. In the latter case, it was placed in a buckskin bag and buried. Sometimes seeds were stored as gathered and were not parched or ground until needed. Seed meal was mixed with water and boiled in a willow basket by the addition of hot stones. These stones were handled by means of two sticks "of any kind," a flat stake some two inches in width, or by a willow bent into a loop. Boiling food had to be stirred constantly lest the stones burn the basket.

264 415 Seed gruel was served in individual willow bowls and was either drunk or scooped up with the first and second fingers. Young boys "who wanted more mush" used three fingers. The Gidü'tikad^{a} did not manufacture horn spoons but used instead a basketry spoon, a piece of bark, a split stick, or a rabbit or deer scapula. Most persons ate with their fingers, but men used spoons more often than women.

262 137 Edible seeds included wüdü', sugū',[59] and magu'g^{a}, which are unidentified, and also the following: atsa' (*Sisymbrium sophia* L.) (?)[60]; gu'ha' (*Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.); wa''da (*Suaeda depressa* var. *erecta* Wats.); wa''ta' (*Chenopodium album* L.); üyü'p (*Chenopodium nevadense* Standley); a'gü' (*Wyethia mollis* Gray); pa^{ia} (*Helianthus annuus* L.) (?).[61]

A few observations may be made on the seeds listed above. Atsa' (red, so-called from its color) was mixed with snow, making a "sort of ice cream."[62] In the old days the principal gathering grounds of the ubiquitous a'gü' were in Goose Lake valley. Plate 17c shows a field of it in that region, along the western foot of the Warners. Stems as well as seeds of a'gü' were edible; they were pulled and eaten raw.

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[59] One informant thought this was a root, saying it was "like epos but grew only in the mountains."

[60] Which is intrusive in northeastern California. Mr. Howell tells me that two superficially similar species are *S. incisum* Engelm., and *S. pinnatum* Greene, both native to the region. I have evidently collected the wrong species, and atsa' is undoubtedly one of the two indigenous ones here suggested. *S. incisum* is used by the Klamath (Spier, 166).

[61] Which botanists consider native to the Middle West.

[62] Chamberlin, 340, notes that the Goshute mixed ground seeds of a *Sisymbrium* with snow to make a "kind of confection."

Seeds were sometimes mixed with berries but never with meat. 252 Informants had not heard of eating sage seeds. They considered cat-tail (toib^{a}) seeds edible, although the root was a more important food. Cat-tail stalks were spread on the ground, fired, and the seeds gathered. These were shelled by being worked lightly on the metate and after this were prepared like other seeds.

Identified grass seeds include the following: waha'b^{a} (*Hordeum nodosum* L.); sopi'b^{a} (*Poa nevadensis* Vasey)[68]; mono'p^{a} (*Sitanion histrix* J. G. Smith), foxtail; waiya' (*Elymus condensatus* Pres.), rye-grass; ——— (*Alopecurus aequalis* Sobol); so'pi' (*Glyceria borealis* (Nash) Batchelder). 137

Pine-nuts (tü'ba) were of minor importance to the Gidü'tikad^{a}. 222 Aside from a few nut-bearing piñons near Bidwell mountain, they 252 are quite lacking in the whole territory. Informants knew them from 415 Pyramid lake and several described methods of preparing them. Minnie Anderson said that the cones were beaten from the trees with long sticks and dumped into an earth oven. They were roasted for an hour or so, after which they were removed, picked, and the nuts spread to dry. The latter were then shelled on the metate and winnowed. They were further dried, then ground on the metate, and made into gruel. As the gruel cooked, it was stirred with a willow twig, one end of which was looped back and tied with the outer bark of the twig. Nannie Ochiho gave substantially the same procedure except that the nuts were ground unshelled. According to Joshua they were successively parched, shelled, winnowed, ground, and made into mush.

Fruits and berries.—Chokecherries (*Prunus demissa* Dietr.) (do"-isabui) were eaten fresh or dried. Preliminary to drying they were broken lightly with a stone, molded into cakes, and placed in the shade to harden. Such dried cakes were ground to powder on the metate and then boiled. Nowadays dried cherries are mixed with water and flour, possibly with seed meal in the old days. Chokecherries and wa"da seeds were sometimes combined. A beverage was [272] made by pouring hot water on the fruits and a tea was made from chokecherry stems.

Wild plums (tuyu) were gathered in an open-twine burden basket. They were pitted but not crushed and dried in the sun. The dried fruits were "pretty strong" before sugar was available. Wild plums are quite plentiful in the Warners and are still gathered in late summer.

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[68] And probably *Poa gracillima* Vasey as well, for which I have no native term.

251 252 Black haw (*Crataegus douglasii* Lindl.) (kwinü'pe) is a berry which was formerly, but is no longer eaten. It was used either fresh or dried. Service berry (*Amelanchier venulosa* Greene) (ti'gabui) was eaten fresh or dried, boiled or uncooked. Such berries were always kept overnight; otherwise they would give one a stomachache. They were crushed before being dried. Daisy said that ground a'gü' seeds were mixed with mashed fresh berries (particularly ti'gabui), or with dried berries which had been soaked, and the compound eaten without further preparation. It was called düma'iyu (mixture of any sort) or tütza'kiü (also mixture, but applying only to fruits and the like).

Mogu'tsiabui (gooseberry; mogu', thorn), boho'pe (wild currant), and atsa'pui (*Ribes cereum* Dougl.) were eaten fresh and uncooked. Before gathering atsa'pui, a person had always to throw a handful of dust on the bush, otherwise he would surely have a headache. Dust was also thrown on a berry bush to prevent birds from eating the fruits.

Buffalo berry (*Shepherdia argentea* Nutt.) (wi"yüpui) called for special preparation. One might eat the berries fresh, but if a person were going to dry them, he covered them with rye grass to which he set fire. While the grass was burning he stirred the whole well in order to cook the berries. After this preliminary cooking, the fruits were dried. Dried buffalo berries had to be "washed hard" to remove the accumulated charcoal. Afterward they were boiled, drained, and crushed. My informant said that nowadays buffalo berries are mixed with flour and sugar and made into a pudding.

Elderberries (*Sambucus glauca* Nutt.) (hubu') were eaten fresh or dried; they were not cooked before being dried.

272 The Gidü'tikadᵃ used to manufacture a beverage from juniper berries (wa"pui). The fruits were picked, broken in the hands, and water added. After a thorough stirring, the pitch rose to the top and was skimmed off with a blade of grass. The beverage was served in individual willow bowls and drunk immediately. Sometimes it was mixed with pounded deer liver to make a "gravy." Juniper berries were never kept any length of time.

222 252 *Roots.*—From early spring well into summer root gathering was an economic activity of great importance. Women went each day to dig ya'pa', tu'nu"yu, mu"a', hu"nibui, pa'si'go'ᵉ, and other roots. These they prepared by boiling or by pit-roasting,[44] or sometimes preserved

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[44] Spier (Havasupai, 119) is probably mistaken in thinking pit-roasting absent in the Basin. Although Lowie does not mention it in Shoshonean Ethnography, he does report it for the Northern Shoshone (186); for the Gosiute, Chamberlin (337, 339) speaks of it as "the usual method of cooking" certain roots; and among these Paviotso, it is a standard method of food preparation.

by drying in the sun. Nowadays there is little root gathering, one very good reason being that the plants are no longer to be found. In May of 1930, however, a party of older Gidü'tikadᵘ women crossed the Warners to Davis creek[60] and there spent several days digging ya'pa'. 222 252

The digging stick in use today is a straight iron bar about three feet in length, pointed at one end, the other end turned in a loop or else provided with a wooden cross-piece as a handle. The old digging stick (bodo') was a straight piece of mountain mahogany (tu'pi) sharpened to a point with a stone knife or by being rubbed on a stone and hardened in the fire. Sometimes a limb at right angles made a handle of sorts, but ordinarily the stick was unhandled and the butt bound with buckskin to protect the hand. In digging, the butt rested against the body, one hand on it, and the other part way down the shaft. From demonstrations, the technique was one of pushing rather than of thrusting. 412

Roots of various members of the parsley family figured prominently in Paviotso diet, particularly ya'pa' (*Carum oreganum* Wats.), commonly known as epos. Quantities of it were gathered from the hills east of Surprise, and from the flats near Bear ranch in the south end of the valley. The roots were rubbed on an open twine tray to divest them of their skins and were subsequently prepared in a variety of ways. They might be eaten immediately, raw or boiled, or else dried in the sun and stored. Dried ya'pa' was boiled and sometimes pounded. Most kinds of dried roots were soaked and eaten without being either pounded or cooked. 251 252

Ha'pi'ⁱ was a root of some importance and was formerly plentiful in the hill country east of Surprise, although today it is difficult to find a single specimen. It is a *Lomatium*, probably *L. canbyi*, a species known from eastern Oregon. The roots were cooked in the earth oven, either fresh or dried. Ha'pi'ⁱ, like ya'pa', was skinned on a basket tray and dried in the sun. Tu'nu"yu (*Lomatium leptocarpum* C. and R.) was also found east of Surprise as well as near Bear ranch and in Fandango valley. The flat west of Bear ranch derived its native name, Tu'nu"yu-kama'ᵃ, from this root. Tu'nu"yu was eaten uncooked, either fresh or dried, and when stored, was mixed with ya'pa'. The roots are said to have spoiled if they became damp.

Hu"nibui (*Lomatium macrocarpum* C. and R.) also was eaten either fresh or dried. Charlie Washo thought it could be eaten raw

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[60] Achomawi territory.

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251 252 but that it was usually cooked. A related form known as pa-ya"p^{a} (explained as water (pa) ya'pa') has been doubtfully identified as *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.

Camas, called pa'si'go^{u} or tapa'kog^{i} (*Camassia quamash* Greene), was plentiful in certain districts such as Fandango and Big valleys. The roots were gathered in large quantities and dumped into an earth oven with a few handfuls of rye grass separating the piles of different individuals. They were allowed to cook overnight with a small fire on top of the pit. When cooked, the roots were either eaten directly or else dried, in which condition they are said to have kept well.

The roots of mu"a' (*Allium pleianthum* Wats.) were gathered in great numbers, two to five sacks at a time. Fire was kindled in a pit and small stones added. When there were sufficient coals, the mu"a' was placed in the oven, covered with grass and earth, and left overnight. The seeds of this plant were never eaten, but the green leaves were regarded as a sort of relish. Leaves of gü'ka' (*A. acuminatum* Hook) were similarly regarded. The bulbs of this onion were sometimes roasted, but I was told that "we don't care much about the roots." The seeded heads of gü'ka' were gathered in bunches and placed in the hot ashes for two or three minutes, then the seeds were extracted and eaten. Badi's^{i} (*A. bisceptrum* Wats.) and pani'zi (*A. platycaule* Wats.) were treated the same as gü'ka' but their bulbs were more highly regarded. Wini'da (*Brodiaea hyacinthina* Baker) furnished bulbs which were roasted; the seeds and leaves were not considered edible.

Joshua stated that the digging stick was not required in gathering wild onions; "they just pulled them up with the hands." He said that such bulbs were cooked in small quantities by being placed between two heated rock slabs until soft. According to him, "They were all fresh. They never made your belly ache, your tooth ache, or your head ache; no, nothing. They all ate them." My notes do not mention drying the *brodiaea* or any of the wild onions, and in view of Chamberlin's observation,[44] it seems likely that they were not so treated.

Bulbs of ko'gi' (*Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl.) were skinned and eaten fresh in spring, but they were never plentiful enough to be dried. Bitter root (*Lewisia rediviva* Pursh.) (kañü'te^{a}) was pulled and boiled "like macaroni." It could also be dried. Informants asserted that the Warm Springs Indians ate bitter root.

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[44] P. 360.

One informant spoke jestingly of kuyi (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) as 251
"Indian Limburger."[87] She said that the tops were broken off and 252
the roots left overnight in the pit oven, in this instance with no fire on top. In the morning when the mess was uncovered, it was "black as coal" and smelled bad but was sweet to the taste. An unidentified root called guyü is probably the same thing. It was gathered chiefly in Big valley (which derived its native name from it) and at Twenty Mile, between Warner and Surprise valleys.

The roots of bikwa'ida (*Balsamorhiza terebinthacea* Nutt.) were eaten raw, either fresh or dried. Sometimes they were roasted in the ground and pounded. Ko'tsiü', another sunflower (*Cirsium acaulescens* Sch.), furnished roots which were eaten raw, or if plentiful, were roasted in the earth oven. The roots of yet another composita, kwanü'pie (*Scorzonella* sp.), were similarly cooked.

Unidentified roots include iza''ᵃbui (coyote's eyes),[88] which is said to grow extensively near Paisley and sporadically in Warner valley. It was cooked in the ashes and had a sweet flavor. Tsu'ga is a root which grows only in Oregon. Tsa'na-tsu'ga (sweet tsu'ga) is a root which used to grow in the high country east of Surprise and on the hills of Bidwell canyon. It was cooked in the ground and sometimes dried.

Miscellaneous.—The leaves of tübu'hi (*Crepis occidentalis* Nutt.) were eaten raw; the stem and root were not used. The peeled stems of young iza''ᵃkwasi' (coyote's tail) (*Cirsium occidentale* var. *candidissimum* Macbr.) were eaten raw. Roots of young tule and cat-tail were gathered, broken open, and the white meat eaten uncooked. It was not dried. Haws of the wild rose (*Rosa pisocarpa* Gray) (tsia'bⁱ) were pounded with deer tallow and eaten.

Salt was not known to the Gidü'tikadᵃ before the coming of the 263
whites. They had a sugar substitute in honey-dew which was deposited on leaves by a "little black bug," doubtless aphis. The syrup was gathered and used without any preparation. Sugar was not secured from cottonwood or from cat-tail.[89]

Fermented beverages and intoxicants were unknown. A tea was [27
produced by pouring hot water on the dried leaves of a species of 27
Mentha, possibly *M. arvensis* L., and by boiling the stalks of wild rose

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[87] Fremont (160) notes that the "Snakes" near Fort Hall ate the roots of *Valeriana edulis* which they called kooyah.

[88] Bui is the term for berry, root, and eye.

[89] The Pyramid Lake Paiute are said to make a candy-like substance from cat-tail pollen.—Loud and Harrington, 158.

272 and chokecherry, either separately or mixed. Berry beverages have been mentioned above.

824 A "chewing gum" was derived from sigu'p^{i} (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus* var. *consimilis* Hall). The root at surface level was chewed until gummy, and as one informant put it, "The stuff is just like rubber. It has no taste, but it sounds good when you chew it." Pine pitch was also chewed, but "it wore out quickly."

262 Moss was not considered edible, although Mattie Petty had heard that the Warm Springs Indians ate it. Wild iris and wild parsnip (ha'kinop^{a}) were known as poisonous.

HOUSES

342 The winter house was a conical mat-covered lodge said to have replaced an earlier dome-shaped structure. Informants claim that the conical form (ka'ni) came to them from the north, "from Idaho, from the Bannock,"[70] out beyond the memory of any person now living.[71] Some lodges were large enough to accommodate eight or nine people and of sufficient height to enable a man to stand upright within. The framework consisted of a series of willows spaced about an unexcavated circle some twelve feet in diameter and brought together at the top. The poles did not project beyond their point of intersection, and when Billy Steve was shown the Wind River lodge figured by Lowie,[72] he remarked, "The grass is all right, but those poles ought to be cut off." Transverse willows were lashed about the frame, and mats of rye grass or tule applied according to availability.

Houses in Surprise were usually grass-covered; those near Adel, tule-covered. With the latter tules four or five feet in height were pierced with a bone awl (more recently a greasewood needle and nowadays a sacking needle) and twine run through. Six rows of such threading can be seen on the tules which Minnie Anderson prepared for a woodshed (pl. 19*a*). As the plate shows, the lower edge of the mat was sometimes finished with a row of simple twine.[73]

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[70] P, DB. The latter volunteered the additional information that the Bannock lodge was covered with buffalo hide.

[71] Informants appear to be mistaken about the antiquity of the conical lodge. Mr. E. W. Gifford has brought to my attention a photograph (in the University Museum files, 13-797) of a domed, brush-covered lodge near Cedarville. The photo is on the back of a postal card, mailed the summer of 1910, although the card may actually date some years earlier. The conical lodge may be classed as one of the several Plains traits which filtered in from the north during the last half of the nineteenth century.

[72] SE, figure 8*b*.

[73] Cf. Klamath tule mat figured by Barrett, Klamath, pl. 24.

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were 342
wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'i-nobi (saib^a, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74]

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^a, rye grass). The grass, four or five-feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at [462]
the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the following winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place. 342
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went 417
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dü'a-nobi; dü'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18*c*, is frequently seen at the present time. It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

342 417 sagebrush enclosure was even less formal than the shade, consisting of an unroofed circular enclosure about chest high. The single entrance was closed with a tule mat. The fireplace was in the center of the circle. An enclosure used for shamanistic treatment at the Bidwell camp seems to accord with the above description. Young willows were stuck in the ground to form a fair-sized circle. At the entry they were bent and turned back either side, overlapping with the adjacent willows. The bending was continued around the circle, making a neat top finish.

Several informants insisted that in the earliest times they had no shelter other than the shade and the enclosure. "In the old days they had no wickiup. When it was snowing they just kept on traveling. Some froze to death because they had no rabbit blankets. In the old days they had only two kinds of shades" (DB).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

291 The Gidü'tikadü of both sexes wore skin clothing of Plains type. It seems probable that this style was introduced at a fairly recent date[75] but beyond the recollection of oldest informants. The survival of an earlier California-Basin costume is suggested by the use of the fiber skirt by widows and poor women and by the occasional use of the loin cloth in lieu of the breechclout.

Women's clothing.—A widow or a woman whose husband was not a successful hunter would fashion for herself a knee-length skirt of sagebrush bark.[76] She braided it into a belt from which the bark [171] hung loose in front and back but not at all on the sides. This is evidently the familiar California double apron. It was called nakwi', skirt; the front and back sections did not have separate names.

A more prosperous woman wore a buckskin dress (kwa'sü). Antelope hide could be used, but "it was pretty thin." Some women had two dresses, some three. All were alike; there was no "best dress." Two of the largest hides were required for the woman's garment, which hung from her shoulders. According to one informant additional pieces were used for sleeves, but this is doubtless a recent innovation. The head end of the hide was at the bottom of the dress;

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[75] De Angulo, 318, and Spier, Klamath, 207, feel that the Plains costume is late.

[76] "Just like the Hawaiians wear" (SA).

the tail was cut off, not turned down. The skirt hung evenly around the bottom; it was not cut in points. The dress reached halfway between knee and ankle; the sleeves were about elbow length. 291

Sewing was done with an awl (witili') of mountain-sheep horn and sinew (ta'mu) from the back of the deer. Seams ran down the sides and on the shoulders, leaving a central opening large enough to admit the head. Joshua stated that in order "to look pretty," the side seams were fringed about an inch in depth and that the bottom was sometimes fringed, but never the sleeves. According to Daisy, the lower edges of the sleeves and skirt were fringed. Fringe was applied across the breast and encircling the hips as in the modern dress shown in plate 20a, *b*. The chief difference from that seems to be that in the old days the fringe did not extend across the shoulders in the back. Beads were sometimes strung on the fringe. The dress shown in plate 20a, *b* has been lengthened by the addition of a flounce. 294

Informants[77] were unanimous in averring porcupine-quill decoration, but unfortunately it was not possible to determine the exact nature of the work. Of course, no specimens have survived. All agreed that the quills were dyed yellow by being boiled with a lichen (*Evernia vulpina*) found on dry junipers. The quills were soaked in warm water until soft and the points broken off to make all a uniform length. They were flattened before being attached with sinew. I understood from several accounts that they were caught at one end only and were allowed to hang like fringe, but this is probably incorrect. Daisy Brown said that one obtained two colors by dyeing some quills and leaving others natural color. The quills were arranged in the desired design and stitched. Protruding ends were cut off and raw edges covered with a narrow strip of buckskin. The woman's dress bore extensive quill decoration. According to the different versions it was placed around the bottom and down the shoulders; on the sleeves and down the side seams; down the shoulders but never along the side seams; around the bottom, down the shoulders, and on the breast; around the bottom and in a yoke extending from the chest over the shoulders and around the back. 294 531

Beneath the buckskin dress a woman wore a belt with a strip of skin passing between the legs. It was similar to the man's breechclout, but somewhat wider, and bore the same name, nati'. 291

In winter a woman added a blanket of rabbit skins or of sagebrush bark. It was worn cape-like across the shoulders and was pinned on the chest with a small twig.

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[77] JB, MA, TA, DB, NO, MP.

291 *Men's clothing.*—A man wore a buckskin shirt similar to the woman's dress, but shorter, reaching just above the knees. It was called kwa'sü, the same as the woman's dress; even nowadays there is no distinction in name between the two garments. In the old days the sleeves of the man's shirt seem to have been short but recent specimens have long sleeves. Dr. Sam told of punching holes in the lower edge of the long sleeve and threading a string through these and around his thumb to prevent shrinkage. In the old days a man had "no coat, no vest, just a shirt and no underwear." According to one informant, men's clothes were "pretty tight." A man had one shirt for hunting deer and one other shirt; some men had three shirts.

[531] Two doeskins were required for the shirt; a skin was never cut in two. The hide was smoked thoroughly so that the garment might be washed and still remain soft. A man sometimes decorated his shirt by applying red paint along the seams. He himself did this. Some shirts bore inch-wide fringe on the sleeves and around the bottom. I examined a boy's garment[78] which had a sack-like body to which sleeves had been added (pl. 20c). The juncture of body and sleeve was fringed as was also the sleeve seam. The bottom of the shirt and the lower edge of the sleeves were pinked and the neck bound with buckskin. A small tuft of eagle feathers and down was tacked at the back of the neck.

Men ordinarily wore the buckskin breechclout (natï'), although the loin cloth (pitsa'paho) was occasionally worn. Most informants denied knowledge of the latter, but one had seen it in use, and another knew of it from hearsay. According to one informant, "some men never wore much pants."

In winter men wore rabbitskin or sagebrush blankets the same as those worn by women.

Children's clothing.—Children wore few clothes, even in winter. Their garments were made of wildcat hide, never of coyote.[79] They wore a badger-skin cap and "shoes and stockings," presumably leggings and moccasins, of sagebrush bark.

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[78] In possession of Bob Foster, Beatty, Oregon.

[79] Cf. Lowie, SS, 217.

Leggings

There seems to have been a considerable variety of legging styles which in native terminology fall into two types, the full length (kusa') and the knee length (witsa'wasa'konūp^{a}; witsa', calf of leg; wasa'konūp^{a}, tied below the knee).[60] Full length skin leggings attached to the belt were worn when hunting. They were seamed on the outside of the leg and "if a woman had time and wanted her husband to look nice, she might fringe the seam." 291,

The shorter legging sometimes consisted of a mat-like piece of buckskin wrapped about the leg and tied on; sometimes of buckskin strips wound puttee-fashion and tied with string. Still a third type of short legging was of tailored deer skin with the seam on the outside. These various knee-length styles all bore the same name and were worn by both sexes.[61] Women wore them in winter and when digging roots, but not about camp. When at home a woman substituted a "long moccasin" which reached about half-way up the calf. A man wore leggings the year round. For him the short legging must have been inadequate under most circumstances, for he wore no covering between it and the buckskin shirt.

Footgear

The soft-soled deer-hide moccasin was the usual foot covering for both sexes, either traveling or at home. I do not recall seeing a single person, child or adult, barefooted.[62] Sandals were not worn; in default of hide, a moccasin was twined of tule or of sagebrush bark. Charlie Washo could remember old people who wore "tule shoes," but sagebrush bark seems to have been preferred. As Minnie Anderson put it, "Tules are no good for shoes. Sagebrush is nice and warm even if it gets wet." Sagebrush moccasins (watsi'-moko'; watsi', sagebrush-bark, moko', moccasin, nowadays shoe) were worn when going after water. Except for material, the model (pl. 27*b*) made by Minnie is identical with a Klamath specimen figured by Barrett.[63] When traveling or when hunting afoot in winter, grass or shredded sagebrush bark was stuffed inside the moccasin. 291 294

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[60] Translation by NH.

[61] Although Lowie, SE, 217, states that Paviotso women did not wear leggings.

[62] Informants repeatedly said of the Achomawi, "They were poor dressers. They never even wore shoes." When they killed a Paiute they are said to have taken his moccasins for their own use.

[63] Plate 17, figure 2, and plate 19, figure 2.

294 The moccasin was usually of deer skin, and a pair made from the thick neck part would last all summer. When the sole wore through a new one was added. Moccasins of badger skin lasted a little longer than those of deer skin; they were made with the hair side out and were especially good for winter wear. Dr. Sam mentioned moccasins of raccoon hide.

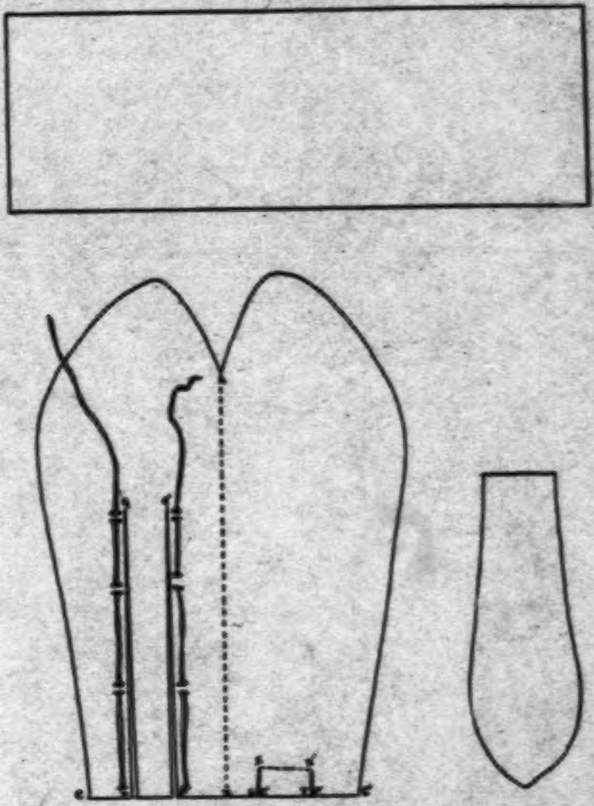

Fig. 1. Moccasin pattern.

It will be seen from figure 1 that the cut of the moccasin corresponds to Wissler's Pattern 8.[84] Informants deny having made a front-seamed moccasin. The hide is doubled on line *AB*, and the foot is placed on top with the folded edge of the hide along the inside of the foot. The outline is then traced, following the contour of the foot except at the back where the heel is cut straight across. A full inch margin is left. Still doubled, *AC* and *AC'* are stitched together. Two parallel slashes are then cut down the upper face, producing a very long and very narrow tongue, and two short slashes are made in the sole-half at *EE'* and *FF'*. The back seam is next sewn by joining *D'E* and *DCC'F* (*C* and *C'* already merged by virtue of the first seam). This leaves trailer *E'F'* which is stitched along the dotted line to *XE'F'X'*. It is caught from the inside and allowed to hang free as shown in the sketch[85] (fig. 2). Next, a straight strip four or five inches in width is cut. It is twice the length of the tongue slash and is sewn as a cuff to *GDD'G'*. A wider cuff was cut for the "long moccasin" sometimes worn by women. It is said to have reached about halfway up the calf. The cuff might be pinked around the edge, although none of the specimens I noted was so finished.

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[84] Blackfoot, figures 78 and 142.

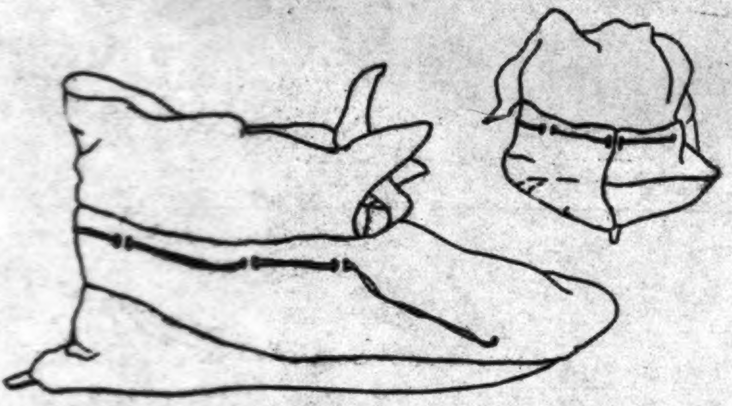

Fig. 2. Buckskin moccasin.

The narrow tongue formed by slashes *DG* and *D'G'* is normally replaced by a wider U-shaped one. It will be noted that the sole and upper are cut identical in size[86] and that the insertion of a two-inch tongue provides the additional width required over the instep.[87] In order to accommodate this tongue, the slash in the upper is cut lower and wider. The tongue (called mutiʼkwispaka*, on top) in figure 2 is not U-shaped, but is cut straight across the base. In this case, it does not give additional fulness.

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[85] Nannie Ochiho was wearing moccasins without trailers but stated that she had cut them off.

[86] De Angulo, 319, states that the upper is cut wider than the sole.

[87] "When the moccasin is tight, put in a tongue" (DB).

294 Slashes are made in pairs just below the cuff and a thong[28] run through. When putting on the moccasin one pulls on the tongue and wraps the cuff about the ankle, inside over outside. The thongs are crossed on the instep and caught through the first loop on either side. They are then brought back to the instep, crossed again, and caught through the next side loops. They are finally returned to the instep, recrossed, and wrapped about the ankle once or twice and tied. Sometimes there is but one perforation at either side, just below the cuff and alongside the tongue. A thong is run through these holes (under the tongue), crossed on the instep, carried back and around a couple of times, and tied at the back.

The two right sides are placed together, sewing is done on the wrong side, and the moccasin turned when finished. Some specimens have welt seaming, that is, a narrow and discrete strip carried in the seam between the two surfaces which are being joined. This gives a ridged effect which is well shown in the skin cradle-covering, plate 30a. The cuff, sole-upper, and back seams of Nannie Oshiko's moccasins were all welt sewn. Daisy Brown thought that this technique was unknown in the old days.

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294 Welt seaming seems to be fairly general but has attracted relatively little attention. Teit[29] mentions it for Thompson; and Mason,[30] for Kutchakutchin, Naskapi, Sitka, and Shoshone specimens. A Klamath-Modoc moccasin[31] collected by Barrett has welt seaming, and Dr. Spier tells me that it is also found among the Okanagon. Although Wissler does not mention it for the Blackfoot, his figure 78, and possibly figures 90 and 91, suggest a welt seam. Judging from the few Plains specimens available, it does not seem characteristic of that region, a fact which may or may not be of significance. A check of museum specimens would determine if the distribution is primarily northern and if the welt technique tends to associate itself with any particular moccasin pattern or patterns.

The analyses of Wissler and Hatt leave little to be said concerning moccasin patterns, but their distributions may be extended somewhat. Wissler[32] notes Pattern 8 for the Western Cree, Thompson, Nez Percé, Sarsi, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Northern Shoshone.

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[28] One selected at random measured 62 inches in length.

[29] Thompson, 210.

[30] Primitive Travel and Transportation, 346, 348, 352, 353.

[31] Cat. no. 1-12447.

[32] Blackfoot, 128, 142, and distribution table, 151; also Wissler, Costume Decorations, 106.

To these, Hatt[93] adds the Chippewa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Salteaux, and Sioux of the Upper Missouri. He also notes a specimen from northern Utah. By virtue of Teit's recently published paper,[94] the Plateau distribution can be extended to include "all the interior Salishan tribes," and specifically the Coeur d'Alene, Okanagan, Flathead, and Spokan. For the Shuswap, Teit[95] states that "a few people of the southern bands wore moccasins sewed on one side like the most common kind used by the Thompson tribe." Spier and Sapir[96] note Pattern 8 for the Kalispel and state that it is the prevailing style on the Yakima reservation today. Pattern 8 is also known from the Klamath,[97] and de Angulo[98] reports it for the Modoc and Achomawi as well as for the Surprise Valley Paiute. 171 294

The above distribution is a northerly and westerly one but the situation is complicated by the presence of several different moccasin types and by chronological considerations. The absence of Pattern 8 among certain Plateau groups, namely Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Wishram,[99] also requires explanation. The style is traditionally old among the Blackfoot, Thompson, and Coeur d'Alene, and recent among Spier's Klamath and Okanagan.[100] Unfortunately I have no data concerning its age among the Paiute. When asked, informants invariably replied that it was the old-time form. I do recall being shown a modern specimen which, as nearly as I can remember, accorded with Wissler's Pattern 10. In response to a leading question, my informant said that it was probably a "white man's moccasin." At the time I was not aware of the situation to the north and did not press the point further.

Mittens

Gloves were unknown in the old days, although at present they constitute one of the principal articles of native manufacture. Dr. Sam said that when women were traveling they sometimes wore buckskin "mittens." Pindy said that women tied a rabbit skin, fur side in, on either hand. A similar arrangement of wildcat hide covered the whole of both arms, muff fashion. Neither the "mitten" nor the "muff" has a native name. 291

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[93] P. 179.

[94] Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, 72, 234, 334.

[95] Shuswap, 506.

[96] Wishram, 207.

[97] Spier, Klamath, fig. 21b.

[98] P. 319.

[99] Teit, Lillooet, 219; Teit, Shuswap, 777; Spier and Sapir, 207.

[100] Wissler, Blackfoot, 128; Teit, Thompson, 209; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 72; Spier, Klamath, 209; and Spier, in conversation.

Headgear

291 One would rather expect the basket hat from analogy with surrounding groups such as the Nevada Paviotso,[101] the Achomawi, and the Klamath, but informants, both from Bidwell and Beatty, flatly denied its use.[102] Joshua said that a few women wore basket caps secured from the Achomawi, but that other than these, they were not worn. Women either went bare-headed or covered the head with buckskin the way in which the bandana is worn today (pl. 21*a*). When a heavy load was slung from the head, a pad of sagebrush bark prevented chafing.

291 Men wore a fillet of deer, otter, or coon skin to which feathers
292 were sometimes tied. As far as I could determine, the eye shield[103] was unknown, but visored caps were made of badger, wildcat, skunk, or mink skin. A man who did not wear such a cap had to shield his eyes with his hands "in order to see any distance." Children sometimes wore a badger-skin cap. There was doubtless much individual variation in headgear; some men made hats from wildcat heads.

HAIRDRESS

302 Both sexes wore the hair long. According to two informants,[104] men and women wore the hair in two braids, one over either ear. At chest level the braids were tied together with a buckskin thong and thrown back over the head "out of the way." Minnie Anderson of Bidwell and Lizzie Godowa of Beatty still preserve this mode of hairdress. Daisy said that women wore two braids, one over either shoulder, and that men dressed the hair similarly save for the fact that they twisted instead of braided it. It was twisted for a distance, wound with buckskin, and the ends allowed to hang loose. Nowadays all men wear the hair clipped short. Dr. Sam said that the Silver Lake women wore their hair in two braids while the men had three, one either side of the head and one down the back. Men cut bangs and combed them into a pompadour. Nannie Ochiho reported a three-braid coiffure for women.

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[101] Lowie, SE, 217.

[102] Tom Anderson did report the basket cap, but he was born in Nevada, and the information presumably applies to his own band.

[103] Which is of tule among the Klamath. Barrett, plate 17, figure 6.

[104] MA, JB.

302 All braiding was three strand. I was unable to verify the statement that women wore the hair loose over the shoulders.[105] Matrons and girls were not distinguished by hairdress.

Deer tallow was frequently used as a dressing, particularly by unmarried youths. Skunk grease never served this purpose.

302 412 Two kinds of hair brush (wuna'tsᵘ) were used, grass root and porcupine tail. The former was made of some kind of roots gathered in the creek or of rye-grass roots. Roots long enough to be doubled on themselves were selected, bunched, wetted, doubled over, and tied. When dry they were cut even at the end and the butt wrapped with hide. The porcupine-tail brush was called zagwü'd-wuna'tsᵘ (zagwü'd, porcupine). The skin was removed, stuffed with grass or shredded sagebrush bark, and allowed to dry. It was bent slightly and the edges sewn together. The quills were evened by burning.

A brush illustrated on plate 32c is about seven inches in length. The stuffing is untwisted sagebrush bark, doubled lengthwise, and wrapped with the same material. The filler is held in the skin covering by a cat-stitch lashing of sagebrush bark in two-ply twine. The sewing strand is knotted at the start and at the finish is secured in the transverse bark wrapping.

302 Youths and girls plucked the eyebrows for aesthetic reasons.[106] Ordinarily they used the finger nails. One would lie down and ask a friend to perform the service. The beard was also plucked. Informants insisted that men were beardless in the old days.

TATTOOING

304 Tattooing (naba'wits; also pawi'ts, the verb) was indulged in by both men and women but primarily by the latter. Nowadays the Paiute rarely tattoo the face,[107] although they may have done so in the old days. I have seen but one woman so tattooed; she bore four or five vertical marks on the chin and a diagonal line running down from each corner of the mouth. Informants state that Paviotso at Nixon and Reno tattoo the face, usually with vertical chin markings; the Gidü'tikadᵘ more frequently decorate the upper arm or forearm with simple motifs such as straight lines. Young girls and women may be seen today with initials, etc., on the arm.

Children were not tattooed; tattooing apparently had no connection with puberty and might take place either before or after mar-

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[105] Reported by de Angulo, 319.

[106] "They learned this from the whites" (P).

[107] "The Gidü'tikadᵘ didn't like that kind; they said it spoiled them" (DB).

304 riage. A person tattooed himself, which meant that a paid functionary was eliminated. The desired design was painted in charcoal from a sagebrush fire and the skin punctured with porcupine quills or with a rabbit-bone splinter.

FACE PAINTING

302 386 Both men and women painted the face; it was "just like powder with white people." Pigment was applied to the cheeks in stripes or other simple designs and was used on any dress occasion, particularly for dances but also for war. Red or yellow paint was most common; one or two old women still use red paint (picü'pi), apparently as an article of daily toilet. White paint was prepared but was not used for facial decoration prior to the Ghost Dance.[188]

Red paint and yellow paint (oha'^{pi}) were derived from yellow ochre. A deposit is said to occur on the bare hill behind the Harrison Brown ranch at Beatty; Bidwell informants state that it can be found in Big valley to the north of Mount Bidwell, or far to the southeast. When collected the earth was yellow and was used raw as a paint of that color. It was also rubbed on discolored hides to restore the original shade. Yellow paint was obtained from various other sources as, for example, yellow spots (?) on the wild rose. It was simply gathered and smeared on. My informant had not heard of using cat-tail pollen for yellow paint.[189]

For red paint, the ochre was placed in a hole in a rock and a fire kindled on top. The coals were raked off, and after the ochre had cooled, it was brick red. It did not require pounding but was placed directly in a small buckskin storage container (pl. 32*d*). Red pigment was not mixed with fat; grease of any kind was smeared on the face and the paint then added.

A soft brownish-tan material which appears to be chalk rock was used for white paint (tüho'ño^{pi}). The Surprise Valley source was a deposit on Bidwell mountain. The rock was crushed, soaked in water, and drained, whereupon it appeared white. It was stored in cake form and resembled tailor's chalk. It was moistened with the tongue before being applied to the face.

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[188] "They used white paint on the face at the time of the Ghost Dance, not before. They painted the face red and put white designs on top. They knew red paint before that" (P). This is of particular interest in that the use of red and of red and black paint seems to have spread with the Ghost Dance. Spier, Havasupai, 207.

[189] Cf. Loud and Harrington, 158, for the Nevada Paviotso.

Pindy and Daisy had not heard of blue paint, but one informant 302
stated that it occurred in the same place as red paint; another, that 386
it came from the water (a mud ?). Certainly it was not in general use. One or two mentioned a black paint, possibly to be identified with the blue. Joshua stated that it was made from pine pitch. When asked concerning it, Daisy said, "We didn't use pitch. That's what the Achomawi used when they were mourning."

ORNAMENTS

Beads (tsomi'bi) were made from swan-wing bones, fawn hoofs, 301
deer-toe bones, and rabbit-foot bones. Rabbit feet were placed in hot ashes in order to dry the bones for bead making. Beads were either attached to the dress or strung and worn about the neck and wrists. A necklace frequently consisted of alternate beads and juniper berries. Women wore beads more than men.

Flat disk beads, apparently clam shell, were highly prized. "Beads like this are called kwinü'ga^{a}, and we had them for beads a long time ago. They are high priced beads. I paid fifty cents apiece for these, and they even traded a horse for a short necklace of them. The Warm [439]
Springs Indians used to come here and bring them" (DB). Piudy spoke of "beads which came from the northeast. If a man thought he was rich he wore some around his wrist."

Finger rings were unknown in the old days. Piercing the nasal 301
septum seems to have been unusual even in early times, but in a Pavi- 304
otso tale[110] Coyote sticks an ornament through his nose. Minnie Anderson could recall having seen "just one old man with feathers in his nose."

Ear lobes were often pierced in infancy in order to secure health and longevity for the baby or, according to another account, to prevent its crying.[111] The piercing instrument was a sharp stick of rabbit brush, not a bone awl. Deer grease was smeared on and a small stick worn in the aperture to keep it open. Later this was replaced by a clean stick. A small strip of deer hide was tied in the hole; for some reason or other Minnie thought that shells and beads were never worn pendant from the ear. The Gidü'tikad^{u} pierced the ear only once, but Piudy could remember having seen a Paiute named Egan from "up north" who had holes all along the rim of the ear.

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[110] Lowie, ST, 209.

[111] "Not all persons had the ears pierced. I don't know any reason for punching a baby's ears. I'm a man; you had better ask a woman about that" (P).

301 "Shells from the ocean" (haliotis), called naka'goabi (naka', ear; goabi, shell), were secured from the Warm Springs Indians. The shell was filed into shape by being rubbed on a stone and was pierced with a bone awl. The shell was attached to the ear with sinew. Daisy Brown asserted that nothing else was ever worn in the ear, but complete reliance on a foreign product seems unlikely, and Joshua is probably correct in his contention that "stuff for earrings could be found on the edges of lakes. It was broken and worked with sand or rubbed on a rock."

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES

SKIN DRESSING

281 Skin dressing is one of the few old arts which flourishes today.
462 Practically all the work is done by women, although men are acquainted with the process and are said to assist upon occasion. Virtually all the middle-aged women and most of the younger ones are thoroughly versed in the art. There is considerable traffic in buckskin gauntlets, but these are the only articles produced commer-
292 cially. Buckskin dresses and other kinds of clothing are sometimes made for wear at the fairs, but they are scarce and bring very fancy prices.

The skinning is always done by a man; "women don't know how."
281 According to Pindy, the belly is first slit from mouth to crotch and the insides of the fore and hind legs cut upwards to meet the ventral cut. The hoofs are sometimes left on. A cut is made around the back of the neck, eliminating the face parts altogether.

My most complete account of skin dressing follows:

To skin[112] a deer, cut up the inside of the legs, starting with the back legs. Then cut up the belly. When you are going to use the hide *for gloves*, cut from the lower lip to the ear, around the ear, and around the back of the head. Indians cut around the ears and horns and leave them on the head.

Soak the hide in water which covers it. Lean a smooth stick against the house, and put the hide over it, catching it between the pole and the house. Clean the inside of the hide with a draw knife (horse ribs used formerly). Work the knife with both hands, downward, toward you. Then turn the hide and scrape off the hair the same way.

Next put the hide in water and work it to get off the blood. When it is white, tie it to a post or tree and wring it. Then hang it on the clothes line.[113] It is

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[112] Pindy's account should be taken in preference to this, because feminine informants are less familiar with the skinning.

[113] "They didn't peg down a hide; they dried it from the limb of a tree" (P).

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now ready to tan any time. When Indians dry a hide for tanning, they always dehair it; white people don't do that.[114]

Soak the skin again (for about a week if not fresh). Put any kind of brains,[115] beef, hog, or sheep in the water and leave for about a half day. If brains are put between white cloth, hung outside, and dried, they can be kept a long time. If fresh brains are used, they are boiled first. Stretch the skin in the water until the brains are absorbed and the water is clear. Then wring it by tying it to a tree or post.

Now start pulling. If the hide is big it may take all day. If you aren't strong enough, you have to stand up. I never saw anyone catch the skin under his heel and pull it over his shoulder. They do it different ways, but usually they sit down, catch one corner under the heel, and pull.

Now smoke the hide. Double it lengthwise and sew up the sides and across the head like a sack. Build a fire[116] with chips of good clean wood. Have the coals in a bucket and hang the hide over it until yellow. We smoke the skin only on the right side. It would be just the same if it were smoked on both sides[117] (NT).

Formerly, an elk rib or possibly a deer rib[118] served for scraping. A deer cannon bone[119] sharpened on one edge with an obsidian knife was also used for dehairing.

I watched Daisy and Nora wring hides (pl. 21*a*, *b*). The skin was folded lengthwise with the hair, or right side, out; and a rope was run through slits along the neck and fastened to a post. The legs were tied together and a stick put through. If the legs had been cut off, it would have been necessary to slit the hide to receive this stick. The skin was wrung dry by twisting the stick and pulling. Piudy said that in former times a stick instead of a rope was run through the slits; it was placed on the far side of a tree crotch and the hide pulled through between the two branches.

Bear and other skins were tanned with the hair on according to the following procedure:

Skin the animal and hang the hide to dry. Then dampen it, hang it from a post, and scrape the flesh side with a stone. Smear on the brains and work them into the skin by scraping (DB).

Occasionally the hide was buried to make it soft. Daisy said that it might be left in the ground from a few hours to a whole day.

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[114] "I shall dehair this old hide that some white people gave me, then work the knife on the other side" (NT).

[115] "In the old days they used marrow from the spinal cord as well as brains" (P).

[116] "Dig a hole about a foot across and a foot and a half deep. Put coals and dry willow in there" (JB).

[117] "Smoke the hide so that when it gets wet it will always be soft" (JB).

[118] "Just one deer rib could be used and that was the largest one" (DB).

[119] Described as the foreleg bone, with one end larger than the other, and as sharp on one side.

BASKETRY

285 The Paiute of this region manufacture both twined and coiled ware, but the latter is said by some to be of recent introduction.[120] Basketry is one of the few crafts still practiced and this only to a limited extent. The old-style seed beaters, conical burden baskets, and water jars are rarely seen, but twined cradles and baskets in single and double rod coil are encountered now and then. Until recently oval coiled laundry baskets have been made for sale to the whites.

My data come primarily from two informants, Lizzie Godowa of Beatty and Minnie Anderson of Fort Bidwell. Virtually all the complete specimens figured are the work of the latter. Although Minnie is not conscious of being lefthanded, her coiling progresses the opposite of the norm, and specimens made by her must not be used for comparative purposes. Her twining, however, proceeds in normal fashion. In the absence of another Bidwell informant, one from Beatty was substituted, a shift involving a different band. Available specimens show no appreciable difference between the basketry of the two groups.

Materials.—Willow is the only material used in basket making. It is said to be best in fall; during the summer growing season it is brittle and not easily worked. Straight young shoots are gathered in fall, scraped or split as the case may be, and stored. Rods are kept straight, tied in bundles; strands are kept in coils, tied with willow bark. Before being used, they must be soaked until soft and pliable.

Preparation of willows.—Peeled but unsplit willows furnish the foundation material for both coiled and twined ware. Formerly the rod was scraped with a black obsidian knife; nowadays, with a small butcher knife. The knife is held in the right hand with the blade across the palm; the butt is held between the thumb and first finger with the handle extending out to the worker's left (pl. 22*a*). The willow is grasped in the left hand and the leaves and bark removed by scraping away from the worker toward the tip or the butt, according to the hold. The shoot is then reversed and scraping directed toward the opposite end. Willows so prepared are now ready for use as warps or as foundation rods.

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[120] "They learned that kind from the whites. In the old days the sticks (rods) always stood straight up" (P). Nellie Townsend had heard the same thing. Minnie Anderson thought that coiling was made in the old days and that a splintered deer leg served as an awl.

Strands for sewing or twining are obtained by splitting such rods in thirds or halves. In halving, the process is as follows: The tip is split in two with the teeth and the lower half retained in the teeth. The upper half is pulled with the left hand, the right hand following the split down the stalk (pl. 22*b*). The half rod thus obtained is further split by being stripped of its inner wood, which process is identical with the one just described. The inner pulp is discarded and the remaining strand is complete, provided the outer bark has been scraped off at the outset. If this is not the case, the stripping process is once more repeated, this time to free the strand of the bark. 285

Larger willows are split in thirds. During the procedure, one strand is clenched between the teeth, and both hands are held at the juncture of the splits (pl. 22*c*). The three strands thus obtained are subject to the treatment previously described in order to rid them of the inner wood and to remove the outer bark, providing this has not been done at the start. If the willow is long, it is necessary, as splitting proceeds, to shift the hold with the teeth from the tip down the stalk toward the butt end.

Decoration.—Decoration, in the sense of pattern design, is conspicuously absent from the modern basket work. A row or so of color darker than the body (pl. 24*b*) seems to be about the most ambitious decorative scheme attempted. My informant stated that in the old days "women who knew how made nice designs on their baskets," but that these craftsmen were all dead. Coloring may be produced in a variety of ways; the most frequent seems to be by burying the willow in damp earth. Lizzie stated that sometimes the strands were colored by being soaked with willow bark; sometimes they were steeped in crushed ripe currants. 285 531

Coiled ware.—The quality of the coiling seen today is mediocre, if not worse. There is only single and double-rod foundation, with the latter after the manner of the former. The two rods are arranged in a vertical plane, and the sewing strand includes both of them and the upper rod of the previous row. The effect is similar to that of single-rod coil, but a given stitch encloses three rods instead of two.[121] I did see one nicely worked three-rod basket,[122] said to have been made by a Nixon Paviotso. It ran clockwise as seen from above and had non-interlocking stitches. 285

Oval shapes are at least as common as round ones and are said not to have any special function. One might suspect their popularity to

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[121] Mason, Basketry, fig. 188.

[122] In possession of Daisy Brown.

285 lie in the greater ease with which the start is made, but informants do not seem conscious of such a bias. The foot or rim (pl. 23*a*, *b*) is a point of interest. In the case figured, it consists of a row of three rods whipped to the base-wall juncture. I have noted at least three other specimens similarly equipped.[123] With one, the foot is considerably deeper, consisting of several superadded rows. This foot device, utterly foreign to aboriginal coiling, together with the prominence of the oval form, lends credence to the contention that the coiled technique here is of recent introduction.

Coiled ware is called nana'zoanad^{u}. Work is from right to left, clockwise from above. Plate 23, made by Minnie, is the reverse, left to right and counterclockwise. I did not see any round baskets started, but figure 3 shows the manner in which Lizzie commences the oval type; Susie Archie says that her grandmother used to start baskets this way. The specimen got from Minnie (pl. 23) does not show this kind of start; the rods are simply whipped together.

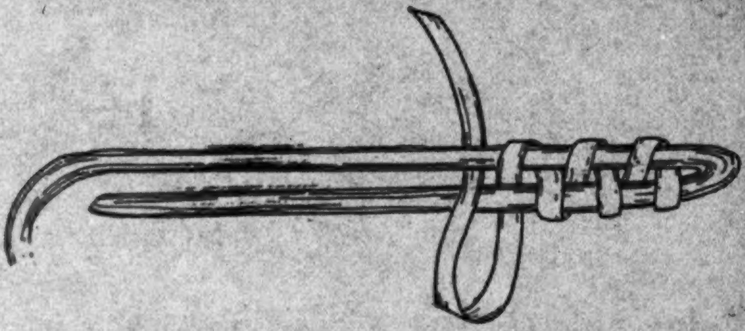

Fig. 3. Start of oval coiled basket, seen at the home of Mettie Petty, Beatty.

While work is in progress, the materials are constantly dampened so that they may remain pliable. They are periodically immersed in a basin of water, moistened in the mouth, or water sprinkled on with the hands. The sewing strand in particular must be kept damp. It is pulled from the back, or inside of the vessel, and is then brought over the top toward the worker, turned, and pushed through the hole made by the awl. The right or convex side of the basket remains toward the worker throughout. Stitches are not interlocked or consistently split.[124]

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[123] One in possession of Nannie Ochiho; the others belong respectively to Mrs. E. C. Lowell and Mrs. May Seegins of Fort Bidwell.

[124] An exception noted below has interlocking on the rim finish.

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Joining rods is called pitsa'kwin. A new rod (u'a'p) is pointed, but the terminating one is not shaved or beveled. When a new sewing strand is required, the old one is left protruding on the wrong side and the new one pushed through from the work side with an inch or so left dangling. The stray ends are broken off after the willow becomes dry and brittle.

In one or two specimens the rim receives special treatment. A small single-rod basket owned by Nannie Ochiho has the top rod caught to the preceding one at intervals of an inch, and along the intervening areas the rod is wound with the sewing strand. Mettie Petty of Beatty has an oval two-rod basket with a fairly involved finish. The top row is sewn by two alternating strands, one black and one white. The black and the white strands respectively interlock with every third stitch of the preceding row, leaving thereby a free stitch after each white overcast.

This same basket has the foundation rods unsewn at either end and twisted to serve as handles. Another large oval basket has handles of twisted rawhide.

Twined ware.—The generic term for basket is tai'da.[123] Twining (nagwi'c) was made in a variety of forms including: conical burden basket, close or open twine (kudu'sⁱ); grater, fan-shaped, open twine (ya'ta'); parching and winnowing tray, fan-shaped, close twine (tsamü'nᵃ—said to come from the verb to roll); seed beater (tsi'ku'); dipper (tsoko''ᵒ); spoon (kwasi'tsoko''ᵒ); cooking basket (ü'pü'); mush bowl or cup (si'woboi); water jar (si'o'sa'); fish trap (wi'ha').

Informants claim not to have made plaque-like baskets.

Of the above list, the last six have not been manufactured in many years and it was possible to obtain only the most cursory description of them. It will be convenient to dispose of these now and then pass to forms for which there are more data.

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The dipper and the spoon are probably one and the same. The former was described by Daisy, who said:

> It is made of willow. It is like the seed beater only smaller and pitched on the outside. Use this when you cook seeds, and serve food with it.

Pindy mentioned the spoon which he said was shaped like the seed beater but small, tightly woven, and unpitched. It was used for stirring seed mush. It differs from Daisy's description only in the matter of the pitch and in name. The latter difference is more apparent than

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[123] Nowadays it signifies crockery as well. De Angulo, 332, has evidently recorded names of special forms, i.e., mush bowl and parching tray.

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real, as the terms are identical save for the descriptive term, kwasi', meaning tail or handle.

The cooking basket was "round and had an open mouth." Nannie Ochiho remembered it as six or eight inches in height. It was watertight by virtue of close weaving, not through the application of pitch or gum.

The willow cup (sī'woboi; si, said to be from süb', willow) was unpitched and was used for individual servings of food as, for example, pine-nut gruel. No further details could be procured, but presumably it resembled the Paviotso specimen figured by Lowie.[126]

The water jar (sī'o'sa'; o'sa', any kind of jar) had a conical base. Pindy said that "it was easier to carry that way"; Minnie, that "in the old days they didn't know how to make flat bottoms." The jar was either set on its side, or a small hole was dug to allow it to stand upright. According to Minnie, such jars had willow handles; Pindy thought they were of deer hide; neither had heard of hair handles. A specimen (pl. 21c) made by Nina Naneo's grandmother, however, does have hair woven in the handles.

The jar just mentioned is made in diagonal twine. Several local specimens, all of unknown provenience, are in this same technique. In view of these facts and considering the Nevada data,[127] it seems safe to assume that the old Surprise Valley water jar was of similar construction. The Naneo specimen is an upward twine, provided progression is left to right as usual. It does not have the conical base;[128] the bottom is dented and in cross-section would resemble figure 6*f* of Spier's Havasupai. At the neck the warps have been cut short and the top overcast.

The basketry jar was made watertight with juniper or pine gum put on a flat stick, held over the fire, and then rapidly applied to the exterior. For the inside, four or five small stones were heated and dropped in with some pitch. The container was shaken vigorously until the whole interior was coated. The woman tested the basket by holding it to her lips and blowing to see if there were any holes. If there were none, she filled the jar with water and, if it did not leak, considered it finished. Such a jug lasted "a long time."

According to Joshua a family ordinarily had two basketry jars, a small one for the children and a larger one for the adults. On journeys, a woman carried the water jar. The neck was usually plugged with green grass; the Naneo specimen has a wooden stopper.

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[126] SE, fig. 13*b*.

[127] Lowie, SE, 234 and fig. 20*a*, *b*.

[128] In this respect resembling fig. 20*b* in Lowie, SE.

Of the fishing basket, there is only the most meager description. 285 It was of stiff willows, five to eight feet in length, long, "like a sock," 415 and had a constricted neck. It was presumably in open twine.

For the remaining types of twined ware, there are fortunately a few specimens for guidance. Twining proceeds from left to right. With non-circular specimens (such as the grater and the parching tray) it is impossible to tell from the specimen alone in which direction the work goes. It seems safe to assume upon the basis of models made by Lizzie and Minnie, and from the uniformity of direction in spirally worked baskets, that the progress is from left to right in these as in other forms. The slant of the stitch is discussed at the end of the section on twining.

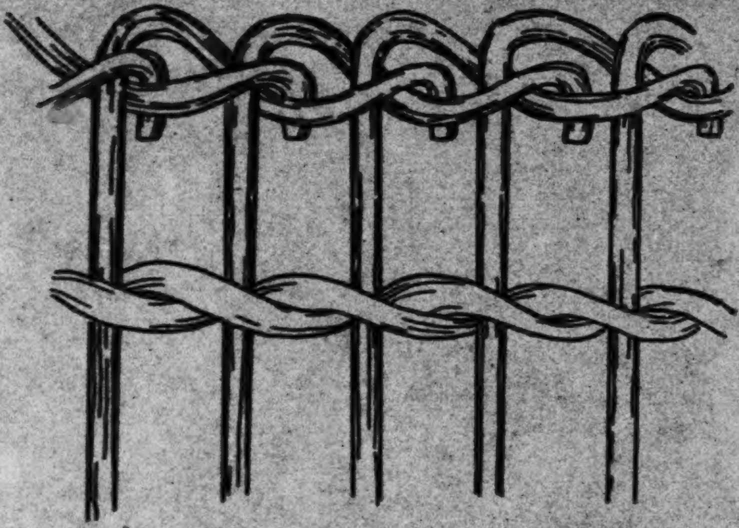

Fig. 4. Rim finish (exterior) of open twined burden basket, 1-28203.

The utility container, the conical burden basket, may be in open twine or close diagonal twine, the latter for seeds and berries, the former for wild plums and objects of like size. I have examined six burden baskets, three in open and three in close twine, but two of the latter are incomplete models made by Minnie and Lizzie.

Plate 24b shows an open twine conical basket. The start is on a pair of 285 warp sets, each consisting of eight rods. The first few rows are twined on double warps. At the start the twine is solid; after two or three inches it becomes simple open twine with the rows spaced an inch or more. The rim finish is shown in figure 4. A willow hoop is lashed to the turned down warps and another hoop applied on the interior about halfway down. There is no evidence of a tump line. Lizzie Godowa has a similar basket which is started on warps crossed in fours. A somewhat smaller basket of the same order seen at the home of Nina Nanco is said to have been made by her grandmother. As can be seen from plate 21c, the twine is both diagonal and open, giving a zigzag effect.

The close diagonally-twined burden basket shown in plate 24a starts with warps crossed in sixes; the diagonal stitch starts from the first row. At the top the warps are clipped close and a hoop lashed on. A model (fig. 5) starts in simple twine on warps crossed in threes. The sketch shows Minnie's method of introducing supplementary warps. A rod is inserted and doubled back to make two warps. Other rods are added singly.

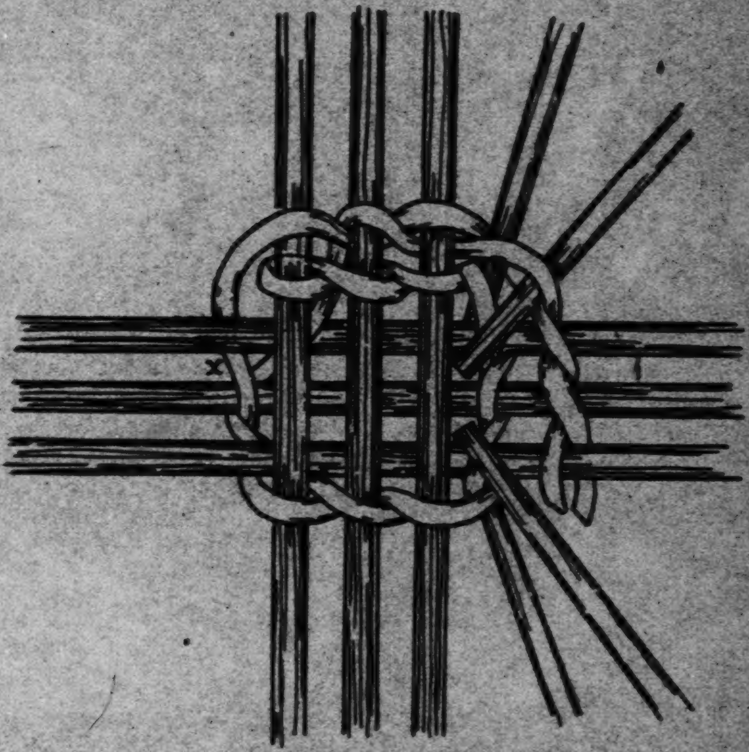

Fig. 5. Start of twined burden basket showing one method of introducing new warps.

The model made by Lizzie is started on warps crossed in fours. Eight rods are twined together in pairs and the last two pairs turned at right angles to the first, thereby producing warps crossed in fours (fig. 6). After three rows the twining on double warps is changed to simple twine and later to diagonal twine.

Both Minnie and Lizzie start the basket on the convex side, twining from left to right. After a few rows the warps are sprung down and the basket worked apex up. With increase in size, the apex

is turned downward and work continued left to right on the near side. 286
These shifts in position occasion no change in the direction of the twine or in the work side.

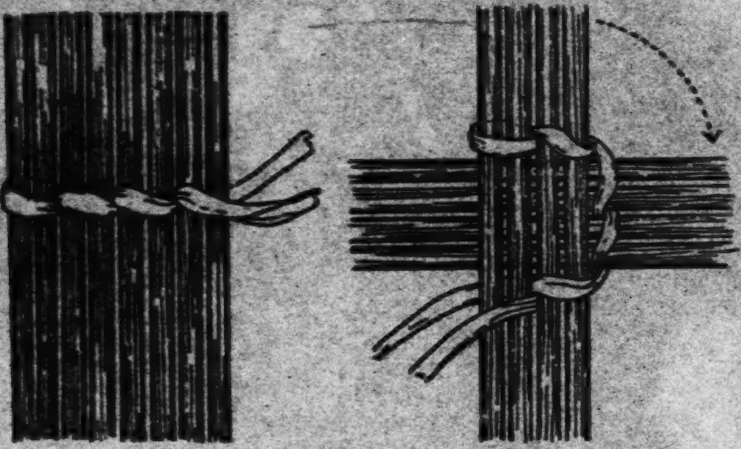

Fig. 6. Start of twined burden basket.

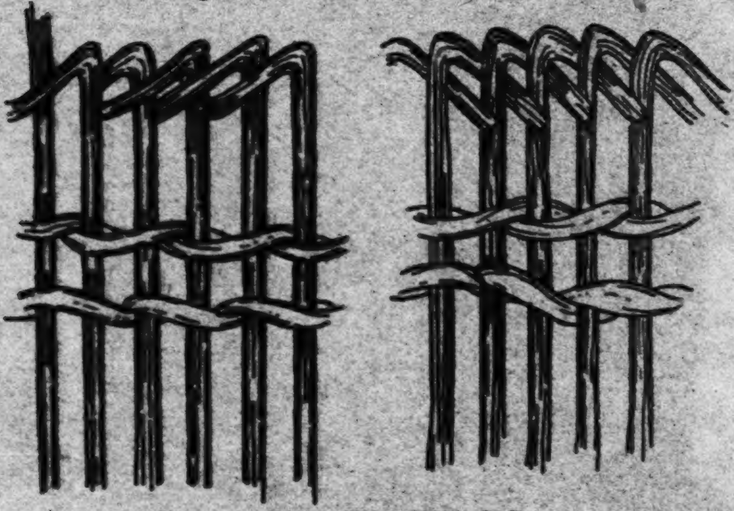

Fig. 7. Rim finish of twined grater, 1–[illegible]. Left, upper or concave face; right, back or convex face.

Burden baskets become flattened through use, not deliberately. 285
Minnie volunteered, "This basket is no good; it's all flat on one 415
side." Seed gathering baskets were not coated with pitch as among the Gosiute.[129]

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[129] Chamberlin, 341.

The open twine fan-shaped tray was doubtless put to many uses,[130] but is here called a grater because roots are rubbed on it to divest them of their skins. It is kept in shape by being placed in a damp spot, weighted with stones.

The dilapidated grater shown in plate 35a is in open twine, the rows paired at inch intervals and running horizontally. The stitch is uniform until the last three inches where it becomes diagonal twine, with rows still paired. The warp finish is diagrammed in figure 7. An encircling willow is lashed about the outer edge of the tray.

The start of all non-spiral specimens, such as the grater, the winnowing tray, the seed beater, etc.,[131] is at the base. The grater may serve as an example, and its initial rows are diagrammed in figure 8.

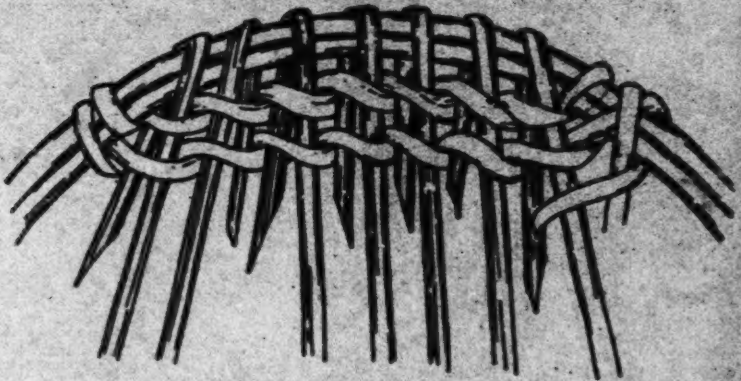

Fig. 8. Start of twined grater, 1–[illegible], showing back or convex face.

Warps are placed at right angles to two rods and bent back on themselves, enclosing the two outlining rods. In this instance, the short ends of the lapped warps are on the right or concave face of the tray. They are chewed thinner at the tip so as not to bulge. Work begins at the lower left on the wrong, or convex, side. The two outlining rods are caught in a stitch; then the first warp and its lapped tip are enclosed, and so on. Until one is past the range of lapped tips, twining is on two rods. New warps are inserted singly to provide the fan-like shape. Lizzie works from left to right across the back or convex face. At the end of the course (lower right of sketch) she turns the specimen right face up and works from left to right across it, and so on. The turning from one face to the other means that the stitches continue to have a uniform slant on either face which they would not have if the work were continued back and forth on one face alone.

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[130] Some authors speak of it as a sifting basket.

[131] Excepting "first cradles."

The parching or winnowing tray is a non-spiral affair essentially like the grater but in close twine.

Plate 25a shows a specimen made by Minnie. The start is similar to that of figure 5, but the warp lap is on the back or convex side. The first few rows are simple twine, followed by the body in diagonal twine. The last few inches are also diagonal but on multiple warps, three being the number most frequently enclosed. The warp finish at the upper edge is somewhat haphazard, but seems to resemble figure 7, except that each unit consists of three or four adjacent warps instead of a single one. As usual, the finished specimen is completely encircled by a willow hoop. Another parching tray probably made by the same person is shown in plate 25c. The start is similar to the above, but the warps turn back on the concave or upper face. The initial rows are simple twine which soon passes into diagonal. The latter stitch continues until the last six rows which are simple twine on double warps.

A parching tray (pl. 21c) of unusually fine workmanship is in possession of Nina Nance. Like the others, it is in diagonal twine. The outer stitches on either edge enclose double warps, making a sort of selvage. Unlike all others, it is decorated with several rows of diagonal black lines. This tray differs slightly in contour from the others illustrated; the top is straight across instead of arched and meets the sides at a pronounced angle.

The model parching tray started by Lizzie is pictured in plate 25b. It differs structurally from the above mentioned specimens in that the warps are not lapped back over a horizontal rod. My notes are not clear on the procedure involved, but from the model, the start seems to be on four warps bent into an arc. Other warps are inserted singly to give the necessary flare.

The seed beater is next to be considered. It is not provided with a wooden blade such as the Gosiute use.[138] The following description is based upon the specimen figured in plate 27*a*:

The start follows the usual non-spiral pattern, but the warps lap on the back or convex side. The lower half of the bowl is in simple open twine, rows paired and running horizontally. The upper half shifts to diagonal twine, still open and rows still paired. At the top, the warps are bunched, forming a short handle. Coarse twining on multiple rods holds the bundle together; there seems also to have been some willow lashing on the handle. A hoop encircles the bowl, passing in the back at the root of the handle.

Some details may now be presented concerning the slant of the twined stitch. Following Barrett's[139] definition, it may slant either upward or downward, and in some instances a group will employ one twist to the complete exclusion of the other. Such is not the case with this band of Paiute. Not only do they use both types, but the two occur side by side in a single specimen, even in a single row.

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[138] Chamberlin, 241. [139] Pomo Indian Basketry, 147.

Thus the start of the conical burden basket shown in figure 5 is downward. At X, just before the termination of the first course, an upward stitch occurs, probably an error. Where the new warp is added at the upper right, however, a definite shift to upward stitches occurs and continues for the remainder of the model. Another specimen (pl. 24b) made by Minnie shows this identical shift from initial downward stitches to upward ones.

Furthermore, an open twine burden basket (pl. 24c) made by Minnie is similarly fluctuating. The first two or three courses are worn off, but the first distinguishable row is upward. After five rows, five or six downward stitches occur, followed by two rows of upward twist. Downward stitches next come and continue the remainder of the specimen. A "first cradle" (pl. 23) made by Nettie de Gamo shifts several times, once in the middle of a row.

Such variations are theoretically intelligible on the basis of decorative effect, for if one were to alternate rows of upward and downward twine, a pattern would result. But such is not the case here. These variations seem rather to indicate carelessness and an inattentiveness to detail and plainly demonstrate the absence of a single standard slant. Even so the selection of the twist is not entirely a matter of caprice. In two instances there is some suggestion of a correlation between the slant of the stitch and the type of basket. Thus, the three open twine burden baskets examined are all with downward twist, save for the irregularity at the start of Minnie's specimen. The parching trays are likewise uniform; the four specimens are all upward twine.[184] Although Lizzie makes the grater and both types of burden basket with a downward stitch, when it comes to the parching tray she shifts to an upward twine. She could give no reason further than "that is the way it is done."

The above alignment suggests a possible connection between the slant of the stitch and the manner of working the basket. The open twine burden basket is worked spirally, round and round, while the parching tray is a non-circular affair worked across one face, then turned and worked across the other. But this correlation does not hold because the close twine basket, although worked spirally, is sometimes upward twine; and the grater, a flat, fan-like tray similar to the parcher, is downward in one of the two specimens. Neither is any correlation maintained between the open and close twine technique and the stitch slant.

Although cradles have not yet been considered, it may be said that data concerning them are equally conflicting. Assuming a left to right progression, the de Gamo specimen has both slants but is predominantly downward; the model made by Minnie is also "mixed" but is mainly upward. The basket backs of three "later cradles," skin covered, are, two upward and one downward.

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[184] Weltfish, 490, notes that cave material from southern California seems to be downward for plain and 3-strand twine and upward for diagonal twine. This is suggested in the Paviotso material but does not hold for all specimens.

Specimens are too few to be conclusive, but a summary of the twine slants is appended. The names listed indicate the provenience of specimens and likewise the maker, unless otherwise indicated. These data are included because they demonstrate that the three known individuals from whom we have more than one basket produced twines of both varieties. Numbers are given for specimens now in the museum.

Water jar; 1 specimen; upward slant; Nina Naneo, Beatty (made by her grandmother) (pl. 21*e*).

Open twine burden basket; 3 specimens; all downward; Nina Naneo (made by her grandmother) (pl. 21*c*); Lizzie Godowa; Minnie Anderson (1-28203) (pl. 24*b*).

Close diagonal-twined burden basket; 3 specimens; Lizzie Godowa, downward; Minnie Anderson (1-28204) (pl. 24*a*), upward except for first row; Minnie Anderson (model, fig. 5), upward except for first row.

Parching tray; 4 specimens; all upward slant; Nina Naneo (made by her grandmother) (pl. 21*c*); Lizzie Godowa (model, 1-28211) (pl. 25*b*); Minnie Anderson (1-28206) (pl. 26*a*); probably Minnie Anderson[135] (pl. 26*b*).

Seed beater; 1 specimen; upward; Minnie Anderson (1-28207) (pl. 27*a*).

Grater; 2 specimens; Lizzie Godowa (model), downward; Minnie Anderson (1-28205) (pl. 25*a*), upward except for upper third which alternates rows of upward and downward (fig. 7).

"First cradle"; 2 specimens; Minnie Anderson (model, 1-28209) (fig. 9), badly mixed; Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell (1-28210) (pl. 28), mixed at start but predominantly downward.

"Later cradles"; 3 specimens; Nellie Townsend (maker unknown) (1-28212) (pl. 29), upward; Nellie Townsend[136] (maker unknown), (pl. 31), downward; provenience unknown[137] (pl. 30), upward.

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[135] In collection of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell.

[136] In collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell.

[137] In collection of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell.

CRADLES

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Cradles are considered here because the technical details concerning them fall largely within the realm of basketry. There are two recognized types, the "first cradle" and the "later cradle." Their functional distinctions are mentioned elsewhere.[128]

The first cradle is in use the first month after birth and is called saki'-hu'p^a (bulrush-cradle; so-called from its shape). It is essentially a basket and nothing more, lacking the rigid frame, the triangular awning, the skin cover, and the tumpline of the other cradles. There are at least two kinds of saki'-hu'p^a. One kind is illustrated in plate 28. A miniature of the other kind was made by Minnie Anderson, but unfortunately the specimen is so out of proportion that it seems inadvisable to figure it. Its manufacture may be described as follows:

A weft strand is twined about a series of paired warps. When all are caught, the last pair is bent back parallel to itself and enclosed by a twined stitch as indicated in figure 9. When all the pairs have been so treated, the nucleus for an arched top is formed. The diagram suggests that the rods lie in a flat plane, but in reality the outer ones are slightly raised, making the top semi-domed. After the initial row of twining the affair is turned and worked across the other face, then turned again, and so on. This makes twining throughout the specimen a continuous course, zigzagging from side to side, in this respect resembling the grater, winnowing tray, etc. Although the model is very roughly made, there seems to be an adherence to double warps throughout. The specimen tapers slightly toward the base, where the warps are cut off evenly.

This cradle has a hood of sorts, but one quite distinct from the triangular awning of the later cradles. It is really a hoop, like that of Lowie's Moapa specimen.[129] For this hoop, a series of parallel rods is caught together in open twine and the ends attached to either side of the cradle near the top. A cloth thrown over the top for sun-protection is kept off the child's face by the hoop.

The infant is placed in the basket on a padding of shredded sagebrush bark and held in by means of a thong laced through skin loops along the sides of the cradle. Unlike the later cradles, the first ones do not indicate the se of the infant.

The other style of first cradle is shown in plate 28. It also lacks the rigi frame and other traits distinctive of the later cradle. In structure it follow the grater pattern (fig. 8), but the outlining rods are bent at a sharp angl instead of being gently curved. Unlike the grater which is worked from th base up, twining of this specimen commences in the upper right corner (a seen in the plate). Each warp and its lap are enclosed in a single stitch thereby making the twine on double warps until the turnback is passed, a matter of some six inches. Twining is thereafter on single rods. Rows ar

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[128] P. 161.

[129] XX, fig. 34a. Nellie Townsend immediately designated this figure as a fir cradle.

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paired and run horizontally; to avoid zigzagging, the wefts are wrapped about the outer rods for the necessary distance between rows. The last or bottom four rows are close twine.

I am not certain of the exact manner in which the cap is attached. It is obviously a part of the body as the body twine extends to include it on the sides. A separate course of twining is worked across the top of the cap, joining the component rods to each other and attaching the cap to the upper edge of the cradle proper. This row of twining starts at the upper left (as viewed in the plate) and zigzags back and forth, ending at the upper right at the point where the body twine begins.

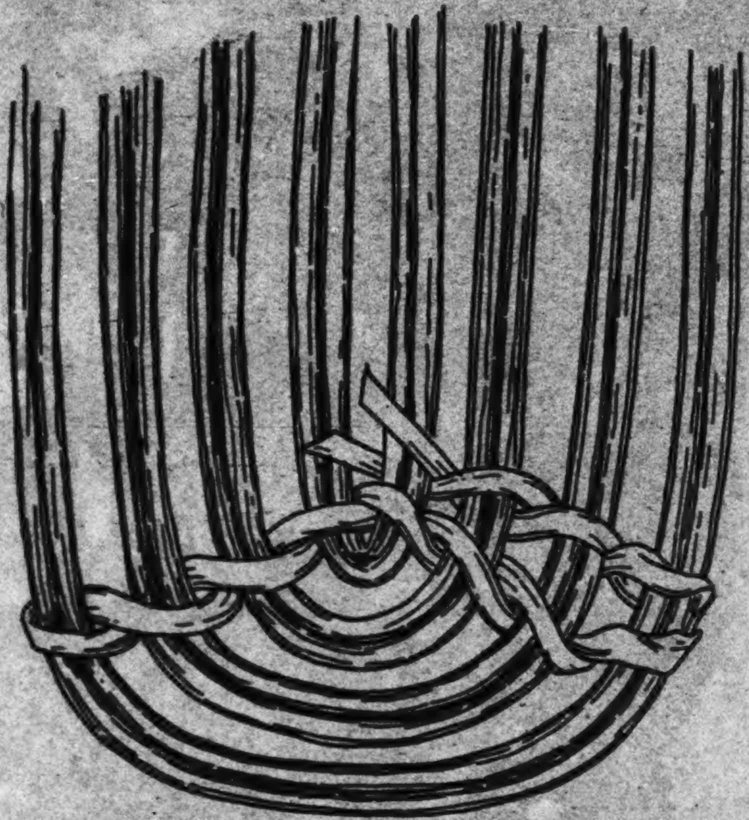

Fig. 9. Start of first cradle. From a model, 1-28208. Warps reduced in number to facilitate sketching.

The illustrated specimen has side loops of cloth in lieu of deer hide.

After the saki'-hu·p^3, a child has four cradles successively larger and differing from one another only in size. Structurally the later cradle consists of a wooden framework (pl. 29) supporting a twined

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basket backing. The whole is skin-covered, and although nowadays canvas is sometimes substituted, buckskin is preferred. A triangular awning (tsoko'no'ᵊ) is attached on a line with the top of the backing and is supported by a series of arched rods held together in twined stitch. As is common elsewhere,[140] the awning design is indicative of the sex of the infant. A diamond or zigzag pattern serves for a girl, a series of diagonal lines for a boy. Plate 30 has diagonal lines alternating with tipi-like motifs. Nowadays these designs are worked in embroidery thread, either red or blue. Informants do not remember what was used formerly; "maybe they didn't have designs then." The solid bead embroidery seen on some cradles is Plains type. It is taught in the local Indian school and is probably of no great age.

The skeleton of the skin-covered cradle is seen in plate 29. As Nellie Townsend noted, Surprise Valley cradles tend to flare more at the top than those figured by Lowie[141] for the Nevada Paiute. The arch and base of the frame are always separate pieces spliced at the sides. The arch of the figured specimen is willow and the base choke-cherry. The base may be either angular (pl. 29) or rounding (pl. 30). The wood is heated, bent, and tied in the desired shape; then placed on a level spot, weighted with stones, and allowed to dry. Nowadays the frame is nailed together. Formerly the transverse bars were notched at the ends and tied to the skeleton with thongs. The specimen shown in plate 30 is so constructed; its bars, as those in plate 29, rest on the upper surface of the frame, just beneath the basket backing.

The twined backing is attached by thongs. According to Nellie, it is usually made before the frame. The warps of the backing are always longitudinal, and the start is similar to that of figure 8 except that the outlining rods are bent upward at an angle. Twining starts at the lower righthand corner (as seen in pl. 29) with the back as the initial work surface. In this instance the twine is simple openwork with rows more or less equi-spaced. The same holds for the cradle of plate 30. At the end of a row one weft is carried along the outside warp and wrapped to it by the other weft. The backing of one specimen (pl. 31) is twined in a zigzag course, and at the open ends the rows are about six inches apart. The backing of some cradles is simple twine on double warps. The backing ordinarily ends on a line with the awning attachment. In one specimen (pl. 31) it extends somewhat beyond, but it seems likely that the hood has been placed too low. This cradle was used by one of Nellie Townsend's children, and as the child grew, the hood was raised. When the cradle was sold, the hood was lowered to its present position.

The two specimens figured differ somewhat in the attachment of the skin covering but both show welt seaming, i.e., a discrete strip carried in the seam between the two joined surfaces. The covering of both cradles hangs loose and unattached at the sides. That shown in plate 30 has a seam along the top of the arch and down the center front. The covering is tied to the backing beneath the awning and also at the bottom. Here there is no seam; the skin is simply turned under across the back of the lowest transverse rod. At the

lower front it is sewn with buckskin to the upper of an old shoe which hangs in a loop to support the child's feet. 285

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[140] Kroeber, Handbook, 536; Lowie, SE, 254.

[141] SE, 33a, 34a, b; although plate 30 resembles Lowie's specimens in outline.

The other cradle (pl. 31) has more complicated seaming. It has central seams front and back and two lateral back seams as well. The arca seam is not continuous but begins a short distance either side of the central seams. This specimen does not have a separate foot loop but the covering is roughly sewn across the bottom and a short distance up the front to answer the same purpose. These bottom seams are little more than lashings. Nellie thinks that the transverse back seam is not essential but is for the fringe alone. This seam does not show the characteristic ridge of welt seaming, but the fringed piece is inserted as is the extra strip, only it is wide and fringed instead of being extremely narrow. 854

The back fringe of plate 30 is not sewn; but slits are cut and a thong run through one slit and out the adjacent one. The front fringe of both specimens consists of extra pieces, pinked along the upper edge, fringed along the lower, and sewn to the skin covering. The fringes are strung with beads, coins, etc.

Both specimens have loops along the front for lacing. The pack strap attachment is similar in both and is well shown in the plates. A buckskin loop is attached to the frame, piercing the skin cover at the back. The end of the burden strap is passed through one of the loops, folded back on itself, and secured by tying a thong through perforations in the strap.

The awning consists in each case of fine open twine in diagonal stitch. The twined rows are paired and run horizontally. A zigzag course is avoided by wrapping the wefts about the outside warp for the inch or so between rows. The start of the awning is at the end attached to the cradle. It is covered by a binding of buckskin but is probably similar to other non-spiral starts.

The awning is supported on a series of bent rods to which it is attached only by the embroidery threads of the hood design. The arched supporting rods are twined together in a zigzag course. It is interesting to note that the characteristic non-spiral start pattern holds here; the rods are sharpened and bent on themselves over a rod 1½ inches long. The twining continues to the awning and again on the other side of it, but not beneath it. The awning support is tied at either end, not to the cradle frame, but to the basket backing. In plate 30 the thongs penetrate the back covering in line with the fringe and are tied in bows.

CORDAGE, NETS, WEAVING

Two-ply string was made from the inner bark of sagebrush. Juniper bark was not used; "it was too soft to be good for anything." The bark was scraped, shredded, and dampened. It was rolled on the thigh, the two strands separately on the downward stroke and combined on the upward stroke. Three-ply string was unknown. A stronger cordage was made of the outer bark of wiha'b', an unidentified plant[142] resembling sagebrush but smaller and growing along mountain streams. The bark was stripped off and exposed overnight to become soft. It was broken in the hands and rolled on the thigh. 283

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[142] Loud and Harrington, 158, suggests that Gosiute *Apocynum androsaemifolium* answers the description of "wiha."

283 Sagebrush bark was sometimes twisted into a two-ply string with the fingers. The cord attached to the moccasin in plate 27*b* was probably made this way, not thigh-twisted.

Two-ply twine of sagebrush or of wiha'b' was made into three-strand braid. Four-strand braid was also known, but not eight-strand. The four-strand work seems to have been confined to buckskin rope. Skin rope, either three or four-strand braid, or merely twisted (?), was used for the horse pack. Three-strand braided bark rope also served the same purpose.

286 Nets (wa'na) were always of wiha'b' twine. Informants had not heard of using nettle fiber. Women sometimes made the twine, but men did the actual netting. A mesh gauge was not employed. According to Piudy, the strand was measured by being looped from the finger tip (middle finger ?) around the base of the thumb (at the wrist juncture) and back to the finger tip. Minnie alone claimed that nets were made of a plant belonging to Wolf, and she called the net ī'sha'-wa'na (ī'sha', wolf).

Weaving, in the sense of true cloth production, was unknown, but rabbitskin blankets were made by both men and women. Jackrabbit skins were used most, but cottontail pelts could be mixed with them. A good sized blanket (wī'gia) took 25 to 50 skins. Mouse or other small skins were not used; nor were mud-hen blankets made, although informants knew of them from the Nevada Paviotso.

In skinning, the knife was held in the mouth and the hide cut round and round. Accounts of subsequent preparation differ moderately, but the fact remains that the skins were twisted, stretched, and dried. According to Piudy the feet of about five rabbit skins were tied together, making a strip of considerable length. One end was unattached; the other was fastened to a stick which was rolled between the palms. The twisted skins were stretched and allowed to dry. Daisy had it that two people twisted the skins and hung them to dry "like on a clothesline." According to Joshua, the strips were twisted between the palms, stretched, and left to dry one or two nights. If I understood Nellie correctly, the skin from a single rabbit was doubled and interlocked chain fashion with that of another rabbit, and so on. The loop on the far end was caught over the worker's toe and a short stick inserted in the proximal loop. The stick was rolled between the palms, twisting the looped skins which were then hung to dry.[142]

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[142] A Paviotso tale refers to skins hung to dry. Lowie, ST, 225.

The Gidü'tikad^{a} employed a two-post frame for the weaving. Informants said that the Nixon Paviotso used a frame of four uprights and two cross-bars.[144] With the two-post frame, the uprights, about five feet in height, were set as far apart as one could conveniently reach. The twisted skins were wound tightly from one post to the other, from bottom to top. The weft was twine (either wiha'b' or sagebrush bark), thongs, or, more recently, strips of cotton cloth. The worker started a row of simple twine at the lower righthand corner and worked it to the top. According to Daisy, the wefts were tied here and a new row started at the bottom, otherwise the blanket would be wrinkled. Joshua thought that the twining was continuous, turning at the top and coming downward. Piudy reported an extra-length blanket made by pushing the completed part off the posts and winding more skins on the freed poles. One blanket ordinarily sufficed as bedding for two persons. 286

Sagebrush bark blankets are said to have been made in the same technique, but without the frame. Such blankets, like those of rabbit skin, were used as bedding and capes. Leggings were also made of sagebrush bark, presumably in open twine. A model of the old time sagebrush moccasin is seen in plate 27*b*. The start is identical with that of the first cradle (fig. 9). The wefts consist of untwisted sagebrush bark. At the termination of each row, the wefts are twisted into string and left as a loop for lacing. The hanging warps turn up over the foot as a tongue. The cord is crisscrossed, catching the loops on either side.

Bags for food storage were made of tule or of sagebrush bark, presumably in open twine. They were described as "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." 285 415

STONE WORKING

Stone archaeological remains are fairly plentiful, although not spectacular, and are ascribed to mythical pre-Paviotso inhabitants. Thus, "These stone things came from the stories. When animals were people they made them." Pestles are found near water, "because Nümüzo'ho (cannibal; literally people-grinder) was driven into the lake." Another cannibalistic being, Bahi'zoho, who was "animal but looked like an Indian," has mortars ascribed to him. Nümüna (people's father) is held responsible for petroglyphs and for footprints seen along lake shores. 324

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[144] Like that described by Lowie, SE, 228.

324 *Axe.*—In the old days there was nothing in the nature of an axe. Wood picked from the ground was the sole reliance. Chipped obsidians, more or less hoe-shaped, are found archaeologically and in local parlance are known as tomahawks. Informants state that similar objects were sometimes found and used in tanning, but were not manufactured by the Paiute. They were used unhafted and were rubbed on the inside of hides in order to soften them. They were called dūda'-soñoyin (dūda', rub; soñoyin, soften). Daisy remembered that Nora Henderson's grandfather was once far to the east and killed a foreign Indian who had one of these implements tied to his wrist as a weapon.

Another type of archaeological specimen to which the name tomahawk is applied is a flat quadrilateral with rounded corners. It measures about five inches in length and four in width. The sides are notched as though for hafting. Examination shows that whatever this might have been, it was not a cutting or hewing implement. It has no suggestion of a blade or of abrasions which would result from chopping. It falls into the category of those Californian notched stones doubtfully designated as sinkers, but in this case, explanation in terms of recent ethnology is not possible since informants deny the use of the fish net. These stones, like the others, apparently date from pre-Paviotso days.

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415 *Metate.*—The metate (ma'ta') is a flattish, unsquared slab,[148] the face worn evenly and untroughed. It occurs archaeologically and today is used for grinding seeds and coffee. Some metates were found already made, but "anyone might make one." A suitable stone was selected, pecked, and rubbed down. It took a "long time." Daisy said that men did the pecking, but Pindy said that men searched for good stones which the women smoothed. The country abounds in potential metates, but they are said to be most plentiful on the slopes of Eagleville peak which is known as Ma'ta'gan, metate mountain.

The flat surface of a large boulder was sometimes used as a metate. At the Anderson place on Cowhead lake was one quite worn from such use. My informant, Minnie Anderson, ground some seeds on it by way of demonstration. Contrary to Nevada practice,[149] only one surface of the metate is used. This follows the explicit statement of an informant, substantiated by an examination of several speci-

mens. When not in use, the slab is leaned face downward against the wall of the house. On journeys a small size metate was carried in the burden basket.

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[148] "Sometimes they were oval" (DB). Beautifully shaped oval metates are collected from the Tule lake (Modoc) region; I have seen none from Surprise valley.

[149] Lowie, SE, 204.

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The mano (tusu') is without special character; it is not beveled or rockered in any distinctive manner. Evidently any stone of suitable size was put to use with the metate.

Mortar.—My information concerning the mortar accords with that of Dr. de Angulo.[147] Strangely enough, considering the vast number to be found archaeologically, informants state that "they did not use them much."[148] They did not manufacture mortars, but if they happened upon one they might use it. In the absence of a mortar, any kind of rock served. Sometimes the mortar and pestle were cached "so that when we came around next time we knew where to find them." The pestles[149] are simply elongate stones, shaped through use as much as anything else.

Arrow smoother.—Two grooved stones (pa'a'bi; also poños-tüma'-nak^{a}; poños, arrow) are said to have been used in smoothing arrows. They were unsquared and resembled the Klamath specimen figured by Barrett.[150]

Pipe.—All agree that the old pipe (to'i'e^{a}) was stone with a wooden mouthpiece, but with this, agreement virtually ceases. Informants are about evenly divided between the tubular and the elbow pipe, three claiming that the latter is a "white man's pipe."

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Minnie described a plain tube which was smoked with head tilted back; Pindy reported a tubular pipe which the user leaned back to light, but smoked straight. Billy Steve, when shown plate 22 of Barrett, picked figure 7, a bone mesh measure, as most closely approximating the old form—an undoubted indication of tubular shape. Nannie Ochiho agreed that the elbow pipe was "white man's" but said that the old Paiute pipe was more curved than the simple tube. Joshua agreed with her that the old pipe was intermediate between the straight and the elbow types.

When Tom Anderson was shown a tubular pipe he emphatically declared, "not Paiute," selecting figure 9, plate 22 of Barrett as "a Paiute pipe." Daisy Brown likewise declared for an elbow pipe. Dr. Sam of Beatty, when asked concerning pipes, brought forth one he had made years ago. I understood that his was in the old style manner, but as I was pressed for time, I may not have stressed the point of age sufficiently. The pipe he showed was carved in the shape of a mountain-sheep head, nose pointing downward. The bore entered the head back of the horns, turned elbow-wise, and ran through the neck. The wooden mouthpiece was attached at the butt of the neck. The whole very much resembled a miniature tomahawk pipe.

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[147] P. 321.

[148] "What would we use those for? We have no hard seeds" (P).

[149] "The pestle is called tüta'bin" (JB); "poda'n" (P).

[150] Plate 21, fig 9.

The specimen[131] illustrated on plate 32*b* was obtained from Fat George Townsend. The standing height is 2¼ inches. The perforation at the top is ¾ of an inch in diameter and that at the mouthpiece, a fraction less than ½ inch. The latter perforation is said always to be the smaller. The elbow bears an angle knob, oval in shape, and notched at the terminals of its long and short diameters. The total length of the stem is 2¼ inches, of which ⅜ of an inch penetrates the pipe. The mouthpiece bore is less than ⅛ inch across. The stem is decorated with a small band of the outer bark.

One of the strongest claimants[132] for the tubular pipe is from Nevada where the straight pipe is known.[133] There remains the evidence of Piudy and Minnie Anderson, both excellent informants and both well advanced in years. With the exception of Dr. Sam, other informants run at least five to ten years younger. It is possible that the straight pipe was replaced by the elbow form in early times, perhaps simultaneously with the advent of the whites. At this time a good many new traits seem to have filtered in. If this were the case, informants of sixty or sixty-five years might know only the later type. It is singular, however, that amateur archaeologists of the region seem not to have found any tubular pipes, but then pipes of any sort are rare enough. Furthermore, it is not inconceivable that these Paviotso shared the elbow pipe with the neighboring Klamath.[134]

The pipe could be made of any soft stone, but the favorite was reddish and was called atsa'-tüpi' (red-stone). The Bannock are credited with a shiny red-stone pipe,[135] doubtless catlinite.

Accounts of pipe manufacture vary. According to Joshua, stone was selected, heated, and chipped, then perforated with a bone awl. Piudy substituted deer horn for the bone awl, and he, as well as other informants, denied the heating. Minnie said that the stone was pecked to the desired shape and the cavity made by scraping with an obsidian knife. She illustrated by working a stick in the palm and then inverting and shaking the hand as though to remove dust and chips. Joshua, Minnie, and Piudy all denied the use of a drill. Nannie Ochiho described a drill made by lashing an arrowpoint to a horn shaft, but as she is considerably younger than the others, the drill may not be aboriginal. According to Minnie, "all the men knew how to make pipes."

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[131] In possession of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell.

[132] BS.

[133] Lowie, SE, 215.

[134] Spier, Klamath, 87; Barrett, Klamath, pl. 22, figs. 8, 9.

[135] JB.

The mouthpiece (na'bitsim^{a}) was made of rose. Minnie reported a hollowed elder stem; Daisy thought this material would be too soft, although it is known to have been used by the Klamath.[156] 276 324

Chipped implements.—Chipped implements were largely obsidian. The stuff is scattered plentifully, and informants deny any particular source, saying that pieces were picked up "just anywhere." An enormous deposit occurs at the south end of Cowhead lake.[157] Quantities were evidently transported from here to the camps on the north shore where piles of rejects may be seen, but these may antedate Paviotso occupancy. As the lake recedes, many artifacts are found in the sand, and some excellent specimens, including knives and a bewildering array of points, have been found in the neighborhood. 412 324

Knives (wi'hi, applied to anything for cutting) were formerly two sizes. They were used for skinning and butchering and were carried in a sack at the waist together with the fire drill, or else in a buckskin sheath (wi'hi-mago"o; knife-container) attached to the belt. Some knives were hafted. Joshua said that his father's butchering knife had a bone handle a couple of inches long; Piudy said that the handle was of any kind of wood, not bone, and that service wood was strongest. Large blades which appear to be giant spearpoints were probably hafted knives.

Arrowpoints found archaeologically were used if in good condition. Most are notched at the base. Joshua had watched his uncle make arrowpoints. He warmed the stone on the coals then broke it into small pieces. These he worked in from the edge, using a pointed instrument (muka'nu) of deer or mountain-sheep horn. He wore no skin guard; sometimes he cut his hand, but "he was not afraid." Tom Anderson said that his grandfather held a piece of hide in his hand when making arrowpoints.

Scrapers were used in working hides, but I am not certain if they were actually made or if they were merely found archaeologically and put to use.

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[156] Spier, Klamath, 87.

[157] This means that they had ample material within their own territory without contesting the Achomawi right to Sugar hill. Kniffen (map 2) agrees in having Sugar hill indisputably Achomawi. Cf. de Angulo, 315.

FIRE MAKING

372 The Gidü'tikad^{a} had the composite fire drill as did their Nevada relatives.[159] The shaft (kudza') was of any kind of wood, the tip (sawa'gu^{dza}) of sagebrush. A charred tip[160] which I examined was conical and 3½ inches long. Its apex fitted into a 30-inch wooden shaft whose pierced end was strengthened with sinew wrapping. As a usual thing, however, the tip was lashed to the handle. The arrow shaft did not serve as a drill handle.

The hearth (wa^{i}) was usually of soft juniper and had "any number of holes," usually two to four. I saw one[160] two inches in width, fifteen inches in length, and tapering at either end. There were two holes along both margins; one hole had not been used. Sagebrush bark served as tinder, and a little sand or dry dirt was dropped in the hole to encourage friction. The drill was twirled between the palms; the resulting spark was turned at once into the channel where it was blown gently, igniting the tinder. It took about two minutes to produce fire. When women made fire, several took turns rotating the drill.

Fire-making apparatus was carried in the quiver or in a deerskin bag hung from the belt.

On short winter journeys fire was carried in a slow match of braided sagebrush bark.

WEAPONS

411
322 *Bow.*—Every man made his own bow (adi; now gun). The Achomawi are said to have used young oak,[161] but the Gidü'tikad^{a} always used juniper. A straight branch was cut at the end and split, the bark side of the limb becoming the back of the bow.[162] The limb was warmed and scraped. Informants insisted that the bow length was not measured; "they knew the length by looking." It was "not too long, about three feet. The Achomawi had the long bow." The bow was undecorated. It was nocked at either end and had a constricted grip wrapped with deer hide to protect the hand. The grip had no special name; "they just made it that way." The piece of buckskin which served as wrist guard was also unnamed.

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[159] Lowie, SE, 222.

[160] In possession of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Obtained from Fat George (Townsend).

[161] This evidently refers to the western groups or else implies traffic in the wood, since Kniffen (map 1) places the limit of oak slightly east of Fall river.

[162] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 161.

The self bow was used only by boys; adults used the backed bow. 411
Sinew from the leg of the deer was stronger than that from the back 322
and consequently was employed in bow-making. It was chewed until 237
soft and was then warmed and applied along the back of the bow with lengthwise strokes, running from the center to the ends. It was tied at the nocks. The sinew was attached with fish glue (za'gu) "from [381]
inside the sucker. It looks like little white bags. Put it in the fire to make it soft and sticky. Put this glue on the bow and then put on the sinew." There was but one coating of sinew; it was applied in a thin layer so that it would dry quickly. Three hours to a full day were required, otherwise the sinew would peel. The bow was not bent until thoroughly dry.

The bowstring (paga$^{'kwi}$) was always of two-ply sinew. The leg tendons were dried, shredded, and chewed. The strands were then overlapped and rolled on the thigh. The bow was unstrung when not in use, otherwise "it would lose its spring." One end of the string was fastened permanently and secured with pitch; the free end was noosed.

Arrows.—Arrows were of rose (tsia'b^{i}), currant (poho'nob^{i}), serv- 411
ice (wükwü'kobü),[163] tüa'b^{i}, and possibly of young cat-tail (toib^{a}).[164] 322
Piudy said that service arrows were used only by boys, but at Beatty I saw duck arrows of that material. Arrows were of three sizes: those for bear and elk were somewhat over three feet in length, perhaps nearer four; those for deer and antelope, about three feet; those for birds, "much smaller."[165]

Arrows for big game bore a zigzag groove. The shaft was twisted in the fingers while the channel was being cut. Such arrows were called bagu'b^{a}; the channel proper was unnamed.

An arrow was smoothed by being rubbed between two grooved stones. It was warmed, then straightened in the teeth. The arrow wrench was not regularly employed; Piudy said, "I saw somebody use one once, but I don't remember who it was." Dr. Sam reported a perforated deer horn wrench for the Silver Lake band. He called it muka'nu, a name applied by Gidü'tikad^{a} informants to the horn flaker.[166]

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[163] Probably to be identified with Lowie's ugwo'qow^{a}, SE, 245.

[164] "The Achomawi had cane arrows" (P).

[165] The above mentioned duck arrows were about 15 inches long.

[166] The muka'nu figures in several tales as a rod of magical properties, for example, Kelly, tale 10*b*. There is much confusion concerning its translation, and several interpreters were unable to give any description, much less an English equivalent.

411
322
237

Arrows were invariably three-feathered, the sole exception being the rarely used unfeathered fishing arrows. Those for water fowl were always feathered; "an arrow without feathers would go no distance." Wing feathers (kwigi) of the sage hen, goose, swan, duck, or crow were split, leaving the very tip intact. They were attached with fish glue or with gum from the juniper or pine. Feathers seem to have been of fair length, five or six inches; if too long they were cut. They were attached about an inch from the end, leaving "just enough space so you could hold the arrow."

[324]

The butt was nocked. The other end was slit and a stone point (taka') inserted and held with sinew lashing. There were three kinds of stone points, red (atsa'-taka'), white (toha'-taka'), and black (tuhu'-taka'). The last, black obsidian, was least valued because it broke too easily. The red, also obsidian, was said to "cost like buckskin" because of the scarcity of the stone and because a point could be used over again, even though it fell to the ground.

Arrows for birds and small game such as squirrels, rabbits, and groundhogs, were one-piece, sharpened at the end. They were dried in the sun or hardened in the fire, meanwhile being turned to prevent warping. I understood from Joshua that the shaft was sometimes bored and a greasewood point inserted, but as this was not confirmed by other informants, I may have misunderstood.[167]

According to Joshua, every man knew his own arrow. He decorated it with stripes of red, yellow, or blue, placed just behind the point and halfway down the shaft. Pindy differed as to means but not as to ends, saying, "You can tell your arrow by the feathers. Any kind of feathers could be used. Maybe I used duck; you used another kind. These Paiute never did paint the arrow." Identification of one's arrow was important as it affected division of the spoils.

In shooting, the bow was almost vertical with the arrow to its left. The release was primary, the arrow being grasped between thumb and forefinger, with the thumb superior. When shooting from ambush, the archer sometimes held the bow horizontally to avoid detection. The Achomawi are said to have held the bow horizontally.[168]

According to one informant, a person could "shoot hard from here across the street," a matter of fifty feet. Another informant thought that would be "pretty far." A well-shot arrow penetrated a deer three or four inches.

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[167] Although Lowie, SE, 245, mentions a greasewood point for rabbit arrows.

[168] Informant P.

Arrow poison.—Pindy knew only one kind of arrow poison. It was called watsi' and was used for war and for big game, including deer. It took immediate effect, producing swelling, but not affecting the edibility of the meat. 224 278 411

> Our poison is made from the deer's akwatsi', black looking stuff on the intestines which looks like the liver[169] but is smaller.[170] Cook it in the ashes and let it dry. It smells bad. Stick the arrowpoint in and let it dry, or rub on the poison with the finger. There is no cure, so you have to be careful, especially if your finger is cut.

Joshua claimed that poisoned arrows were kept apart from others; Pindy, that segregation was unnecessary as the dry poison did not rub off.

Joshua enumerated three kinds of poison (ta'iyiip^a) for arrows. A person might prepare poison from the spleen (?); he might let a rattlesnake bite the point; or he might insert the arrow in a root of wild parsnip so that it became coated with the juice. Joshua added that poison was not used much for game but principally when one "wanted to kill a man."

Quiver.—Arrows were carried in a quiver (hu'gu'"na) of otter, raccoon, lynx, coyote, or deer skin. It was not made on a framework, but the hide was stretched while wet and allowed to harden in the desired shape. It is significant that a man always made his quiver in spite of the needlework involved. Pindy gave the following directions: 411 237

> Fold the hide lengthwise with the head part down, because that is the small end. Sew up the side and across the bottom (nose). Leave the tail on and let it roll around in the back. Tie one end of the pack string to the fore legs and the other to the hind legs.
>
> This string goes over the right shoulder. Wear the quiver on your back when traveling. Pull it to the left side of your chest to shoot, or, if lefthanded, the other way around.
>
> The quiver can be of untanned deer hide, with the hair on. Cut the hide so the quiver will flare from the bottom; it is straight across the top and slanting on the bottom. You can put fringe on the bottom and the side.

A person carried only one quiver. This contained his bow and upward of ten arrows, although Tom Anderson estimated its capacity at forty. When not in use, the quiver hung inside the house.

Spear.—The spear was apparently unknown in the old days, although Joshua thought otherwise. The spear-thrower was certainly unknown; "They never had anything like that even far back. The old people never even talked about it."

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[169] The interpreter (NH) was positive of this.

[170] Probably the spleen.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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Flute.—The Gidü'tikad^{a} knew the simple flute, called woi'ñ. Ku'nu"gib was also recorded as flute but seems rather to apply to a wood of which the flute was sometimes made. This wood was said to be "like a willow but growing in the mountains." More frequently the flute was of elder (hubu') stem from which the inner pith had been pushed. The flute was described as from twelve to fourteen inches long, cut slanting across the mouth end. In the old days it was never blown from the side or with the nose. According to Joshua, the instrument ordinarily had six holes, but formerly only four;[171] Pindy mentioned four holes, played by two fingers of each hand; Daisy and Charlie Washo reported eight holes, "just enough holes for four fingers of each hand." The flute was played only by men. Its use was entirely recreational; it was not used in courting. The bone whistle was unknown.

Rasp.—The notched stick is not Gidü'tikad^{a}. Dr. Sam described it for his band in connection with antelope charming, but Surprise Valley informants reported in its stead a plain stick wound with "string." Lowie[172] mentions the notched stick in the same connection for the Nevada Paviotso; but Sarah Winnemucca[173] is not explicit as to the kind of rasp used.

> My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound.

According to Joshua, "The notched stick is Shoshone; they use it in the Bear dance. It sounds like a washboard." Mettie Petty of Beatty said that it served her people as a dance accompaniment; Daisy Brown reported a similar use by the Nevada Paviotso.

Rattles.—Deer hoofs were sometimes tied about the knees when dancing. This practice had no special name. The deer-hoof rattle (witsa'baiya) was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Joshua described its manufacture as follows:

> Make (?) the hoofs all one size. Warm them and punch a hole in one corner. Run a string through the holes. Twist the string around a stick about 16 inches long. Then shake it up and down.

[439] Susie Archie knew of cocoon rattles which she said the Paiute bought from coast peoples.

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[171] Four is the customary number in California. Kroeber, Handbook, 824.

[172] SE, 303.

[173] P. 56.

Drum.—The drum (witu'a) is apparently recent. Pindy states 534 that it came from the north and northeast at the time of the white 322 advent. The late intrusion seems in keeping with the fact that the drum was rarely, if ever, used by shamans. According to several informants, tribes to the north employed the drum in doctoring. In recent times, the Gidū'tikad^{a} have used it as a dance accompaniment. It is the usual tambourine drum—hide stretched on a circular frame.

A modern specimen which I was allowed to examine[174] was about sixteen inches in diameter. The frame was chokecherry, although juniper is more usual. Horse hide (with the hair surface facing in) was stretched taut over one side. It was held by six thongs radiating toward the center of the under side from as many slits spaced evenly along the margin of the turnover. Each thong was slit a short distance from the end and pushed through the hole in the skin cover. The body of the thong was then brought through its own end slit, just as merchandising tags are attached. The six thongs converged in the center, but their fastening was obscured by several rows of cotton cloth in wrapped stitch. The radiating thongs constituted a handle behind which the single drum stick was thrust when not in use. The stick to this drum had been lost but was described as short and hide-wrapped on one end.

A band of red paint encircled the rim of the drum, but the face proper was undecorated.

Joshua said that the drum was sometimes painted red, sometimes yellow. The coloring was applied around the edge and in the middle, the latter perhaps in stripes.

DOGS

There is practically unanimity on the subject of the native dog, 231 soko'puku. It was very scarce, very small, and looked "just like a coyote." It was of virtually no assistance in transportation, Dr. de [492] Angulo's assertion that "they used dogs for packing"[175] being contradicted by all informants. One[176] admitted under pressure of persistent questioning that "if a dog were good and strong he might carry a pack, but most dogs were poor, and they were pretty scarce." Certainly the dog pack was very much out of the ordinary. The travois was unknown; Bige Archie asserted that it was introduced with the horse, but this was denied by all other informants.

Because of their scarcity, dogs could never have been very important as food. The majority denied ever eating dog, but two had heard [261] of its being eaten in times of great shortage.

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[174] In possession of Nellie Townsend, Fort Bidwell.

[175] P. 322.

[176] MA.

231 224 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 492 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated. The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago"o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^{a}; koso', fire; yakwi'n^{a}, hold in the hand ?) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

was reported by Pindy, "Take the stem (wood) of sagebrush and twist it with bark. Then light the end and it will keep burning. Keep waving it." 372

The eyeshade was not used, but people traveling in the snow smeared charcoal under the eyes to prevent blindness. 293 751

292
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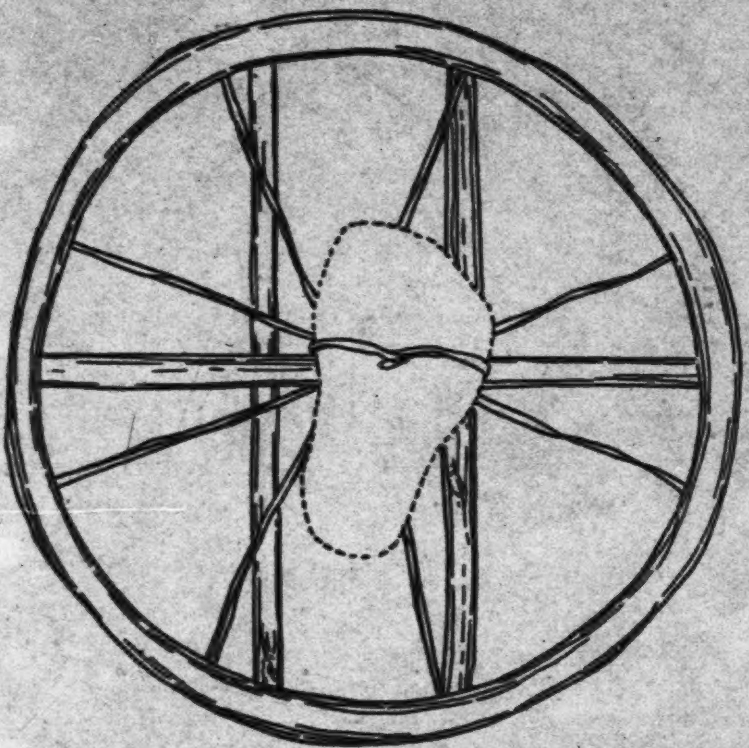

Fig. 10. Snowshoe. Redrawn from a sketch by Charlie Washo.

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes (sikū') were made by men "because they knew how." Women did not wear snowshoes. The frame was sometimes of willow, but usually of service, and was round. Small sticks of the same wood were used in lieu of netting. According to Daisy, two sticks were crossed at right angles and the ends lashed to the frame. The foot was placed over the center, and a thong passing across the instep was tied at either side to the stick. This could not have been very secure, but she denied the use of additional fasteners. Pindy said that the foot was tied three times from toe to instep and

292 481 once about the heel. Daisy remarked that the Klamath snowshoe figured by Barrett[177] "would get all out of shape because they used skin instead of sticks."

The diagram in figure 10 is from a sketch by Charlie Washo. It calls for three crossing sticks instead of two and for radiating thongs of deer hide.

[789] Nellie Townsend said that formerly snowshoes were boiled to bring rain and that nowadays they were fried instead of being boiled. This was called "killing the snowshoes." Other informants seemed unfamiliar with this practice.

501 *Balsa.*—The balsa (sai'-saki') was used on the lake when hunting ducks and young geese, but not for fishing. A single bundle of tules was kept alongside on which to place the birds killed. Two informants said that the balsa was sometimes used "up north" to cross streams. It was not required in the Surprise region.

The balsa consisted of two bundles of tule (saib^{a}) tied at the ends with the same material[178] or with bark twine. Both ends were turned up so that the craft could proceed in either direction. The balsa was always made by the men. For a single individual it was about four feet long; larger ones held four or five people, a "whole family."

Various methods of propulsion were reported. Pindy thought that the balsa was punted with a long pole. According to Joshua it was paddled (*not* punted) with a willow ten or twelve feet long. Daisy claimed that "they had no oars, paddles, or poles. They just used their hands and feet, and they used to get pretty wet." Pindy thought that the last mentioned system was used only by persons unable to swim.

Some said that the balsa was not used a second time, but was discarded and a new one made; others, that it could be used again if removed from the water.

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[177] Plate 17, figure 1.

[178] A specimen which Lowie purchased at Fallon was tied with saib^{a}, cat-tail. SE, 249.

TRADE

Trade seems to have been carried on to a moderate extent. Sinew, arrowheads, red paint, buckskins, and moccasins were bartered with the adjacent Achomawi. The latter seem to have held moccasins in particularly high esteem, for when an Achomawi killed a Paiute he invariably removed the moccasins for his own use. In return for the above mentioned articles, the Paiute secured the Achomawi bow which "was of young oak and good and stout. It had lots of sinew on one side." Achomawi arrows (atsa'-adi; red-arrow, so-called because of red paint on them) were also "pretty good." A person might exchange a rabbitskin blanket for an Achomawi bow and arrow.

According to Joshua, the Paiute also secured baskets, including women's caps, from the Achomawi. This is not surprising in view of the execrable character of their own work. Piudy doubted there was much traffic in baskets; the only good Achomawi baskets, he said, were made far to the west, the craft of the eastern Achomawi not being much better than their own. Nowadays, at least, there is a certain amount of interchange, for I have noted several baskets purchased locally which are indubitably of Achomawi origin. Baskets of Klamath-Modoc type also crop up now and then.

Although Piudy minimized the traffic in food products, the Gidū'tikadᵃ certainly obtained dried fish from their western neighbors. The fish were slit and sun-dried, not ground.[179] Joshua stated that the Paiute traded for kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), and yūani, tsia'na, and tsowa'm, the last three unidentified. In exchange, the Achomawi were given red paint and various foods such as ya'pa', huʺnibui, and hapi'.

Informants report some trade with the Klamath, and there may possibly have been some with other Paiute bands, but on this I have no data. The Warm Springs Indians are said to have come from the north on trading expeditions, and it was from them that the Gidū'tikadᵃ secured their first horses. "A nice looking pony" could be got in exchange for a sack of camas, but buckskin seems to have been the preferred medium.

> Our horses came from the northeast, toward the Bannock. The Burns Paiute got horses and the Warm Springs Indians stole them and brought them here to trade. We had horses before the whites came.

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[179] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

439 White disc beads (clam shell ?) came from the north (Warm Springs) and even today are highly valued. Daisy paid fifty cents apiece for the five or six she has and stated that a short necklace once equaled a horse in value. Modern beadwork in Plains style is also purchased from the Warm Springs Indians. Some beadwork is done by the Paiute, chiefly belts and purses. Some make the belts without looms; but I saw one bow-shaped loom such as Lowie noted for the Northern Shoshone.[179]

RECKONINGS

TIME

805 Time of day was indicated by the position of the sun. The following list was given by Joshua; it has not been checked with another informant:

Taba'-a-gina (ta'ba, sun; gina, up, visible); before daylight, nearly day
Oha'-na-gina (oha', yellow); just before sunrise
Taba'-taibui-gina (taibui, come out); sunrise
Taba-padu'ti-mana'iti (padu'ti, high, higher; mana'iti, happen); a little way up
Awa'ma'-tabi'na (awa'ma', morning; tabi'na, noon); halfway up
Tabi'na; noon
Yüdü'kwü; halfway down.
Taba'-igia'gu'-dai (igia'gu', down; dai, nearly); nearly down; at the top of the hills
Taba'-igia-mü'na (mü'na, already); sun down
Tuyu'pua-mü'na (tuyu'pua, twilight); dusk
Toga'-na-mü'na (toga', dark); dark

Four seasons were recognized as follows: ta'ma'n^e^, spring; da'das', summer; yü'ba'n^s^, fall; tomo, winter.

The time count, based on descriptive designations for lunar periods, started in the fall with the rutting season of deer and antelope[180] and ceased in spring. Summer months were unnamed; "the real months they count are winter and spring; they don't care about counting summer." The number of days comprising a lunation (müha) was of small concern. Some informants placed it at thirty or thirty-one; others stated frankly that "they never counted the days in the month." A month started with the appearance of the new moon.

[861] In winter they watched for the new moon. The last day the moon was little and came just before daylight. When they saw the new moon they called it the first day. Then they made all the young boys run about a half mile, carry day

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[179] Lowie, NS, 177.

[180] Determined by the taste of the meat.

wood, and put it on the fire. If they ran every time game would not be afraid of them and they would be able to kill squirrels and sage hens easily. Sometimes they talked about winter, saying, "You boys run at the new moon so as to make the winter short" (JB). [861] 805

They told the children to watch for the new moon. When it came they had two little girls and boys run a race. That was so the food would grow well (NO).

Information on the month count is badly jumbled. The list given by Susie Archie seems most reliable; she alone was able to give a series of names and to equate them with our reckoning. Her confidence contrasted favorably with the confusion and contradictions of other informants.

Na'"-mūha (wild deer and antelope breed; na, father ?), November
Paba'-mūha (big, full moon), December
Tamū'ni-taba (return of the sun ?), January
Po'[illegible] (getting warm, snow melting), February
Tokwū'tü-mūha (plants germinating), March
Puhi'-mayü-mūha (grass is sprouting; puhi', green), April

The above list covers the more or less isolated names furnished by other informants, and is in such sequence that the descriptive designations fit. Perhaps one addition might be made: Joshua noted that two months in summer were known as Dūna'-kwaiya'bin (antelope-shed) from the antelopes' shedding. The name was not given by any other informant.

Logically, it would seem that Paba'-mūha, big moon, should apply to the long summer period. Daisy and Pindy both had it so but were unable to organize the remaining months accordingly. Tamū'ni-taba (return of the sun) is interesting in that it suggests solstitial consciousness. David Chocktoot's rendering of the same term was "the moon turning the earth around to the sun." In any case, the fact remains that the calendar was definitely not regulated by or brought into accord with solar phenomena. Instead of Tamū'ni-taba, Pindy and Daisy both gave Tamū'nida. The former explained it as "around January, the time when seeds are just beginning to germinate under ground." Daisy's explanation was "this is when one side of everything is dry. There is snow in the shade, but things in the sun are dry." [821]

Recording time by means of knotted cords or notched sticks was unknown to the majority of informants.[illegible] However, Tom Anderson, in a vain effort to recall the old calendrical system, tied twenty knots in a rope and stated that each night a small thong was tied between [211]

[illegible] P, NO, DR.

[211] 805 the appropriate knots to indicate the lapse of a day. He claimed a twenty-day month with one month, Paba'-mūha (big moon), having twenty-three days. This he identified with July. He could not recall further details or the names of other months, and his twenty-day month was not verified by other informants.

[843] Joshua was positive on the score of record keeping. He averred that "some women" knotted cords to aid them in reckoning the duration of pregnancy. "They kept it just like a calendar, every day. Sometimes they cut scratches on a stick instead." He also said that in winter a cut was made each day in a large stick and that a new month was indicated by a cut of extra length. Knotted cords did not accompany an invitation. "If they sent word of an antelope hunt, all the people came as soon as they could."

CONSTELLATIONS

821 A number of winter constellations were recognized. Thus, "the stars are overhead in winter time; during the summer they are all over toward Nevada (the east)." As usual, the Milky way (nūmū-po, people's trail) figures as the road of the dead and the departed are said to travel south along it. The stars of the Big dipper (ta'noa'di) are Indians driving rabbits into a net; "the two in front don't know where they are going." Three stars, probably to be identified with Orion's belt,[163] are mountain sheep (koip^{a}) who were once Indians. In this connection Piudy gave an explanatory tale similar to the one recorded by Lowie,[164] although the latter does not identify the stars with any constellation. A group of stars in the east is called mūza'^{a} and is a band of mountain sheep who were once Paiute women. They are said to be traveling in this direction. A group of "about ten stars way over in the east about 3 o'clock midsummer mornings" is a number of women fighting; the description suggests the Pleiades.

Other constellations are identified as eagle, weasel, flies, two women fighting, and a man with a slow match lighting the two combatants. A large single star which shines in the east about 3 o'clock summer mornings is called paba'i-yū-mogo'tni (big woman). The North star is unnamed. My informants had not heard of hand or hoop constellations.[165]

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[163] Spier, Havasupai, 172, gives the distribution of this identification.

[164] ST, 232. Curtis, 15:147, gives the myth and stellar identification for the Walker River Paiute.

[165] Discussed by Spier, Havasupai, 170–171.

DIRECTIONS

Informants state that the cardinal directions are named from the winds, but the names are not entirely consistent with such derivation. The east is designated by a term which contains ta'ba, sun, and the same is true of some of the terms given for west.

The following list is according to Charlie Washo:

kwina'b^{a}, north. Over here it freezes; the ice is pretty thick; it kills everything; it is the boss.

tini'^{kwipa}, south. This is a good wind; it melts the snow.

taba'^{kwipa}, east. This wind is pretty bad; the groundhog never comes out. Ta'ba means sun.

nana'^{kwipa}, also nana'badu, west. This is a pretty bad wind; sometimes it even turns over a wagon. They just call this direction the three sisters (?).

This list adheres to the "wind approach" regardless of the actual meaning of the term. Other informants were less consistent. Piudy named the following directions:

kwina'hanaakwat, north. Kwina' is cold (?).
tini'kwap^{a}, south. This is a hard wind.
taba'kwap^{a}, east.
nana'badu, west. This means the daughters (?).

The following list was obtained from Nina and Henry Naneo of Beatty:

kwina'han, north. Cold wind.
pana'kwat^{a}, south. Warm wind.[186]
taba'-sibui-nakwat^{a}, east. The sun rises.
taba'-iyanakwat^{a}, west. The sun goes down.

Billy Steve of Summit lake, formerly of Pyramid lake, gave the following:

kwina'hanakwit^{a}, north. They name it by the wind; it is a cold wind.

pita'nikwit^{a}, south. This is what the Pyramid Lake Paiute call it. The Paiute around here (Surprise valley), call it nana'badu.[187]

taba'dumit^{a}, east. They name it after the sun.

taba'igitumit^{i}, west. The sun goes down there.

The zenith and nadir were not given as directions, but when questioned, the Naneos gave pa'a', up, high, and tibo'ñ, down.

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[186] Possibly from pa, water, having reference to rain?

[187] Cf. above; Piudy and Charlie Washo give nana'badu as west.

NUMERATION

802 Piudy thought that in the old days the Gidü'tikadü did not count above ten. Fractions smaller than half (na'mukwai) were not differentiated; they were called tü'tsi, piece.

1.	sümü'yü
2	waha'yü
3	pahi'yü
4	watsi'kwiyü
5	ma'ni'giyü
6	na''pahiyü
7	nata'kwasikwiyü
8	wa''kadao'p; and also na'mi-watsikwiyü
9	sümü'kadao'p
10	sümü'-manoyü
11	sümü'-maspok (maspok, out, over)
12	waha'-maspok
13	pahi'-maspok
20	waha'-mano
30	pahi'-manoyü
100	sümü-kwa'it
200	waha'-kwait

Unfortunately I did not get an analysis of these words. Yü is a more or less constant suffix but seems not essential. Some interesting points are contained in the numerals proper. Thus, 6 incorporates the term for 3 (probably twice three), thereby suggesting a system fundamentally quinary. The kwasikwiyü of 7 may be a different rendering of watsi'kwiyü (4), but it is not clear just what this would signify. The second term listed for 8 is comparable to that for 6 in that it contains the stem of a lower digit (twice four?). 9 hints at a 1 + 8 (first term) combination. The word for 10 is obviously 1 × 10; that for 20, 2 × 10, and so on.

COLORS

822 Identification of colors was made as follows: red, atsa'kwikiaᵃ; yellow, orange, tan, oha'kwikiaᵃ; blue, purple, green, puhi'kwikiaᵃ; brown, ikwi'zikwikiaᵃ; black, tuhu'kwikiaᵃ; white, doha'kwikiaᵃ.

The term kwikiaᵃ evidently signifies color; it is not ordinarily appended in conversation. The single word for blue and green is of some interest. It is necessary to use a qualifying term if one wishes to distinguish between the two.[188]

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[188] I happened to inquire concerning the blossom color of a plant which had seeded. After several minutes of discussion my interpreter said with disgust, "You can't tell; these old people call half a dozen colors by the same name."

SOCIAL ASPECTS

KINSHIP AND STATUS TERMS

Except for orthographic differences, the kinship terms recorded agree substantially with the Paviotso lists published by Kroeber[189] and Lowie.[190] Consequently it will not be necessary to reproduce the series complete, but one or two additions may be noted. As Lowie suggests, the initial i proves to be the pronoun of the first person. The term, hai^{n} (hai', hā'^{n}), may be extended to include father's sister's husband as well as father's brother, stepfather, and mother's sister's husband; and the term, bi˝du (pidu'u; piru˝^{a}), to include mother's brother's wife as well as mother's sister and stepmother. Similarly, the term, hu˝za (huza; hū'za, h^{u}ja), may be enlarged to include wife's sister's child. 601

Lowie seems to be in error in applying igū'ma (gu˙ma') not only to husband but to sister's husband as well. According to my informants, sister's husband (m.s.) is a˙da'toi and (w.s.), nūna'i^{i}, corresponding to Lowie's ara'doi and (i)nin˝^{i}, respectively. While speaking of errors it may be noted that de Angulo,[191] who has published an incomplete kinship terminology, reverses the terms for husband and wife.

Status terms were recorded as follows: 561

oha'^{a}; also, dōha'ai^{i}; infant or small child of either sex
naiz^{i}; boy (3 to 12)
tsū'ū^{a}; girl (3 to 12)
nama'dagai^{i}; adolescent youth; menstruating girl or woman
tui'pitsi^{i}; unmarried youth
sia'dām; unmarried girl
budū'ūawa; young persons, married or unmarried
oha'^{u}ka; newly married; a recent term used in jest
na˙na; man
mogo'tai; woman
dū˝ba's; sterile person of either sex; berdache[192]
habi'ad; pregnant woman
badi'kayu; man or woman with small daughter
du'a'kuyu; man or woman with small son (this and preceding term determined by the sex of the last born child)
nana'niadū; middle-aged man

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[189] California Kinship Systems, 358–365

[190] SE, 289–290; Bannock Kinship, 297.

[191] P. 330.

[192] Lowie, SE, 283, records the same term plus the word for man, woman.

61 561 na'akwai-mogo'tai; middle-aged woman
wa'i'tsi; old man
piü'wab^{i}; old woman
mua'tüpü; old person of either sex

38 [838] A berdache and a sterile individual were called by the same term. Minnie Anderson had never heard of the former; she said "it would be bad luck for a man to wear women's clothing." Piudy knew of a woman who acted like a man; "she killed deer and stayed with the men all the time." Hermaphrodites affected the clothing of the opposite sex; they were never shamans and never tried to marry. No cure was known; "the Klamath could cure them but not we."

BIRTH

14 844 Birth took place in a special house (huni'-no'bi)[193] of tules or grass. It was built by women, presumably relatives or friends of the principal, and was situated north of the dwelling.

A woman in labor was assisted by three or four women including her mother. Certain individuals may possibly have been recognized as midwives. This was denied by one informant,[194] but "a woman who knows about such things" figures occasionally and for convenience she is referred to as the midwife. Assistants at birth might be paid, but there was evidently no feeling of compulsion. If a person had a deer hide the assistants might be given moccasins; "this was big pay."

The parturient kneeled, clinging to a post erected in front of her. The midwife supported her from behind, pressing downward on the abdomen. The child was received into a small hole previously dug and filled with grass and sagebrush bark. The umbilical cord was cut about an inch from the body, doubled back on itself, and tied with sinew. This operation was performed by the midwife, who used an obsidian knife. The cord was wrapped in rabbit or other skin and attached to the cradle beneath the child's head. One informant stated that it was tied to one side of the awning, but this doubtless refers to later cradles. [846] When the child began to walk, the cord was hidden in a hill of the red ant. If the cord were lost the child would "scratch around looking for it" and would never be able to do things well.[195] If the child died the cord (asi') was buried with it. The placenta

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[193] The menstrual hut is similarly named. I could not determine if they were one and the same or if they were two separate structures.

[194] "Everybody knows about babies" (NH).

[195] A similar belief is held by the Walapai. For further comparative material see Spier, Havasupai, 321.

(hidu'p^a) was carefully buried. If it were eaten by a dog, coyote, or other animal, barrenness would result.[196] 844

Head presentation was normal; other forms were likely to prove fatal. A shaman was not summoned even in difficult cases. A weasel[197] skin was kept at hand, and if delivery were slow, the abdomen was whipped with the pelt. 845

A "hot bed (dū'avida[198]; also nadū'na·ʔ) was previously prepared by the woman's mother or grandmother. It consisted of a large hole containing coals upon which juniper boughs had been stacked, and a blanket thrown over the whole. After delivery the woman was placed on this bed,[199] where she stayed "as long as she wanted. If she were healthy she stayed only a week, but many stayed two weeks." While on the pit, the woman employed a scratching stick. Sometimes she pressed a moccasin to her abdomen and bound it there with sagebrush bark to assist in contraction. She was supposed to bathe every five days. 846

Following delivery the woman was given only warm water; nowadays she is allowed tea, but coffee is barred because it is too strong. According to one account, the woman was denied meat and fish for a period of one month, her husband sharing the taboo for five days only. Another account has it that neither parent could resume regular diet until the cord fell from the baby. The man and his wife shared various pre-natal observances which will be noted below.

An infant was not put to breast for one or two days, during which time it was given only warm water. To insure an abundant supply of milk, a stone was heated in the fire, milk dropped upon it, and burned.[200] A child was suckled until able to walk, even in the event of a subsequent pregnancy, if possible until delivery. The practice seems to be economic at base, for I was told, "White people don't have to do this; they have enough food." 853

Twins were rare and were not destroyed at birth. No explanation of dual births was given; "they just happened." My informant could recall one instance of twins, nine or ten years ago. Both died in infancy. The usual belief in a sympathetic bond uniting twins is 845

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[196] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 300.

[197] "They used a weasel skin because Weasel is a lucky man" (JB).

[198] Also pit oven.

[199] The "hot bed" was said by one informant to have been used in cases of severe menstrual pain. This is somewhat reminiscent of the southern California custom of "pit roasting" adolescent girls. [841]

[200] Corbusier, 330, notes milk-burning for the Apache-Mohave and Apache-Yuma.

5 845 thus expressed: "If one dies, the other thinks, 'I have to go too,' and it usually dies." Multiple births and monsters were unknown.

6 846 The father of a new-born child was obliged to follow a definite course of action in addition to observing certain food taboos. Far from being barred from work, he was urged to work unusually hard lest he be "lazy all his life." He was allowed access to the hut but was not present at birth; he waited outside, keeping the fire burning. When the child arrived, he ran to the creek and bathed. Pindy said that at the birth of each child, a man was expected to run up hill and gather wood. He then returned, and swam in the creek. For five days he followed this procedure. He was obliged to change his clothing, either throwing it away or, if poor, trading with someone else.

843 A woman was expected to observe certain dietary precautions prior to the birth of her child. She was warned especially against eating the tail of any animal; closure would result, and the child "might get stuck." If she ate the heart of an animal it would bring ill luck to her husband. All internal organs were barred for fear the child would sicken. A woman did not eat tongue for fear the baby's tongue would loll; if she ate the head of any animal, the child was likely to resemble it. My informant mentioned these restrictions as applying specifically to the woman, and later added, more or less as an afterthought, that they applied equally to the husband. During this period a man and wife were supposed to get up early in order to insure an easy confinement. Intercourse was continued during pregnancy, but was probably moderated.

12 842 Contraceptive devices were unknown, but barrenness would result if the placenta were buried upside down or if eaten by an animal. The same result was procured by burying a dead infant face down. I was told, "This is true, because they do it often. I did that once and had no more babies, so I know it's true." Abortion was frequently accomplished by hitting the abdomen with a stone.

To induce pregnancy, a barren woman drank water containing red ants. One informant knew of "a woman who did that and then had a baby"; another was more skeptical, saying, "It didn't do much good because the ants bit her all the way down and usually killed her." To overcome barrenness a woman might hunt for little gray birds (ditsi'ñi) that live in the rocks. She would take the young birds alive and wear them about her waist beneath her dress.

4 854 A child is said to have had five cradles in the old days, although at present a certain amount of economy is practiced. The cradle in use the first month was a soft basket affair, carried in the arms.

Crushed sagebrush bark was used for padding, and a single rabbit skin or woven sagebrush bark served as a blanket. Great care was taken in the disposal of this first cradle; if it were burned or thrown away the baby might be harmed. It was either put in a tree "way off somewhere" or was saved until the child could walk, when it could be given away without danger. The specimen shown in plate 28 was purchased in lieu of being given away. Upon another occasion I tried to purchase such a cradle but without success, although the owner was quite willing to part with several later ones. 854

After the saki′-hu˙pᵃ, a child had two successively larger cradles until he could sit up. Thereupon he was given a fourth cradle, and when he could walk, a fifth. Old cradles were thrown away, not saved for younger children, because "there were plenty of willows."

The attachment of the umbilical cord to the cradle has already been mentioned. Tinkling objects such as the "points" of deer hoofs were sometimes hung from the hood. The technical aspects of cradles are treated elsewhere.[201]

NAMES

Personal names are either meaningless or of the nickname variety, with the former in preponderance. The naming of a child was not the function of any particular relative, but the mother or the grandfather often decided upon a name. A child was not named until he began to walk and talk. "When a baby starts to talk and says a word not plainly enough, they give him that name. Or they name him for something he did when he was little." 551

A sampling of names and their explanations is here given:

Ko″′sokwaibᵃ (Pindy)	He always used to whistle when he was little.
Si˙gi-bui (Pindy's wife)	Cross-eyed.
Mawü′zat (Dick Ochiho)	When he was small he splashed his hand on the water.
Hu˙dzi′-sagi (Billy Steve)	He choked on sage hen.
Ma˙na″si (Daisy Brown)	This name doesn't mean anything. I just used to say that when we came back from gathering wild plums. I was glad to be back.

The following names are meaningless; they are "just names": Na˙ni′gu, Nora Henderson's younger brother; Wi″güdai, Susie Burns; Tüsa′pücaᵃ, Big Dick; Nada″müziiᵃ, Petty; Nu˙ni′, Mettie Petty; Sihwa′nⁱ, Joshua Brown; Mo˙no′itsiⁱ, Charlie Washo; Tsü″nüs, Minnie Archie's mother; U′tcihu, Ochiho (former chief).

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[201] P. 132.

BOYS' RITES[302]

When a boy's voice changed, he was told to run. He ran in no prescribed direction but at the end of his course he stacked sagebrush and left it there. While running he carried no particular objects. A youth continued this for five days, at the same time abstaining from game. Breach of the food taboo would affect his whole body; he would tire easily and perhaps be subject to rheumatism.

During this period a boy slept at home. There were no special bathing requirements. He did not sweat, but was expected to dip in the stream when he happened to be near-by. At the conclusion of the five day period, he was allowed to smoke for the first time. Joshua thought that a boy did not smoke until he was about twenty; if he did so before, his body and especially his legs would be weak, and he would not be able to pursue game.

A boy did not marry until several years afterward.

GIRLS' ADOLESCENCE CEREMONY[303]

An adolescent girl was expected to rise early in the morning and run, apparently in no prescribed direction. She was also expected to gather firewood. These regulations were in order that she might be industrious and never tire.

Upon attainment of maturity, a girl retired to a small lodge of rye grass or sagebrush, built twenty or so yards north[304] of the main dwelling. Here she stayed a month, bathing every five days and observing strict food taboos. Game of any sort, either fresh or dried, was forbidden her. There was no salt taboo; but salt is said to be of recent introduction.

A stick of any kind was picked up and used as a head scratcher. If the girl used her fingers her hair would not grow, and she might have lice. One informant reported a drinking tube of elderberry stem, about a foot in length, called hivi'nu. When, however, this was men-

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[302] With the one exception noted, this information was given by Pindy.

[303] In view of Dr. de Angulo's denial (331) of puberty rites among these Paiute, it may be well to mention my principal informants. They were MA, NO, and DB, with supplementary and confirmatory data from NT, NH, P, and JB. A Beatty informant, LG, mentioned running and wood-gathering, but said, "My people don't do it much; the McDermitt Indians (also Paviotso) are great for that."

[304] At one time NO gave west for this and north for the birth hut. Upon another occasion she stated that both the menstrual and birth huts were to the north.

tioned upon a subsequent occasion, she denied knowledge of it. Other 881
informants consistently denied the drinking tube. The adolescent was expected to avoid people, but was not required to cover her face. She tied her hair with sagebrush bark and braided circlets of it which she wore about her wrists, upper arms, knees, and ankles as a safeguard against rheumatism. She also wore a braided belt of sagebrush bark.

At the conclusion of the month, the girl exchanged her buckskin dress with another girl or threw it away if she had no friend with whom to trade it. She bathed herself thoroughly in a stream, but did not sweat at this time.[205] According to one informant the girl painted her face with red paint at the conclusion of the month; but this was not mentioned by others. One informant described a celebration following her emergence from seclusion: a man sang a song; many people gathered roots; and everyone, including the girl, enjoyed a feast.

After this a girl was free to marry, which she usually did within the year.

MENSTRUAL OBSERVANCES

A menstruating woman retired to a special lodge (huni'-nobi; 841
huni', menstrual blood) where she remained in seclusion for five
days.[206] If a person happened to inquire for a woman during her [195]
absence, he was told, "Hu'"na patsa'"; she killed a badger. This was
the conventional way of indicating that the woman was in retirement.
The menstrual lodge was built to the north of the main house, but no [343]
reason for the orientation was given except that "it comes from the north." Several menstruating women might occupy a hut jointly. Daisy Brown stated that the special lodge was used only at the first menses but this was denied by other informants. She also stated that "over in Nevada they have to use it all the time." This may apply to the McDermitt band. For the Pyramid Lake Paviotso, Lowie's data are mainly negative, but it is of some interest to note that one of the tales recorded by him contains the word for birth or menstrual lodge.[207]

Men never approached the lodge, as illness and death were thought to follow contact with a menstruating woman. Such contacts were

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[205] Cf. Lowie, SE, 273.

[206] Three or four days according to MA.

[207] Written huni'no'Bi by him, ST, 201. The Shoshonean cognate is hü'na-ga'n¹ (gan¹, lodge), Lowie, NS, 214.

841 especially deleterious to a shaman's power. According to Joshua, "All Indians—Paiute, Warm Springs, Achomawi, Klamath, Shoshone, and Umatilla—believe the same. They have to watch closely, or men will die." A shaman could neutralize the ill effects of a menstruant by smearing red paint about her wrist or by making a circle of red paint on the floor of the house and singing. After this procedure, the woman was not required to retire to the special hut.[298]

Minnie said that an older menstruant was not obliged to use the scratching stick. She abstained however from eating game. The results of breaking the game taboo were given variously as: the hunter would not be able to shoot more game; the hunter would die; he would just dry up, and death would come quickly as with tuberculosis. A less personal consequence was that the antelope might break out of the corral.[299]

The menstrual hut has fallen into disuse and I was told that the food taboos are no longer observed. There are vestiges however of the latter.

MARRIAGE

582 Formerly a boy married at about twenty; a girl was considerably younger, marriage following immediately upon puberty. There is general agreement that "nowadays they marry too young."

581 The prime requisite of a husband was that he be a good hunter. A man would tell his daughter, "Be sure you get a good man; be sure he can catch deer." The ideal wife was industrious and gathered many roots; no man wanted to marry a lazy woman. According to Minnie, "A girl wouldn't have an old man; she wanted someone just a little older than herself." Daisy thought otherwise, "Some girls would marry a man much older if he were a good hunter." Previous marriage was no serious bar, but "a man preferred a young girl. A widowed or divorced woman usually married an older man."

584 Parents frequently arranged a match. They might urge their son to marry a certain girl. A man with daughters would pick out a good hunter and say, "You marry that man." Daisy thought that the girl usually liked the man her parents selected; "she wanted plenty to eat." But Joshua said, "Many girls wouldn't mind, even in the old days." Elopement seems to have been rare. "A girl might like a boy, but she couldn't marry him if her father didn't like him;

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[298] JB.

[299] Reported for the Pyramid Lake band by Lowie, SE, 274.

not even if the girl and her mother liked him." There seems, however, to have been a certain amount of individual choice, for "sometimes a girl liked a boy. They would tell her, 'That boy, he has nothing,' but she liked him, and she married him anyway." 584

A boy who wanted to marry sneaked into the girl's camp at night to lie beside her. The parents would say, "Somebody comes here," and the old woman would get up and make a fire to see who had come. They looked at the boy but said nothing. If the girl accepted him he stayed until morning; then he sneaked away, being ashamed to eat there. He came back again, and finally stayed. If the girl did not want him, he went off not to return. The old people had many wives like that—maybe one here, maybe one down toward Alturas, maybe one at Pyramid lake (JB). 583

Marriage was conducted on extremely informal lines, polygyny and brittle monogamy being the rule rather than the exception. Thus, "a good hunter had many wives; in the old days they used to marry until they were too old to walk." A man might have two or three wives at a time, usually, but not necessarily sisters. He had a right to the sisters of his wife, but he was not obligated to take them; "he could marry just one sister if he did not want the others." His wives lived in the same house, or at least in the same camp. I was gravely assured that "they never quarreled," but the picture of domestic bliss was shattered by Minnie who claimed that "often they fought." 595

Blood relationship was the only bar to marriage. Informants agreed that cousins were "brothers," and that children of half-brothers could not marry[216] because "we call them like full brothers." 582 835. An individual usually married within his own band or a related Paviotso band. There was no feeling for local exogamy. Concerning foreign marriages, "they never married with the Klamath. Sometimes a man would go to the Pit River country and marry, but he did not bring his wife back here. That is why all the old Pit River people can understand Paiute. Pit River men did not come here and take wives." Women captured in war were taken as wives. There seems [727] to be relatively little intermarriage even at present. I recall a few random cases: George Brown is married to an Achomawi woman and lives at Likely (Pit River territory). Nellie Townsend's father was a "Digger" (Maidu ?) from Susanville, her mother a Paviotso; Minnie Archie's father and his sister, Warm Springs Indians, both married Paiutes. There are doubtless other cases, especially of marriage with the Achomawi.

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[216] Cf. Kroeber, California Kinship Systems, 362.

583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

591 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay
583 home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

each. He thought that a family averaged between six and eight chil- 163
dren, but most of them died in infancy; "sometimes nearly all died."
Minnie said that in the old days a woman did not have more than
three or four children; she may have been counting only those sur-
viving. However, she remarked in jest, "Nowadays they have too [842]
many children. They eat hogs and chickens; hogs have lots of pigs
and chickens have lots of eggs. I guess that's why they have so many
babies now."

DEATH OBSERVANCES

When a person—man, woman, or child—died, his friends and 765
relatives gathered, and cried, and wailed. Both men and women cut
their hair short as a badge of mourning and buried the hair or "just
threw it away."

The haircut showed camp visitors that a person had lost a relative—mother, boy, daughter, or wife—without his actually having to tell about it (JB).

If a person felt very badly he might take an arrowpoint and slash his face, forearm, upper arm, and thigh, but not his chest. This was done in mourning an adult. Sometimes mourners threw ashes on their faces; sometimes they did not bathe for "a long time." The face was not painted black, nor was there any mourning necklace, but both of these traits were known as Achomawi customs. Minnie said that mourners took a sweat-bath, otherwise the children of the deceased would die. A person in mourning refrained from hunting a couple of days, but he was free to eat the first game he captured. Mourners were told, "You have children; you had better try to live."

An expiring individual was not moved outside to die, nor was a 763
corpse removed by a special exit. The body was not washed before
interment, nor was it oriented in any particular fashion. It was 764.
wrapped in "good tanned deer skin" and carried on horseback or, in
the old days, by two or three men. Formerly it was not taken far
away and the camp was moved; but with the advent of horses, it was
taken well into the hills. There seems to have been no marked fear
of contamination, as persons handling the body were not required to
bathe or to change their clothing.

No grave was dug; a few rocks were removed and the body depos-
ited in the cavity. As Joshua put it, "Just hide him away in the [766]
rocks." Sometimes a man's moccasins and bows were placed along-
side. One informant,[211] reported cremation for certain cases. "Some-

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[211] JB.

[766] times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much.
764 He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money." Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for
[428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog." If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

[551] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt

badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife. 765 [587]

Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; "somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her. 597

GAMES AND PASTIMES

The Gidū'tikad^{a} had the usual assortment of games, and although they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212] 524 525

Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called paba'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used: 777

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

Football.—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players 526 tried to kick it out to their respective team mates. Players stood facing the opponents' goal. Play sometimes continued an hour before the ball was kicked through the goal.

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

Betting was heavy—moccasins, hides, and arrows were wagered. Women also bet; they bet "anything." Play frequently lasted all day, the same individuals participating, and in this manner a person often won back his bets.

Single-goal ball.—Another man's ball game (wuto'koi) was played with two buckskin balls kicked toward a single goal by rival teams. The course was about a mile in length, and after completion of a lap, the direction was reversed and the ball kicked back to the starting point. The side returning its ball first won. A team consisted of five, six, ten, or even twenty men. Like football, this game was played in spring and summer. Piudy said that the Gidü'tikad^{a} and Achomawi used to play together.

Double-ball shinny.—Double-ball shinny (natzi'^{aka}) was a woman's game, played in spring and summer. The goals were two circles marked on the ground, perhaps sixty feet apart. The ball (tapi'ko) was always of braided buckskin with the ends tied into thick knots. These knots were stuffed in order to increase their size and give them body.[213]

The ball was not hit into the air, but was knocked along by means of a straight stick "a little longer than a walking stick," its length proportionate to the height of the player. Each participant had one such stick which was called kudu'^{a}. Any number of persons could play, but there were usually five or six on a team. Play normally lasted a half day; two or three games could be won in a forenoon.

Target games.—Imperfect accounts were obtained of several target games. One, called tana'i, was played by a number of individuals, unteamed. A player shot his arrow and the others tried to equal his shot, his arrow serving as a target. If the succeeding shots were close, the distance was measured and the one coming nearest won the arrows. After the first series of shots, the players turned and shot back toward their starting point, the game being conducted the same way as before.

Another game, called dūdo'-tana'i (hand tana'i, according to Joshua), was played with sticks. A stick was thrown at the opponent who held a ring in his hand and tried to catch it in the ring. If he missed, he returned the stick; if successful, he kept it. The game was played for seven or eight points, e.g., catching the stick seven or eight times.

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[213] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 847, for Washo, Maidu, and Miwok.

For natsa'soa one had ten rye-grass arrows and twenty or so small 526
mud pellets of various size. The latter were heaped and opposing players shot at them using the rye-grass arrows and a miniature bow. Sometimes the arrow was thrown instead of shot. When one hit a pellet he removed his arrow with the pellet impaled on it. If a ball broke, a new one was made. A person shot until he missed, whereupon he forfeited his arrow, and his opponent started shooting. My notes are not clear as to how the game was won; "when the pile is all gone, count up and see whose it is."

Hoop and pole.—Hoop and pole (nüko'no'; nükwo'no; "they call it after the willow") was played with a willow ring about six inches in diameter and unnetted. Any number of men could play, but Joshua said that there were usually five on a side. Each player had two sharpened, green willow poles about seven feet in length, and "this made it just like ten points." One side lined up and the ring was rolled past, all trying to pierce it. If they were unsuccessful, it was rolled past once more. When one person managed to stop the hoop by piercing it and having it fall on his pole, the others of his side came to the spot from which he had shot and took turns trying to hit the ring, no matter in what position it might have come to rest. Each one who missed forfeited his pole. "If all of them missed, we won quickly." The same game was sometimes played with arrows instead of poles. They were feathered, but not stone tipped, and were always thrown, not shot.

Dr. Sam's account of this game was not entirely clear. He thought it had come to the Silver Lake band from the east. In addition to the usual hoop and pole procedure, he stated that "the man who stood apart threw, not shot, an arrow at the ring which another man held for him. If he pierced the ring he won the arrow; otherwise it went to the one holding the ring." This sounds like a reversal of hand tana'i.

Jacks.—Three or four played nada'kapi. Small stones were gath- 524
ered in a pile or placed in a row and hidden in the dust. A pebble was then thrown in the air, a grab made for the hidden stones, and the tossed pebble caught. When one missed, the play passed to an opponent. Joshua said that the person who got the last stone won the game.

Hand game.—The hand game (naiü'kwi) was essentially a man's game, but nowadays women sometimes play.[214] The game is ordinarily

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[214] In the hand game a man never plays against a woman (CW). In the game I witnessed only men participated, but women looked on and bet on the results.

524 played with four cylinders,[215] two all white and two with black center bands. One guesses the position of the plain white ones. These cylinders are "just big enough to be held in the hand" and are usually of willow, although I was assured by one informant that "anything would do." An old cylinder found at the gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon, is shown in plate 32c. My informant said that the central band had been black but that the paint had been scraped off; and that the ends, originally white, had been discolored from exposure. Informants agreed that formerly the hand game was played with two small circlets of "Warm Springs beads," willow or deer horn serving in the absence of beads. My interpreter who was quite young, certainly not over thirty-five, could remember having seen the bead circlets in use. With the two-object form of the game, one guessed presence vs. absence rather than plain vs. marked; consequently the two hidden objects were identical. Pindy said that with the two-object form cheating was frequent; but by making both concealers hold two bones instead of one, they had less opportunity to shift them after the guess had been made.

As the game is played today, the sides line up, seated several yards apart. Each team has a plank in front upon which the members drum in time to the accompanying chant. The two individuals who are to hide the cylinders shuffle them beneath a cloth,[216] and, after much buffoonery, finally hold them concealed in the hands, arms folded. One man does the guessing for the opposing side; he may guess during one or two games. He is said to sing as he plays, but in the game I witnessed this was not the case. As the guesser faces them, the cylinders may be arranged in the four positions schematically represented below, W standing for the plain bone and B for the one with the black stripe.

BWWB	called	tasi'gûwai
WBBW	called	ha'su'kwan
BWBW WBWB	called	siki'ba

To indicate the BWWB position, the guesser extends his right hand, thumb up, and moves it vertically, pointing between the two concealers and at the same time calling the appropriate designation. If he wishes to indicate WBBW, he holds out his right hand, palm downward, meanwhile calling the corresponding term. For the alternating positions, the terms are identical, but ambiguity is avoided by indicating the BWBW position with a wave to the right and the WBWB position with a wave to the left. When blind people play, the siki'ba guesses are qualified by adding one of the cardinal directions according to the position in which the players are seated. 524

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[215] I neglected to record the names of these. In a letter Nora Henderson says they are called "dipaw," dipe in the orthography here employed.

[216] The cloth or blanket was considered unnecessary in the two-object form.

One or two tallies are forfeited according to the accuracy of the guess. If a person indicated BWWB and the arrangement were WBBW, he would miss both white. If, however, he indicated BWWB and the arrangement were BWBW, he would miss but one white. In this event, the concealing side tosses two of the bones across to the opponents and continues to hide the remaining two until their position is correctly guessed. In guessing upon the basis of two bones, a player assumes theoretical symmetry of position and indicates his guess by the tasi'gũwai or ka'su'kwan positions. When he guesses correctly his side is entitled to hide the cylinders.

The game is usually played for ten counters, which I understood to be divided evenly at the start. The game terminates when one side has all the counters. In cases of heavy betting, the game is said to be played for twenty or even thirty points. [525]

The hand game is played the year round and is regarded as the gambling game par excellence. "We play this when we have a big time; always. That's our old game." There is no tradition of its having been introduced from outside as there is among the Klamath.[217] The hand game is now played almost every Sunday and Klamath and Achomawi frequently participate. Excitement is kept at a high pitch by the betting and by the spirited chanting and drumming.

Four-stick game.—This game (wita'ai) was played by old men; Daisy said that women did not play but that they might bet; Joshua thought that they sometimes played. Guessing is similar to the hand game but there are differences in equipment and procedure. Willow rods, four to five inches long, are concealed beneath a basket tray (not a blanket) instead of in the hands. The rods are not marked as in the hand game but differ in size. The larger pair is called apiũ'b, apiũ'b^{a} ("big, like the mother," bia, pia, mother)[218] and the smaller pair, a'tuũ'm, dua'^{a} (translated baby; du'a, son).

One guesses the position of the larger sticks. The arrangements are named as in the hand game and indicated by the same gestures. Further dependence on that game is to be noted in the disposition of the bones. Logically there is no reason why one should not have a XXOO or OOXX arrangement, but in the hand game, where either concealer has one of a kind, this is impossible. It is interesting to note therefore that this restriction, although unnecessary, holds for the four-stick game.[219] Two sticks are removed at the conclusion of a guess half-right, and play is continued with the remaining two. A correct guess wins the right to conceal. Counters change hands in accordance with the rules of the hand game but there are eight instead of ten. Pindy had it that these were arranged in a neutral pile; Joshua, that they were divided at the start, four to a side.

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[217] Spier, 78.

[218] Cf. Shivwits pi+a'B^{i}, mother, Lewie, SE, 287.

Lowie[220] reports a similar game for the Shoshoni, stating that it "is said to have been played mostly by the Ya'handi'ka (Groundhog-eater) band, who used to live toward the west of the Wind river." As it is unlikely that this statement refers to the Gidū'tikadᵘ, Culin's distribution[221] must be extended to include still another Shoshonean group.

Stick dice.—The stick game is called hu'pi-tatsa'ñ (hu'pi, stick). It is normally played by men, but women sometimes play "if they know how." This game is said to make the winter longer; there is no game to shorten it.

Tatsa'ñ is played with eight[222] sticks of rose, six or seven inches long, red on one side and white on the other. They are hurled endwise on the ground and the upturned white faces counted. Each white side counts one point which is recorded by a scoring stick placed at the proper interval along 24[223] pegs (unnamed) set in a semicircle on the ground. Supplementary sticks (called kwi'ts, meaningless) are laid flat on the ground or stuck in at an angle after every sixth peg, presumably as an aid in counting. These correspond to Spier's quadrants.[224]

Four people usually play, two on a side. I witnessed a game played by two individuals, each of whom had two scoring sticks.

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[219] This restriction seems to demonstrate an essential dependence upon the hand game. This fact, together with the very limited distribution of the four-stick game (Culin, 327), strongly suggests that latter is a local development or variant of the widespread hand game.

[220] SE, 261.

[221] Culin, 327.

[222] Culin, 167, also gives 8; Lowie, SE, 262, gives 6. Joshua mentioned a stick game with 6 dice, white sides counted, and 24 points, but stated that it was not played by men.

[223] DB, NH, P, SW; 20 according to TA; 32 according to CW. The two latter are probably incorrect.

[224] Havasupai, 250.

Presumably, had four been playing each would have had a single scorer. The side which first works its two scorers to the far end of the 24 pegs is the winner. Opponents use the same series of pegs, counting from opposite ends.

At the start the dice are divided, four to a side. In the two-man game I witnessed, each took two throws. I did not ask, but if four were playing each would probably have a single throw. If these initial throws result in a tie, throwing continues until one side scores more than the other, thereby winning the first toss of the full eight dice. These initial throws with half the dice are recorded and counted in the game proper.

Although white sides normally count one point each and move one marker, certain ramifications in counting must be noted. With the four dice (initial) throw, either all white or all red yields 4 points for each of the two scoring sticks, a total of 8 points; 3 upturned whites yield 3 points for each scoring stick, or a total of 6 points. With this, however, the double yield ceases and 3 red and 1 white give but 1 point. After the game is under way and the full 8 dice are in use, all red or all white give 8 points per scoring stick (16 points in all); 7 white similarly yield 7 points for each scorer (14 points in all); but 7 red and 1 white count but 1. Thus the premium or double-yield applies to these throws alone: with half the number of dice, 4 red, 4 white, 3 white; with the full number of dice, 8 red, 8 white, and 7 white. Any other combination counts one point per white face and moves 1 marker only. Thus 7 red and 1 white would count but 1. The first throw of the dice moves one's rearward marker; the second throw, that farther in advance.

If one makes a throw which lands him in the same place as his opponent, this is called "shooting one another" (o'gwa'ti) and the opponent must start over. One may shoot both scoring sticks if they happen to be in the same hole. This is one additional feature which serves to link the Paviotso game with the complex outlined by Spier.[223]

When a player approaches the end he need not shoot even score; any number of points equal to or in excess of the required number will put him out. It took only a few minutes to win the game I witnessed.

"Squaw game."—My data on what Joshua calls the "squaw game" are incomplete and confused. It is the woman's dice game and is known as tüpi'du, tüpi'dün (from tüpi', stone). Men sometimes

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[223] Havasupai, 350.

play a while "just for fun," but it was as definitely a woman's diversion as juggling. Two to four women played "any time of the year."

Dice, about six inches long, were thrown on a flat rock (not a metate) or on the ground. Three of the four dice were red on one side and white on the other; the fourth was all black. The function of this stick remains a mystery. The three red and white dice were thrown and the upturned white sides counted. A throw of all red or all white won the game; two whites counted two points, one white, one.

Unfortunately the scoring remains obscure. According to Joshua, they usually played for 7, sometimes for 6, but might play for any set number of points. He also reported a neutral pile of counters at the start, and the winning of all of these terminated the game. At times, however, the counters seem to have been dispensed with and points tallied on the ground with the fingers. Daisy did not know how many points constituted game. As noted above, the function of the black die (wu'a) is not clear. According to Joshua, "You take it when you count four points," but further than this I could elicit no information.

A different version of the game was given by Dr. Sam of Beatty:

> The women's stick game is called topi'du. Three sticks are painted red on one side. Each team has five counting sticks. The team getting the most red sides up wins.

Basket dice.—Basket dice (na'bogo'^{i}) is also a woman's game but it proved impossible to get a coherent account of it. Piudy did not know it; "it was a woman's game." Joshua thought that the Gidū'tikad^{a} did not play it; "that was a Pyramid Lake game."

It seems, however, to have been played with eight[226] dice of wild currant wood, about two inches in length. Minnie said that they were thrown on (from ?) a basket and the upturned white sides counted, using stones as scorers. Each had four stones at the start. According to Daisy, the game was played with four dice; three red on one side, the fourth marked with black stripes. They were placed on a parching tray, tossed into the air, and caught on the tray. Daisy said that the points were tallied on the ground and that only two women played.[227]

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[226] P, MA; 4 according to DB.

[227] Daisy's account suggests tüpi'du, with its fourth distinctive stick, but Daisy was positive of the name of this game. However, it is to be noted that to her the basket was the criterion of na'bogo'^{i}. Thus, "the woman's stick game is tüpi'du. This is when they haven't a basket and play on the ground. When they play in a basket it is na'bogo'^{i}."

Dr. Sam gave what appears to be a further variant. He said that twelve short sticks were painted red on one side and white on the other. They were tossed in a basket and the red sides counted. When all red turned up, one made a straight mark on the ground and claimed a stone from one's opponent. Each had a small pile of stones used in scoring but the number in the pile was never counted. When all white turned up it was called tupi'kwoi (tüpi' ?). Unfortunately Dr. Sam could not remember further details of scoring, nor could he remember the name of the game. Although I neglected to inquire of him who played, I have arbitrarily placed this with the women's dice games as it seems to have its closest analogies there.

Beaver-tooth dice.—Dr. Sam reported a beaver-tooth dice game, but Gidü'tikad^{a} informants knew nothing of it save for the fact that "it was Pit river." According to Dr. Sam, the dice consisted of eight teeth, one marked with dots, which were cast from the hand onto a basket tray. The marked dice was the only one counted; "mostly it didn't turn over." Dr. Sam said that women played the game. He was unable to recall its name or any details of counting.

Cup-and-ball.—No form of cup-and-ball was known to any of my informants.

Cat's cradle.—Susie Archie said that in recent times children made string figures, but she was under the impression that formerly they did not. With this Piudy agreed.

Juggling.—Three marble-like stones were juggled by women. One woman would bet another; she juggled until she missed, whereupon the other took her turn. Joshua said that it would make a man lazy to play this game. According to Piudy, "That's no game; that's just for fun." Juggling was called mada'kipoi.

Sling.—Boys played with a deerhide sling, using small stones in it. According to Piudy, "This had no name; it was just a toy."

Bullroarer.—The bullroarer (kwi'mo, tüsa'ibidun (?)) was a boy's toy as well as a magical device to make the wind blow. It was made of juniper and decorated with black spots or lines. Instead of having been swung directly on the end of a string, it seems to have been tied loosely with deer-hide to a wand-like handle.

Whistle.—Children made whistles from one of the horse tails (pazoi'winup), *Equisetum* sp.

DANCING

535 The common Round dance of the Basin is fundamental here. In the evening, participants joined hands in a ring, men and women alternating, and circled about the fire with a shuffling, sidewise step. Women chose partners by asking, not by tapping them with a wand. Those not wishing to dance with men could get on one side of the circle. Ill consequences did not result from a refusal to dance. Young people who were attracted to one another danced together all evening without changing partners. Some couples withdrew, at which time marriage was consummated. Joshua said that they must first ask permission of the "dance boss," but Minnie thought otherwise.

533 The dance "boss" was a man who knew songs. These he himself
535 composed. Others joined in the singing if they knew the tunes. There
534 was no other musical accompaniment; for the drum is recent and
informants denied the rasp although they knew it from other groups.

535 A dance (nugüb) normally lasted two or three hours; persons never danced until they dropped from exhaustion. A dance might be held at any time of year, but especially in the fall when people congregated for communal drives. A dance which took place while on a rabbit hunt was called kamü'nik (kamü', jackrabbit).

The Bear dance is definitely lacking among these Paiute. Joshua knew it from the Shoshone and accurately described the essentials, including the notched stick which sounded "like a washboard"; a woman's tapping her partner with a small willow; dancing in lines, then breaking, and circling. He had seen it performed "up north" by visiting Shoshone four or five years ago. Pindy said that the Warm Springs Indians danced in columns, but that the Gidü'tikad[8] never did so. He thought that the "Yainax people" (Paiute, Klamath?) and people around Susanville (Paiute, Maidu?) had a Bear dance.

[721] There seems to have been a War incitement dance but no details were available. Minine said that "some stout men danced before they went to war." According to Pindy, the Round dance was the only one known; there were no masked or scalp dances. On the last score Joshua gave conflicting evidence, saying:

> A scalp was put on a tall pole and everybody said, "Let's have a dance." They danced and sang all kinds of songs. Women danced too. They always kept the scalps but I never did know what became of them. The Scalp dance was called tüya'nagü.

Joshua also gave a very fragmentary account of what he called a Rain (?) dance (tobo'nigü), but it was not mentioned by other informants. 535

In this dance you jump up and pretend to shoot with a bow and arrow. Two singers, dressed as antelope, get inside the circle. They look as though they were angry.

Evidence on the Ghost dance is both meager and garbled. If informants are to be relied upon, the California and Oregon Paviotso were more or less skeptical from the start. The only positive evidence of the 1870 Ghost dance lies in the statements: "I heard the talking twice"; and "they tried it before Jack Wilson too." But part of Joshua's account seems to apply to the earlier appearance. 171 535

Before white men settled here, some fellows from Nixon (Nevada) brought songs (I was about twelve years old).[228] They told the Paiute, "We are going to have our mothers and our fathers come back. When the sun comes up, keep on dancing and then go in the creek." Everybody danced and then swam in Bidwell creek to make them tough. After this one man told them, "Put on white paint. Some put on yellow paint." He would say, "You know—[naming a deceased person]. I am talking to him." At Nixon they heard talking in the night. Sometimes they danced four or five nights. All the dance bosses are now dead.

When I was about sixteen years old I saw them dance near Lowell's store (Fort Bidwell), at the foot of Bidwell mountain, over near Anderson's (just south of Cowhead lake), and the other side of Dick Ochiho's where the reservoir is now. All these were nice, flat, open places.[229]

The remainder of Joshua's account applies to the 1890 dance, although he underestimates the period by ten years.

About thirty years ago when we were taking up land, Frank Spencer came from Yainax with songs, and after him other people. At Nixon (Nevada) they made hard wind and rain come. These Paiute did not believe this because they didn't see the things.

One man from here went to Nixon. They were going to show a ghost. Everybody went to Nixon—some Bannock, some Warm Springs Indians, and some Achomawi. George Winnemucca from McDermitt went, too. Jack Wilson was there.

They sang at night and set up a long pole like a post. They made a fire in a circle. All the good men sat down and listened. Three or four went to one side and sang. They began to get stiff and lay down. They lay there maybe two hours, muttering as if talking in dreams; they were talking with ghosts. The ghosts told them, "We are coming back"; but they never came. When the men came to [consciousness], they had nothing to show; it was just talk. The dead didn't come back; so we didn't believe.

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[228] He is now between 65 and 70, 67 he thinks.

[229] These are probably the usual dance grounds and need not apply to the Ghost dance.

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> Jack Wilson had Indians dress up and act like ghosts. They came and talked with the people. Afterwards some followed them and found they were impersonators.

Piudy's account is more detailed and his dating correct.

> A man whose name I don't remember brought the song from Nixon about forty years ago when the white people were already here. He taught two or three (all dead now) those songs. They said that the dead would come to life. When our people heard that they tried it, but danced only one night, not five like the Nixon Indians.
>
> Our people danced and prayed (nani'stuhai) and said, "My mother is coming; my father is coming." They swam in the water too, but there was no pole and no special kind of clothing. The Silver Lake Paiute may have danced one night like these Indians; but Dr. Sam said that he never did believe in it.

Upon another occasion Piudy remarked that white paint was not used as facial decoration prior to the Ghost dance, but whether this refers to that of 1870 or 1890, I do not know. If Joshua's statement is correctly attributed to the earlier appearance, the white paint would date from that period.

The reference to Dr. Sam in Piudy's account is of some interest in that it suggests the limiting effect a powerful personality may have on diffusion. A brief statement concerning the dance among the Silver Lake Paiute was secured from Dr. Sam:

> Once Frank Spencer (Wü'nayiga) brought word from Nixon that if we danced the dead would return. He was dance boss and he sang. Everyone danced in a big circle around a fire. A man and a woman were partners. They danced all night every night. Frank Spencer talked to the ghosts. Soon the people stopped because they did not believe the dead would return.

I have no material on the 1870 dance among the Oregon bands; the above refers to the 1890 dance.

The accounts are far from satisfactory and even these were got with some difficulty. A number of informants claimed not to remember the dance at all or stated that they had heard of it but vaguely. It seems unlikely that this should be attributed to reticence due to emotional associations; perhaps there is rather a reluctance to admit having been duped. Or again, informants may really be correct in insisting that their attitude was one of skepticism. The Ghost dance may have been a non-spectacular affair which made little impression on them. Yet this would be singular in view of the fact that the whole movement had its inception among their Nevada congeners.

SMOKING

Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[230] young boys did not smoke 276
for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non- 517
ceremonial and was chiefly an evening pastime. Three or four old
men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One
would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was
not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed
number of times, and a person could decline on the second round
without offending.

The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds
were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-
mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'b^a)[231] The 277
local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now
fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well
scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to
have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or
wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with
a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot
and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'b^a were
mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowa-
days koda'b^a and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the
blend called düma'iyu, mixture. Koda'b^a is said to be "pretty strong."

Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[232] For earache and 276
deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear 755
the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache.
For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. 855
A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." 861
Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall
sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the [826]
other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can
tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he
is born with the cord around his neck."

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[230] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[231] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[232] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu˙pavi'ⁱ) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikadᵃ at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ʷka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

and none could recall the name of the leader prior to Chocktoot, who 622
lived at the time of the white influx and during early reservation days. 173

The chiefly office was loosely inherited, but if a person were
thought not capable, someone from another family was chosen by general consent. 622
As one informant put it, "Dick Ochiho is Ochiho's son, but he isn't chief; he wasn't just the man for the place." None of a number of informants could formulate his ideas as to the essential qualities for chieftainship.

TORTS

If a person's goods were stolen he accosted the thief, asking him 685
to return the articles. Sometimes a fight would ensue; sometimes the goods were returned promptly or a buckskin or the like given as indemnity. The chief sometimes directed the offender to restore a person's property.

There was no distinction in penalty between accidental and 682
deliberate homicide.

> 627
> If someone killed a person, the families would fight all the time. Perhaps the deceased's family would wait, and the murderer would think they had forgotten. They did not have to kill the murderer himself but tried to kill the best one in his family, the best hunter or the best woman. Then they were satisfied.

And again:

> In the old days when a man was killed, his family might wait a year. Then his brother would try to kill the murderer. They did not have meetings over it as now. The murderer's family would say, "Why did you kill him? You had better settle it; give a skin blanket, a gun, a horse—the best you have. Then you will live a little longer."

A murder was not always avenged. One committed by an Achomawi, for example, was unavenged, probably through expedience [628]
rather than sentiment.

> When an Achomawi killed a Paiute, we felt sorry, but did not kill back. The chief told us, "Don't get angry and kill someone. You only make it worse."

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

[101] 609 The Gidü'tikadᵃ call themselves nümü, persons, as do the Nevada Paviotso.[233] Most informants apply the term to related groups only, but by it Piudy designates all Indians in opposition to whites (taibu). Informants class neighboring groups linguistically, thus:

> The Bannock and Fort Hall (Idaho) are the same as the Paiute: they talk our language.[234] I am a Paiute; I am a Bannock; Bannock are Paiute. The Bishop (Inyo county) and Pyramid Lake Indians speak our language too but a little different. We are Paiute here, at Walker lake, at Klamath,[235] at Burns, and at Pyramid lake. Even the Umatilla are half Paiute.
>
> The Warm Springs and the Digger Indians (Maidu, Washo) are different too. The first time I saw a Washo I thought he was a Paiute, but he didn't understand what I said to him (JB).

With related bands the Gidü'tikadᵃ were on the best of terms and a few individuals could visit a neighboring group with little hesitancy. Thus a camp of Gidü'tikadᵃ would sometimes wander as far east as McDermitt and occasionally winter there. Also:

> Sometimes one or two Pyramid Lake and Nixon (Nevada) Paiute came here to hunt. We didn't object because they didn't come in bands (P).

Contacts with the Shoshone who "lived northeast of McDermitt, the other side of some mountain" seem to have been slight. Joshua had heard of Snake Indians "somewhere to the east" but had not seen any. The Bannock (Pana'kᵃ), living "somewhere to the northeast in Idaho, the other side of Malheur," were known chiefly through the Burns Paviotso but also through occasional transients who did not winter in Gidü'tikadᵃ territory. According to Piudy:

> The Bannock came here only once. When the Klamath and Warm Springs Indians were fighting us, we sent word north and many Bannock came and helped us.

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[233] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[234] This accords nicely with Kroeber's linguistic classification of Bannock. Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, 266.

[235] Doubtless Yainax, near Beatty, which is on the Klamath reservation.

War

With unrelated neighbors there was a certain amount of strife. War, consisting of raids and reprisals, was caused chiefly by theft of women or by trespass and consequent infringement of hunting rights.

> In the early days other Indians were never friendly with us. We didn't like them. They used to come here, on our land (JB).

Also:

> We used to quarrel over hunting rights. When Achomawi came this side of the mountain (Warners), we wanted to fight. If you killed one Achomawi, his people would miss him and start a war with us. If you and I crossed the Warners to Willow ranch[236] some Pit River people would come there and kill me and take you (JB).

The Achomawi (Izi'sa'wi) are the traditional enemies par excellence. Piudy alone was firm in denying warfare with them, saying, "We never fought with the Achomawi. They and the Klamath were enemies all the time." Upon another occasion he said, "We never fought with the Pit River people; we never captured their women." Other informants gravely asserted that the Achomawi "were bad" and "my father told me that we used to fight them." Only one concrete instance was cited; strangely enough it concerns a conflict between the Achomawi and the Honey Lake Paiute (who are not Gidü'tikadᵃ.[237] Joshua thought that the quarrel had started in spring over fishing rights; he had been told that "the men lined up in long strings and shot at each other."

Joshua pictured the Achomawi as an aggressive lot, fighting with the Kuyui'tikadᵃ, coming into Warner valley, against the Gidü'tikadᵃ, and traversing immense distances to engage in battle with the Wada'tikadᵃ of Burns and the Kwi'nadüvᵃ of McDermitt. Achomawi raids in the Burns and McDermitt districts are unlikely because of the sheer distance involved, not to mention the hostile Klamath on the Burns route and the scattering Paiute on the McDermitt route. In addition, the whole business contrasts oddly with reports concerning the passiveness with which the Achomawi accepted Klamath incursions.[238] It is probable that there was no war as such with the Achomawi, but that relations were frequently disrupted by skirmishes

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[236] Near Lassen creek; virtually on the Paiute-Achomawi boundary.

[237] Lowie, SE, 194, reports this same conflict.

[238] Spier, Klamath, 24; Kniffen, 309, although this passiveness refers to the Achomawi subtribe, Hewisedawi, and it seems to have been the Hammawi with whom the Paiute fought.

72/ between a few individuals over hunting rights or over women. In contradiction to Piudy's above statement but in agreement with that of Dr. de Angulo,[239] Joshua said:

> Women and children prisoners belong to the man who caught them. The Pit River people used to come here after their women. The children were allowed to go back when grown.

Piudy stated, in reference to tribes other than the Achomawi, with whom he steadfastly denied conflict, "The Paiute used to capture women and marry them, but they did not take children. Why would they want them?"

The Klamath are said to have held Warner and Surprise valleys prior to the occupancy by the Gidü'tikadᵃ. At that time the latter were living the other side of Steens mountain, southeast of Burns, Oregon. Although outnumbered, the Paiute "got the best of them all the time" and finally drove them out and took possession. According to Piudy, "That was long before my time; the old people told me about it. I have seen the rocks[240] the Klamath put up for protection. They are just high enough so a person can sit behind them and shoot over the top. The rocks are east of Adel."

My notes have little mention of specific Klamath hostilities, which were probably no more than the usual random skirmishes. In the early historic period the Klamath are said to have stolen horses from the Gidü'tikadᵃ. The latter tracked them and fought. Dr. Sam of Beatty said, "I heard of a tribe of Paiute whose head chief was Winnemucca. They had a war with the Klamath this side of Chiloquin. I heard of another war with the Klamath. I saw the bones; they are right on the Sycan river near Sycan marsh."

The Warm Springs Indians were called A'ga'itsi (a'gai, fish, salmon) and are said to have been aggressive and warlike. Probably the Oregon bands suffered most from contact with them; Gidü'tikadᵃ relations seem to have been largely commercial. According to Dr. Sam, "The Warm Springs Indians used to try and make trouble, but the Paiute were pretty peaceful." The latter statement is typical of the way the Paiute pleases to paint his people's character.

The Washo (Washiu) were known chiefly by name.

Dr. Sam once participated in a battle with some whites near Paisley, but aside from this incident, none of my informants had ever seen a war, much less been in one.

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[239] P. 315.

[240] Said to be wall-like structures.

Weapons

A warrior's equipment consisted of bow and arrows, and, according to Joshua, one or two spears (tützi'hin^{a}) four or five feet long. The latter, tipped with 4½ inch obsidian blades, were used for close combat. Other informants thought the spear was not old;[241] "Why should we want to use a spear?" War arrows were frequently dipped in poison.[242] There was no war club. The poggamoggan[243] was known to informants, but was explicitly attributed to other tribes. Thus, "That's not Paiute; that's from a different people." Piudy gave its name as tikwi't^{a}-ponoa (ponoa, rock) and correctly attributed it to the Shoshone.[244] It was not used by the Bannock. 411

The Gidü'tikad^{a} deny the use of body armor but claim that the Paiute around Yainax and Burns used to wear elk-hide armor. Dr. Sam's brief description follows: 713

> I once saw a war dress. It was a hide protector, tied together on the back, with wings along the side of the head to keep off arrows. They tried to shoot the person who wore it under the arm where there was no protection.

Joshua had heard of such armor but had not seen any. He called it topü$^{'kwasü}$ (topü', shield; kwa'sü, shirt).

The shield was generally described as circular and "almost the width of the body." Dr. Sam reported a fan-shaped affair. The shield was made from the neck part of elk or deer hide, usually the former. The skin was dehaired, soaked, stretched,[245] and set by the fire to harden. The shield was not made on a wooden frame, but the Klamath are said to have used willows covered with hide. A warrior carried the shield in his hand or attached it to his left forearm by means of loops on its back. 714

Warriors probably fought naked, although Piudy thought that they removed their clothing only when fighting the whites. The Wishram speak of naked Paiute[246] and of capturing an Oregon Paiute who "had no shirt on, he was naked."[247] There seems to be no tradi-

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[241] Although the Wishram are said to obtain lances from the Paiute via the Wasco. Spier and Sapir, 231.

[242] P. 145.

[243] Which de Angulo incorrectly attributes to these Paiute, 320.

[244] Lowie, NS, 191.

[245] Joshua said that the hide was stretched by skewers thrust through marginal holes. Other informants could not give details of manufacture, but when discussing skin-working in general, none was familiar with the skewer technique.

[246] Spier and Sapir, 232, 233.

[247] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 211.

714 tion of arrow or bullet proof shirts, but "in the old days bullets were soft, and the Indians had tough skins. The bullets did not hurt them; they just burned a little, the same as when a horse is hit." Warriors [302] sometimes painted the face red and put feathers in their hair. For the most part, facial paint seems to have been used on festive rather than martial occasions.

712 Rock walls erected for protection against the enemy were called na'a'kwi-nobi (na'a'kwi, shooting; nobi, house, camp). They were of sufficient height to allow a seated person to shoot over the top. These are doubtless the "fences" to which Sapir's Wishram informant has reference.[248]

Scalping

727 As regards scalping, opinions are divided. All agree that the Klamath, Warm Springs, and Achomawi scalped readily. Minnie Anderson said that her uncle was scalped by the Warm Springs Indians, but that the Paiute did not scalp. Nevertheless, Joshua's statement is convincing:

> I have never seen a scalp, but when a Paiute killed an Achomawi, he cut around the forehead and the back of the head and pulled off the hair. In those days they wore long hair. I don't know where they learned to scalp. They took full-sized ones, cutting back of the ears and around the edge of the hair.

And upon another occasion:

> Some wore scalps (tüwo'ks) If we found Warm Springs, or Achomawi, or Klamath Indians on our land, we watched them and told everybody. Someone said, "Shoot them; shoot them and scalp them." Maybe we killed one or two.

In this connection Joshua also reported the scalp dance. Dr. Sam was not certain that his Paiute band used to take scalps, but he was inclined to think so. On the other hand, Pindy affirmed:

> Other Indians scalped but not our Paiute. They took them on a line with the eyebrows and pulled them off. We just killed an enemy; we did not cut off his hands or feet.

It may be significant that the Wishram do not mention scalping by the Paiute. Tom Anderson denied both scalping and mutilation of the dead; "but when the Shoshone killed the Paiute they cut them all to pieces."

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[248] Wishram Texts, 217.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

SHAMANISM

My data on shamanism are unfortunately meager. The shaman entertains the unhappy notion that he will sicken and die if he divulges information, so it is not surprising that informants are uncommunicative. Most of the following material was obtained from Joshua Brown, a former shaman, and from Piudy. I have relied largely upon direct quotation as it gives a vividness and accuracy not to be had in a bald statement of fact. 756

The word commonly given for shaman is puha'güm, but Joshua gave in addition another word, puha'gai', which he said was identical in meaning. All informants insisted that there was but one kind of shaman, but there was specialization even though it is not recognized in native terminology. Individuals such as Dr. Sam Wata of Beatty are general practitioners; others seem to have confined their efforts to particular ailments such as arrow wounds, rattlesnake bites, etc. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time."

Shamanism took the form of curing and sometimes of weather control. There was also the antelope shaman (düna'-puha'güm) who officiated at the ceremonial hunts. Ordinarily doctors did not locate lost objects; "only one man ever found lost things. He was a good doctor; he could do anything. I don't know his name." And again, "I heard of a doctor who could find lost things, but I have never seen it done. Some say Dr. Sam could do it." 756 789 787

A certain amount of prophesy was also within the power of the shaman. The coming of the whites was foretold by one as follows: 756 787

> Long ago they put up a big pole and all danced around it. A doctor stood by the pole and spoke, "I feel that something is coming from the east. A people with a different language are coming here some day." As he said that he would stop and listen, "They're making a lot of noise; their language buzzes just like flies." Then he said, "Those people will bring an animal and will make chokecherries, as big as a fist, grow in this country." The doctor meant the horse and apple. We had a strong belief in this doctor (SW).

And a further example of prophesy:

> Only doctors know when people are going to be sick. A doctor might dream that a friend of his in Cedarville was sick, and later find out that it was so.

756 Doctors know when sickness is coming. Frank Naneo's mother is an old woman living near Paisley. She dreamed of a sickness and said, "It's far in the east
787 now, but it is coming here." It was the influenza and it came here (NH).

Shamanistic power was acquired through dreams, often beginning in early childhood. Dreams came unsought to many. But a person desiring a dream vision might spend the night in a certain spot on the west side of Eagle peak, fasting during his stay. He went alone, lest a companion arouse him before his dream ended. In the morning he descended to a small lake on the western slope of the mountain and there bathed. The lake was known as Nava'gia-no (nava'gia, bathe). One other place was considered potent; it was "near a tall rock point this end of Steens mountain."[249] These spots were visited by persons who had not dreamed before, as well as by those who had forgotten their dreams and desired to renew their power. A person who remembered his dreams need not go. Charlie Washo had heard that shamans were plentiful at Pyramid lake and that there a person desiring to become a doctor went to a spring and slept. He had also heard of one "stout doctor" who had fasted ten days.

A person who disregarded the "call" of his dreams fell violently ill. His case was diagnosed by another shaman who told him, "That is why you are sick." Before practicing, a shaman subjected his dreams to tests.

> If he dreamed he did something good the next day he actually did it. He followed this procedure for all his dreams. He had good luck (P).

And again:

> You dream to become a doctor. You have to remember but not tell; you never forget; you think all the time. If you dream of a bear go and see a bear. He is your friend; he doesn't bite you; he is like a good dog. If you dream of a horse see a horse to know if your dream is right. The horse is like your friend; he comes to you without a rope. Then you know that you dreamed what to use to cure. You tell no one (JB).

A shaman controls various kinds of animal spirits which come to him in dreams. The eagle is the most frequent one, consequently in treating, a doctor puts an eagle feather on the ailing part and "sings like an eagle. When he calls on the eagle it comes from the mountain and looks at the sick man, but no one is able to see it come." If a shaman dreams of a deer and hears a deer call, he imitates the cry when doctoring. I did not hear of any spirits other than animal. Sometimes the shaman has a feather or other token of his vision, but

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[249] This is not within Gidū'tikadᵘ territory.

usually he has a song, in which event he does not carry the token. 756
Every shaman dreams his own songs. They are his exclusively and 787
are not sung by another.

Piudy thought that a dying shaman did not will his spirits or [778]
paraphernalia. The latter were destroyed upon his death; sometimes
they were burned, sometimes buried with him. Joshua thought that [424]
a shaman might will his power to his son, or daughter, or to his wife,
but he thought that they had to dream too. In other words, the
transfer was not automatic. According to Joshua, "Charlie Washo's
father was a doctor. When he died he left his things to his wife. She
was nearly able to doctor when her husband died." Dr. Sam stated,
"Four old doctors who were childless taught me. They taught me
when I was a little bit of a fellow. I dreamed of things and they
helped me cure people." This suggests that a shaman might teach
his son. Billy Peanuts, whom, by the way, some do not regard as a
full-fledged shaman, is assisted by his son.

A doctor's equipment consisted of beads, eagle feathers, a stone 756
pipe, and a deer-hoof rattle. These were carried in a sack about the 778
waist, nowadays in a suitcase. The beads were used "to see how the pain worked." Piudy thought that "eagle feathers were not always used in doctoring. We learned to use them from the people north, farther north than the Bannock." Two kinds of eagle feathers were used: a long tail feather and down from beneath the wing. The latter might be all white. Joshua said that eagle feathers were split and twisted about a thong so as not to break. They were not dyed. Sometimes the patient held the feathers; sometimes they were placed over the afflicted part. Before a doctor sang, he filled his stone pipe with tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') in order "to help his body." He removed his moccasins before smoking lest someone think him afraid of flying sparks from the fireplace.[230] The deer-hoof rattle was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Its particular function in healing is not clear, but it "helped."

It is of some interest that the usual correlation of the tambourine [534]
with shamanism does not hold for the Gidṳ̄'tikad^{a}. This rather argues for the late introduction of the drum and seems to bear out Piudy's statement that the drum "came from the north and northeast when the white people came."

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[230] Cf. Lowie, NS, 214 and SE, 215. Apparently the Cochiti practitioner removes his "shoes" before smoking, Curtis, 16:94. Miss Cora Du Bois tells me that the Wintu adhere to the same custom.

756 A shaman sings over his patient; he smokes; he calls upon his various spirits to cure:

The doctor would sing and see how the pain went. He would look and tell his medicine to stop it. He tried other medicines until one was strong enough. Then he was a little tired. He saw the patient again the next day. When the man got well he believed in the doctor.

Curing by extraction was known, but only the best shamans could do it.

Some doctors could suck out objects. They were reddish brown like pieces of meat. We watched closely because some had things in their mouths and pretended to take them out of the patient. A good doctor asked everybody to look at the things he sucked out. If a person swallowed them they made him sick. Some who did not believe swallowed them, and sickened immediately. A doctor swallowed the objects he sucked out; they did not hurt him (JB).

And further:

Only the best doctors could suck out things. When a doctor took out a snake or a bug he held it up for everyone to see, telling them when the patient would be well (P).

Treatment was usually at night, because "that is when a doctor dreams." If very ill, the patient was doctored during the day. When a shaman doubted his ability to cure, he put an arrowpoint on the coals and blew on it until it was red hot. He then took it in his hand, placed it to his mouth, and swallowed it. He did not do that if he were sure of the patient's recovery. Charlie Washo's father is said to have swallowed hot points without injury to himself.

159 Two accounts of curing follow:

756 When I was sick two years ago, Dr. Sam and Dr. Louie found me. There were many people around. I could not open my eyes. They told me, "You had better go home." I opened my eyes; all my friends were there. They gave me water to drink. My left arm and leg were stiff; I could not move. Dr. Sam and Dr. Louie both sang. They said, "Stay here; this is your own country. In the morning talk to the sun." I put white paint on my face [indicating the right cheek]. In the morning I was better. I could eat. When I was stronger I went to the sweat-house. The doctors slashed my hand and foot and let out the blood. They smoked; had eagle feathers to help them. I held the feathers.

It took me three months to get well. My boy told everybody, "My father is dying"(CW).

When I was sick two months ago, Albert Townsend's mother tried to doctor me one night, but she did not know what was wrong, and told me to go to the hospital.

Then my father and husband went to Summit lake to bring Billy Peanuts. He asked two dollars a night to treat me and wanted a pocket knife besides. He said he would not collect unless he cured.

He told them to make an open willow shade [circular enclosure] and put me in at night. They made a fire in the center, and the doctor, my father, his wife, my husband, and many other people came in. The treatment lasted until sunrise. 159 756

The doctor sang about different things—the wind and things like that—keeping time with his rattle. He was barefooted and wore a headband of eagle feathers. He put an arrowpoint tied to a feather on my chest. Wherever he put it he sucked. He seemed to draw the blood out somehow but did not suck out any object. He put a bullet on my chest. Sometimes he sucked, and the bullet went into his mouth.

He smoked cigarettes and danced around the fire, praying all the time; I don't know what he prayed to. He asked two women to dance and they skipped around. Another woman talked all night, telling them to keep on with the doctoring.

The doctor chanted, and his son told in plain Paiute what he was saying. I think they have special songs. The doctor started the singing, and his son led the people off. The son knew all the songs.[281] The doctor kept on dancing.

They did this every other night for sixteen nights (eight treatments), calling on a different spirit each night.

The doctor told me one lung was covered with blood.[282] He gave no medicine but said not to eat much meat or fruit except oranges.

Before Billy Peanuts came from Summit lake, Nettie de Gamo cured my headache. She made a hole in my forehead with an arrowpoint and let out black-looking blood. This was in the morning; she did not pray or sing. Nettie has headaches most of the time and cures herself the same way.

Before this I did not believe in an Indian doctor, and I did not want one to treat me. But I guess he saved my life.[283]

A shaman treated in his own family; two or three shamans might treat a patient. Practitioners from other tribes were not employed. 756

As payment, a shaman was given moccasins or a large deer hide, sometimes already tanned. "If a man had nothing he had to pay all the same. Then he gave the doctor a bullroarer" (CW). According to Piudy, payment was given each night at the beginning of the treatment, and the shaman retained his fee even though the patient died. Charlie said that the payment must be returned if the individual did not recover. Joshua's statement casts an interesting light on the return payment:

White doctors charge too much. The Indian doctor doesn't cost much unless he cures. You pay him $1.50, soon $2.00, then maybe $2.25. If your relative dies you say, "Give me back my money because you didn't cure." The doctor says, "Well, I give it back because you are poor. I did the best I could." Sometimes you ask for only half the money. If you made him return all, he might get angry and make you sick.

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[281] This is at variance with what I was told concerning a shaman's songs.

[282] The government doctor diagnosed her case as typhoid fever.

[283] Minnie Teham Archie, Fort Bidwell.

756 A shaman who lost many patients was regarded askance. Charlie said that an unsuccessful doctor was not killed—"The Pit River people killed their doctors; I can't understand that." Some years ago, however, his own brother, Dr. Louie (called also Old Noah), lost a case in Warner valley, Harney Spott. The man's relatives accused Noah of malpractice and attempted revenge. They succeeded in slashing him badly across the abdomen, but he recovered. He left the country, taking up residence at McDermitt, and visiting here only occasionally and for short periods. [754] When a shaman had lost many cases, and a certain patient was not improving, the family of the latter consulted another doctor. The latter would say, "Your relative is sick the same way as his other patients. It looks as though they had been poisoned (bewitched) by him." If the patient did not recover, a relative might kill the guilty shaman.

A doctor could lose his power, either by forgetting his dreams or by other means as, for example, through contact with menstrual blood. Dr. Sam said:

> I cannot cure now because my own people did not do what I told them. Years ago when I was young I doctored with a deer-hoof rattle and eagle feathers; nowadays I treat with medicine like a white doctor. I cured a farmer here from Portland with the help of a white doctor two years ago.

When a shaman lost two or three cases he began to doubt the efficacy of his power.

789 Ideas on contagious magic were not well developed. According to Piudy, "Perhaps once in a while a man could make a person sick with a piece of hair, throwing it away. I am not sure." Care was taken in the disposal of hair clippings but not from fear of sorcery. When an individual cut his hair he buried it beneath a small sagebrush bush. Then he jumped over the bush, trying not to touch it. If he accomplished this, his hair would grow "nice and long." I was told that nowadays people do not burn their hair combings for fear of death, but Piudy affirmed, "This is just a new idea. They never thought of that in the old days." Nail parings were not considered a possible source of danger.

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756 A shaman could cause an enemy to fall ill; formerly this was the only kind of sickness known. A person might hire a shaman to "poison" someone. He called upon his spirits and if the man fell ill, "then you believed in that doctor." White people could not be "poisoned."

A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
[presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787
sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the
poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had 756
to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim
would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753
not generally recognized:

Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul 756
is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[284] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755
required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^a (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752
once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Pindy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

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[284] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

752 sucked a wound. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time. He did not have to cut or suck the wound. He told it not to swell. The rattlesnake was his friend; he dreamed about him; and he carried one around his neck all the time. He put Star chewing tobacco on the bite." Daisy also spoke of a "doctor who was like a snake charmer" and who was the only one able to cure snake bite.

755 No one but a shaman attempted to treat nosebleed. Daisy said, "They must have a special doctor for that, but there are none living now. A doctor used mostly horsehair; he told the patient to tie his head with it."

Headache resulted when blood in the head was "too thick," and for relief the forehead between the eyes was slashed and the blood let. This was performed by "somebody who knew how," presumably a shaman, although Nettie de Gamo, who gives this treatment nowadays, is not so regarded. For earache or for deafness, a shaman blew tobacco (pubi′-pa'mo′) smoke in the patient's ear to clear the passages.

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279 A broken bone was enclosed in two or three flat splints bound on with deer hide. The crushed leaves of kusi′agũp^{a} (said to be the same as a'gũ′, *Wyethia mollis* Gray) were applied as a poultice. The same medicine was used for sprains and to reduce swellings. As an alternative treatment for the latter, one might apply the mashed leaves of bawa′natizua (*Chaenactis douglasii* H. and A.) or of wada′^{a}-kwasi′ (squirrel-tail; *Achillea millefolium* var. *lanulosa* Piper). The crushed root of do″sa^{aba} (*Leptotaenia multifida* Nutt.) was a remedy for both sores and swellings. For sores, one might use a poultice of mashed leaves of na˙mogu˙đ (*Penstemon deustus* Dougl.) or a salve of the roots of dotsi′toniga (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.).

Deep cuts were washed with tea of sagebrush leaves. The blue-tailed skink (puhi′-kwida′mugus; green, blue-lizard) was dried, powdered, and sprinkled on deep cuts. Tũba′sũp roots were dried, pounded, and spread over bruises. Blisters were opened but were given no other treatment. For burns, tũba′sũp or a powder of burned cat-tail pods was helpful. Roots or leaves of ya′pa′-gwana′b^{a} were chewed and applied to bee stings. Informants had not heard of skunk bite. Sometimes a coyote with rabies would bite a dog and it in turn would bite a person. There was no known cure for such cases; shamans and medicines were ineffectual.

There was no remedy for frost bite.

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Granulated eyelids were scraped with the rough edge of split rye grass. A wash for sore eyes was made by soaking the leaves of wada'^{a}-kwasi' in water.

For toothache, the leaves of wada'^{a}-kwasi' were chewed; or the roots of tüba'süp were roasted, dried, pulverized, and the powder dampened and rubbed on the face.

There is a large series of cold remedies. A mixture of balsam (to'sa^a) and tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') was smoked for bad colds, even by children. A potion made from the boiled roots of dotsi'toniga or of the mashed leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^a was drunk for a cold. The leaves of nettles (kwiba'nop^a) were mashed, boiled, and used as a medicine; also for colds, Susie thought. An infusion from the crushed leaves of rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus viscidiflorus* Nutt.) was effective if one drank it or bathed in it. Crushed leaves of *Artemisia vulgaris ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Hall and Clements, were applied to the chest or other parts of the body as a cold remedy. Leaves of young sage and juniper were boiled, either separately or mixed. The brewed leaves were used as a compress and the tea drunk for colds, coughs, and sore throat. It was especially good for children and infants. For coughs or sore throat, one chewed the leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^a; they tasted badly but they were chewed until the flavor was gone. Seeds of bati'p^i (*Paeonia brownii* Dougl.) were soaked for use as a cough medicine. The roots (?) of an unidentified plant called puzu'^{a}, said to grow only near Beatty, were either chewed or else boiled and the liquid drunk as a cough remedy. This medicine had a "pretty strong" taste.

Piudy did not know of a febrifuge, but Daisy thought that a brew of tüba'süp would be helpful.

A number of remedies for stomach complaints follow. When a person was nauseated and "sick all over" he drank a beverage made from the dried roots of bati'p^i. For stomachache, he drank a tea of the boiled leaves of kusi'agüp^a or of tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo'); or else chewed the seeds of ya'pa'-gwana'b^a. White paint was chewed as a remedy for diarrhea; this was especially good for babies and small children.

Badger fat roasted on the coals was eaten for heart trouble. For the same ailment, small, black, malodorous beetles (pipu's), called stink bugs, were sucked. Although they tasted "pretty bad" they were generally beneficial. Perry Parker is said to have cured himself of heart trouble by sucking them.

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Rheumatism was a common and a dreaded ailment, but there were a few remedies. Susie Archie knew of persons who had whipped the affected parts with nettles, and after the inflammation subsided, the rheumatism was gone. She had been urged to try this, but could not steel herself to do it. The sweat bath, it was said, helped rheumatism as did also the "hot bed" made of heated stones covered with juniper boughs and blankets.

A drink made of the boiled roots of tüba'süp or of oha'nazagodidi[255] (*Berberis repens* Lindl.) was taken for venereal disease; a drink from the boiled roots of do"sa^{aha}, for tuberculosis.

SOUL, ABODE OF DEAD, GHOSTS

775 When Nora and Piudy were asked concerning the human soul, they conferred and said, "They name it the same as the breath, soñü'p^{a}." However, when Joshua was questioned, he called the soul mu'gwa, which agrees with the terms recorded by Lowie[256] for several Shoshonean groups. Concerning the two terms, Joshua said:

> When a man dies his mu'gwa leaves and never returns. His soñü'p^{a} breaks up and goes when he dies. If a man is half dead his soñü'p^{a} is still there; his mu'gwa is half gone. The doctor tries to put it back.[257] When the mu'gwa leaves it hovers around. I do not know where it is in the body.

[821] At death the soul goes above; it travels south along the Milky way to the abode of the dead. I was asked at this point if white people also go above, because when the shaman searches for souls of half-dead people "he see only Indians there." The abode of the dead is unnamed; all Paiute go there regardless of moral character and mode of death. It is "like this earth, but there is lots of green grass there; people never grow old; and everything is nice."

A dead man is addressed thus, "Go off. Goodbye (native?). You have a good country there." A dead person sometimes returns looking for his things. There is particular danger of this if the relatives have been careless about burning his property. Charlie Washo said, "About twelve years ago someone died and came back. He came to the door, but I could not see him. I was not afraid though. Perhaps they had not burned his things." Charlie went on to tell of an experience he once had when visiting in Alturas. He was asleep and his blankets were pulled from him. He got up and rearranged them, but the

same thing happened again. "I was badly scared. I thought perhaps a dead man had come back; maybe there was something of his in there. I don't know." 775

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[255] Oha', yellow, having reference to the color of the peeled root.

[256] SE, 296; and NS, 226.

[257] By going into a trance and searching for the soul.

According to Joshua:

> I have never seen a ghost. They say you hear them. Once Charlie Washo and I were going up a hill looking for a pony. We came to a clump of service and heard a noise like singing. We stood still. Charlie said, "We had better run." He ran off. I stood there and I waved for him to come. He came but we did not go up to the bushes. I don't know what we heard.

On the other hand, I was told that a ghost appears only when someone is sick and about to die. If a person dreams of a ghost he will probably fall sick. He can, however, ward off the ill effects by using mushrooms or "a brown stuff which is found in the fields but does not grow there" (fungus?). Both of these are known as tsoũ'p-bisha (tsoũ'p, ghost; bisha, powder). The powder is taken from the center of the mushroom or from the fungus and is tossed upon one's head to frighten off the spirits.

The following suggests a distinction between ghost and spirit: 775

> Tsa'ab^{a} is nearly the same as tsoũ'p.[238] I knew a man who was drunk. The ghost (tsa'ab^{a}) of his mother touched him on the leg. It swelled and the next day he was dead. Some might have cured him by sucking. 787 776

This suggests that tsa'ab^{a} may refer to a ghost proper; tsoũ'p to spirits that were never in human body; but further examples would be necessary before one could be certain.

According to Piudy, when a person sees a ghost, he sees the individual himself, not his spirit or soul. In response to a question concerning dream experiences, he said, "I have never heard anybody say anything about what they saw in dreams. All they know is what they dream." About the same holds for one's reflection in water. Great hilarity resulted from a suggestion that it might be the soul. Piudy said, "They never say what it is they see but it is *not* the soul."

MISCELLANEOUS MAGICAL BELIEFS

There is a considerable series of beliefs concerning natural phenomena. The rainbow (piũ'gtũkwinũb) presages rain. A person did not point at a rainbow for fear of making his finger sore. Earthquakes were unknown in the old days but not so eclipses. Joshua had heard that in early times "the sun once stopped and everything was dark for a day or two. The people made a slow match and went 789 821

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[238] This term looks suspiciously like sofũ'p^{a}, p. 198.

789 around camp to see if everyone were alive." An eclipse is called
821 tabe-yü'iwan (ta'be, sun); they say the sun is dying.

It aggravates the thunder (nünia'ba) "if you shout, laugh, and talk. The thunder gets worse and it may chase you." Lightning is of special danger to a menstruating woman and often fatal to a woman with child. The echo is wahi'pi-naka'u (shout-hear). It is someone "calling back."

538 The animals of the tales—Coyote, Wolf, Frog, Rattlesnake, and
821 others—are said to be in the moon. Minnie Anderson sees a frog in the moon. A circle about the moon foretells rain.

827, A sneeze indicates that a person of the opposite sex is thinking of
one. Ringing of the ears is of evil portent. "That is a dead spirit
787 shouting in your ears; probably a friend is dying." A wink is of no significance; "they learned that from the white people." When a person's eyes twitch, "he is going to see something. When a man is going hunting and his eye twitches, he says, 'I know I shall see game today.'" An itching palm has no meaning. Bad luck is associated with twitching of an under-knee muscle. When a hunter experiences this it means he will not see game. If a woman is going to play a card game and her knee twitches, she will surely have bad luck. Twitching of the calf muscles indicates that a stranger is coming. If the arch of the foot twitches it means that someone is coming on horseback (contact with the stirrup).

787 A number of omens mentioned by Nora Henderson follow:

> 825 When a frog whistles (not croaks), people say, "You are going to have bad news."
>
> When the coyote barks strangely, someone will sicken and die.
>
> When the owl barks like a dog, something bad will happen. Once when I was near Adel, on my way to Likely, an owl in a clump of willows south of us barked and then hooted. We knew we would get bad news from the south. That night we stopped at Alturas and heard that someone in Likely had been killed.
>
> Once my aunt, Daisy Brown, heard a whistle by the creek. She looked around and saw a snake making the noise. She felt badly, knowing she would get bad news, and I think she told me that she did.
>
> When it is a little cloudy, and the meadowlark sits on the ground and goes, "prrrrrr," it is going to rain. They say this is really true.
>
> If the first meadowlarks from the south have bright yellow spots on their breasts there will be plenty of a'gä'.

A centipede is called i'wü-mai'i (many-hands). If a person picks up a centipede "he may get that many hands." If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will follow that person and get in bed with him. "They always say that this is really true."

The Gidü'tikadᵃ share the Pyramid Lake and Ute belief[259] that the horned toad can kill a rattlesnake. According to Joshua: 825

> The horned toad looks like a doctor. Many people have seen him kill a rattlesnake. The rattlesnake was ready to strike. The horned toad came alongside from behind, and got under him and cut him in two with his horn. The snake could not turn quickly enough.

No danger was attached to eating deer left by a mountain lion or rabbits left by a coyote. "It's all right; there is no harm." [262]

A neat example of contagious magic is to be seen in the following: 789

> The Indians used to have horse races. When a mare was to have a colt, and they wanted it to be a good racer, they killed an antelope because it is a fast runner, and rubbed the water (?) from it on the belly of the horse.

Certain beliefs concerning hair clippings have already been mentioned.[260] Minnie Anderson thought gray hair would result from burning hair combings. If one slept with his head to the fire, his front hair would turn white.

Children threw deciduous teeth toward the moon with shut eyes to make the second teeth come quickly. 801

As Lowie has indicated,[261] the Paviotso pattern number is five.

WEATHER CONTROL

Weather control consisted principally in means and devices to make the snow melt. Several accounts follow: 789

> The mother of Tadagaiᵗ[262] could make the snow melt. She cried like a stallion, took a firebrand of sagebrush, and pointed it toward the south, saying, "Come on, rain; come on, rain!" She did not dance. The wind blew, the rain came, and the snow began to melt (P).
>
> You must not boil cottontail because it brings snow; you must fry or roast it. Once some old men were going to boil cottontail and they told me to stand outside. In my hand I had a bullroarer made from a dried juniper limb. It was about two inches wide and six inches long. It was not notched. Two or three black marks ran crosswise on the face. A stick, like a handle, was tied to the end of its thong.
>
> I blew the water, in which the cottontail was boiling, south, saying, "Come, rain and wind." It was winter, a long time ago, before any white men were here; I was a small boy, born in the middle of summer when it was hot. That is why they had me do this (to counteract their boiling cottontail).
>
> There is no way to keep snow from coming. Porcupine brings snow.[263] You roast the meat and when you have eaten it, you mash the bones. Then it will snow (P).

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[259] Lowie, SE, 298. [260] P. 189. [261] SE, 295.

[262] "Tadagaiᵗ means one dollar; I don't know how she got such a name" (P).

[263] Cf. Kelly, tales no. 15*a*, 15*b*.

789 When the snow was deep and did not melt, they asked a man born in summer to make the wind blow. He had a stake about eight inches long, which he whirled over his head. This is called tüsa'ibidun. He stood outside the house and tried to call the south wind. He talked, then stopped; then he did it again (JB).

To make the snow melt is called tüsa'ibidun. Not all doctors could do this, perhaps only one man or woman. Someone would say, "Who can make the snow melt? How much do you want? Some beads, a belt? I'll give you that if you make the snow melt in one or two days." You say, "Well, I'll do the best I can." Then you sing. You have a stick, maybe a burned stick. You face south; you shout and talk to the wind. You say, "Friend." You point with the stick (koso'-tuhubi, fire-coal). It makes a little wind come. You say, "You see this coal; you see this fire." The wind comes, maybe in an hour or two. Then everybody believes in your power (JB).

In the old days they tried to bring wind to melt the snow. They used a piece of juniper where the lightning had broken it off. Sometimes the wind came from the southwest (south?) (CW).

Sometimes a woman doctor would dance and sing until she got a real sweat. She talked; she waved her hand to the west. Then the rain came and the snow began to melt. I know no way to make the rain stop. A man whirls a bullroarer (kwi'mo) to bring a warm wind to melt the snow (MA).

They used to boil snowshoes to bring rain; nowadays they fry them. This is called "killing the snowshoes" (NH).[284]

Joshua had not seen anyone stop a thunder storm, but he had heard of its having been done:

The old people told me about stopping thunder. When the thunder comes close, they say to someone born in summer, "Put on your paint and go outside. When the thunder starts, when the lightning starts, step out quickly and look at them. Motion to them; tell them, 'Go over there.' " Then they will go away.

SWEATING

343 The sweat-house is called topi'-nava'gia (topi', tüpi', stone; nava'gia,
515 bathe). Joshua gave pu"sat and mi'rhot^u as synonyms, but topi'-nava'gia is the favored term and the only one I have noted in conversation.

The sweat-house frame shown in plate 19*b* is about four feet in diameter and tall enough to allow one to sit upright. No particular entrance is discernible. Other frames which I have examined are bound round with one or two willow withes. In the background of the plate can be seen the stack of canvas, old clothing, and the like, which serves to cover the lodge when sweating is in progress. Formerly the covering was rye grass, sagebrush, willow, or possibly an old deerskin or blanket.

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[284] I was unable to verify this. The practice is unknown to other informants.

Stones were heated near-by and placed to one side in the lodge, "otherwise there would not be enough room for two persons." Before water was applied, the rocks were allowed to stand a few minutes, lest the inmates be scalded. If the heat of the steam became unbearable, a little cold water was put on the head, or else the head was poked out beneath the lodge covering for a moment's respite. One informant said that young sagebrush was broken and that the sweaters dipped it in water and whipped themselves with it. 343 515

Cold water following the sweat bath was optional:

> Old men who like it, jumped in the cold water. You might catch pneumonia. Too much steam made you weak.

Sweating was principally by men, although a few women are said to have sweated occasionally. "Sometimes a woman would go in with her husband, but not often. Perhaps three or four women would go together. Young girls never sweated." At the present time sweating as an active institution is indulged in by a few of the older men. I found no evidence for de Angulo's assertion[265] that "even now the custom is not well established and that some of the older men frown upon it." In fact, nowadays sweating seems to have rather strong religious associations which quite outweigh the medicinal or purely social functions, although these two factors do figure.

> In the old days they sweated whenever they felt like it and before they went hunting. It made the body strong. Some say they went there to cure, but I do not think so.[266]

Mourners occasionally sweated, but this custom seems to have been neither general nor well established. [765]

When sweating, a person prays to the sun, composing his prayer to suit his needs. He usually asks for health and for success in the chase. A prayer is said to be somewhat as follows: [782]

> My father, the Sun, help me a little. Make me strong. Give me deer meat. Help me kill deer and antelope.

If a person is not in good health he prays thus to the sun:

> I like this country. Make me well; make me strong. I do not want to be sick.

I do not know if an address of this sort is repeated indefinitely or if a person has a whole series of such prayers. I happened within ear-shot of a sweat-house which was in use and the praying was continuous, in a monotone that almost approached a chant.

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[265] P. 318.

[266] "Sweating is good for rheumatism and things like that" (P). And also p. 198.

343 515 It is considered especially fit that one sweat on Sunday. This interesting secondary association is so firmly entrenched that I was asked if white people talk to the sun on Sundays as do the Indians. Association of the sweat-house with the sun might be worth tracing.

[177] Regarding the origin of the sweat-house, de Angulo[267] states, "But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. 'It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians' is the reply I have received from many people." He does not make it clear to just which tribe the statement applies—his Pit River, Klamath-Modocs, or Paiutes—but presumably it refers to the latter. In that case, forty years seems rather too low an estimate. Although I questioned virtually every informant upon the point, Piudy was the only one who had ever heard that sweating was other than indigenous. He said:

> I heard that the sweat-house came this way from far in the northeast on the edge of big water. This was long ago, before my time. Before the Paiute learned to sweat they just bathed in the river.

[773] Other informants invariably declared that the Gidǖ'tikad^{ü} had always sweated, and a number attributed the practice to Coyote or otherwise linked it with myth. When Dr. Sam was asked concerning the origin of the sweat-house, he related the following tale:

> In the old days birds were persons. Eagle was hunting deer. They killed nothing. Then they spoke to a little bird like an owl, called topi'.[268] Eagle told him to heat rocks. Then they all sweated in a sweat-house that the little bird built. And the next time they killed many deer. That is how they learned to sweat. Talk to the sun while you are in the sweat-house; that is your god.

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[267] P. 318.

[268] This term is of interest because of its possible connection with topi'-nava'gia, sweat-house. The suggestion is obvious: either the tale results from secondary association, or the translation of topi'-nava'gia as rock-bathe is a folk etymology.

APPENDIX

There are here appended two verbatim testimonies which resulted from the desire of informants to place on record the events attending their dispossession by the whites, the one topic upon which unsolicited information was volunteered. 115

1. TESTIMONY (P: NH)

I want to tell how the whites came here. The whites took a man named Wiwu from this side of Malheur and asked him, "How about this man Ochiho (Gidü'tikadᵃ chief)?" He said, "Don't kill Ochiho, just capture him." These whites were coming here with lots of soldiers. They made ten Indians come too. 173

Johnny Cook (General Crook?), a white man with no right arm, was head of the soldiers. Another man was called Johnny Howard. They came from the north but not into this valley. They caught Ochiho gathering roots at Atkukwi'b, a mountain across from Plush.

The soldiers told him, "Let's have no more war. Let's both drink this water from the springs and rivers. You people, don't steal anything belonging to the whites. Put your bows and arrows under your blankets, and I'll put away my gun." He said more, "You have nice land here. You steal the white people's things. That's why they sent me here to capture you. Both of us (whites and Indians) will use this timber for fires; both can let our horses eat the grass. We'll be friends and eat together."

After this the white people came. They made a fence and pushed these Indians out. That's all.

Ochiho always wore a leather bag the soldiers made for his papers. They wanted these Indians to go to the Klamath reservation. Finally Ochiho said, "My father and my mother died here. I want to stay." They asked, "Where are your children going to school?" He said, "I don't want my children to go away. I want them to go to school here." That's how they had the school here after the soldiers left.

Some white inspector came from the south and talked to Ochiho, saying he had come from Washington to see if the Indians were behaving well. Old Ochiho said, "You talk to me like that! I think you come from down the valley, not from Washington," and he slammed that leather bag down. After Ochiho died, Dick Ochiho and his wife destroyed the papers in that bag.

2. TESTIMONY (SW:DC)

It is seventy years since I realize what is good for me. Beyond that I don't know. I am about eighty-one years old; I was a full grown man at the time of the Modoc war.

Beyond my age there wasn't a white man in this country. There might have been some in the east, but not here.

The Indians rested the seventh day like white people. Then they had a dance or worship. They danced around a big pole[289] . . . . after which they made the doctor tell what they had done that was wrong, and then they would thrash them. That's the way they did long ago.

---

[289] Here follows the account of the shaman who foretold the coming of the whites, p. 189.

In those days the Indians traveled all year around. They were never starving; they had a bow and arrow. The women gathered roots and seeds, put them in sacks of sagebrush and deer hide, and buried them in the ground for winter use.

The Paiute made moccasins of badger skin, coon skin too. Other Indians had a harder time. An old Modoc told what a hard time they had. In winter the women got frozen legs, but they didn't mind. Wealthy women stuffed their moccasins with sagebrush bark. That's what we did.

These Paiute were living by Summer lake and Silver lake when the white people came. They began gathering the Paiute in order to make a treaty. The Paiute have been here on the (Klamath) reservation ever since. When they brought them here, the government told the headman, Chocktoot, to keep his people on this reservation. "If you keep your promise, some day I'll give you a saw-mill and a flour-mill and a blacksmith shop." So this old man agreed. The government told him to get all his people to come here. They told Ochiho to come too, but he stayed only a little while. Then he went back to his own country. The government said, "You invite all the Paiute to come here. Then I'll let you go to your own country near Paisley and Summer lake." But Chocktoot had agreed to stay right here and he did it. The people from Burns had six chiefs among them. They told them they were too many, so they had better stay where they were.

Since Chocktoot made this agreement, the troubles quieted down and we live peaceably now. I know all this agreement. I know it to be a fact. I feel like Chocktoot himself.

Transmitted April 30, 1931.

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1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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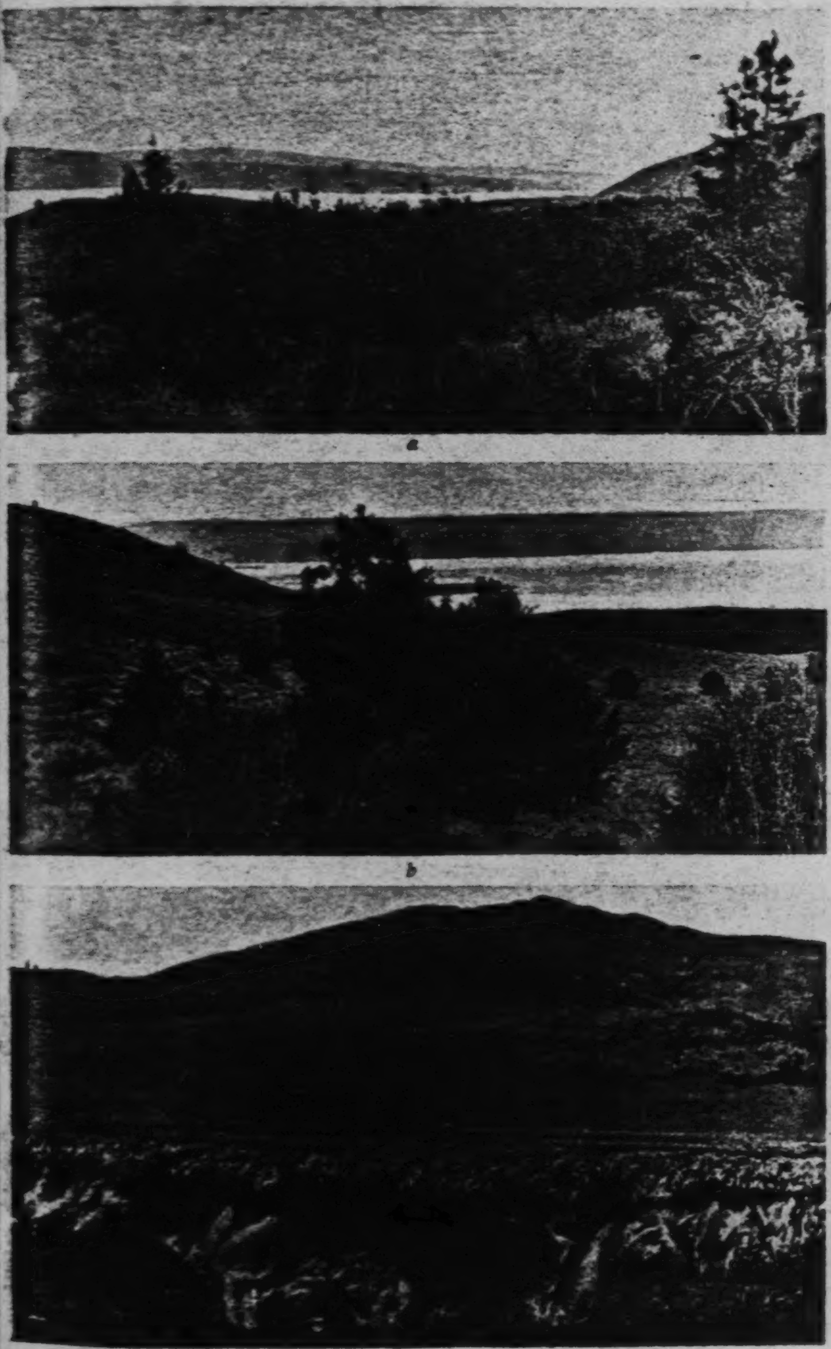

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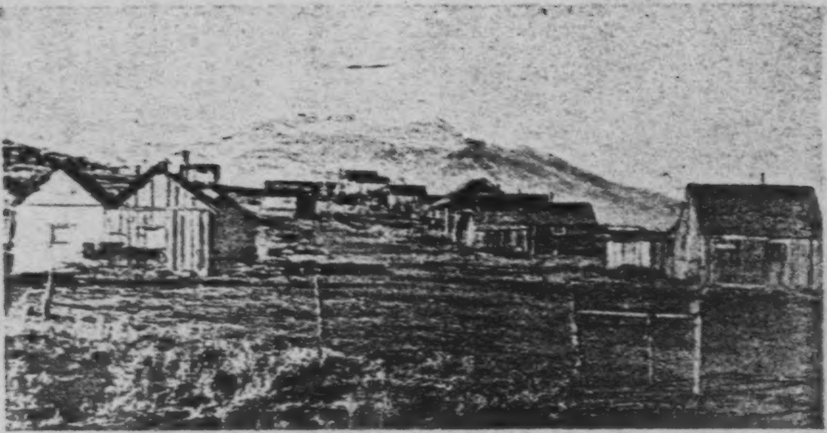

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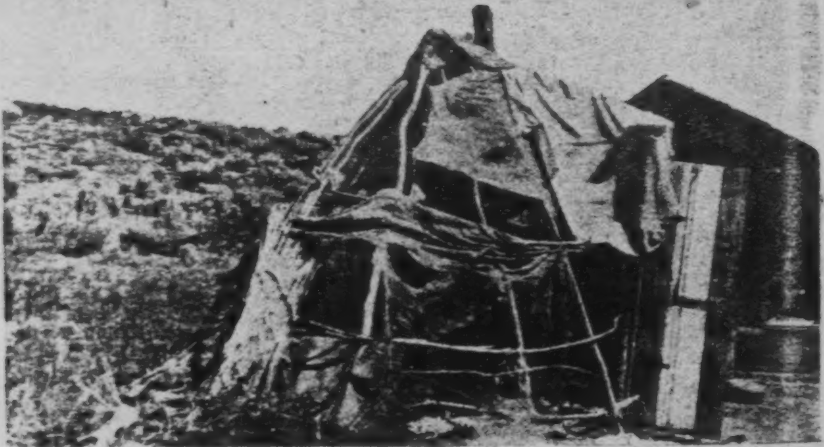

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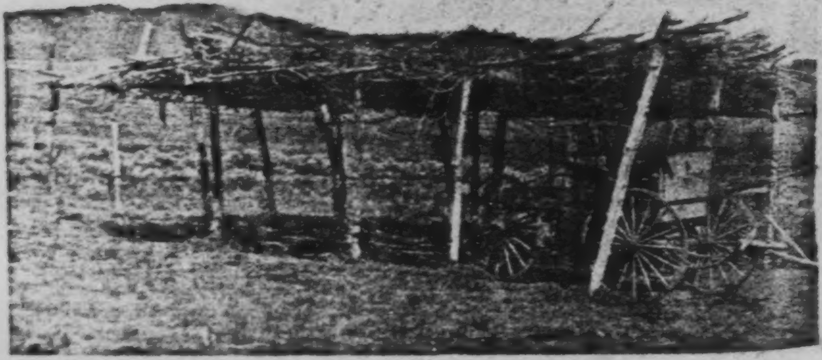

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HABITATIONS AND [illegible]

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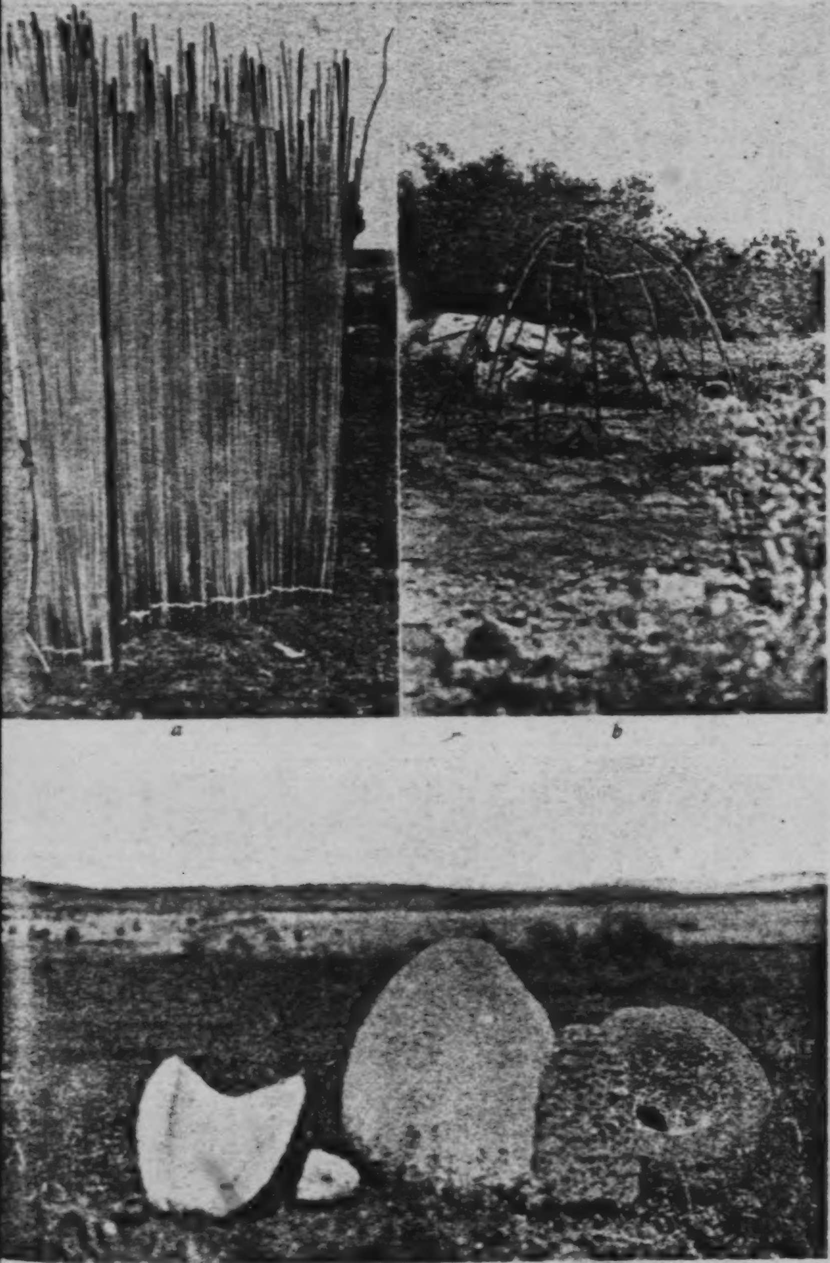

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MATERIAL CULTURE

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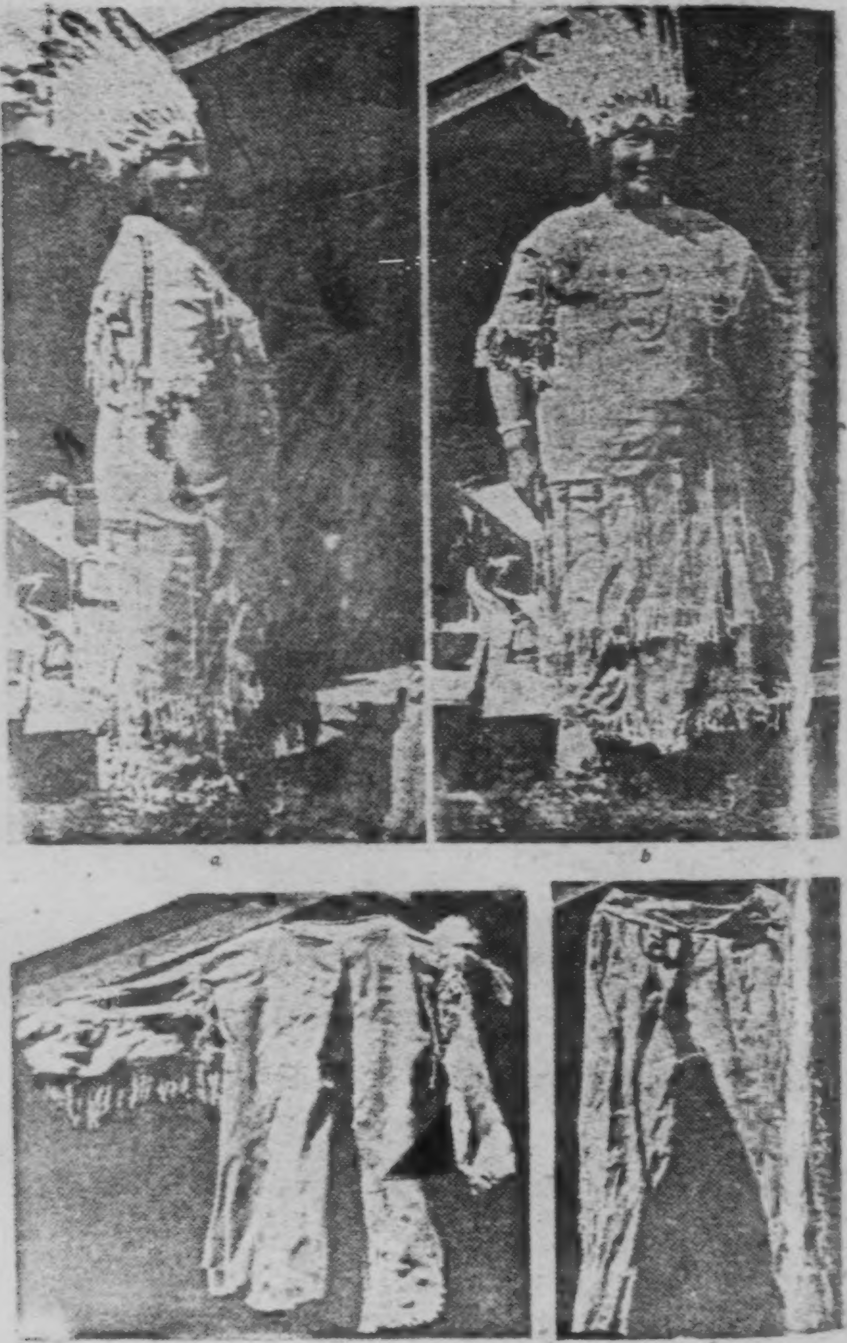

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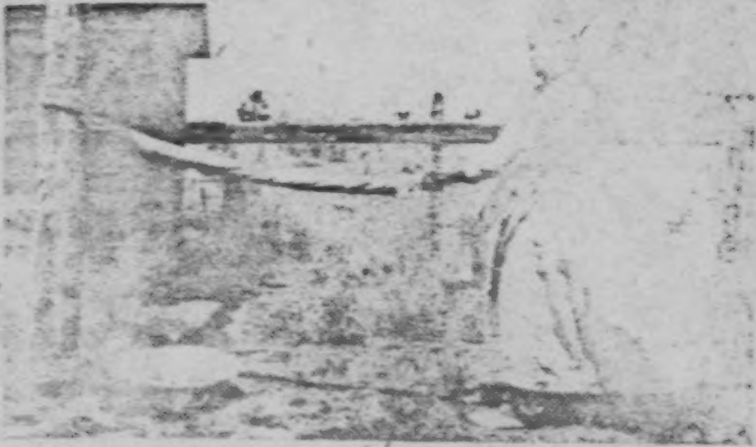
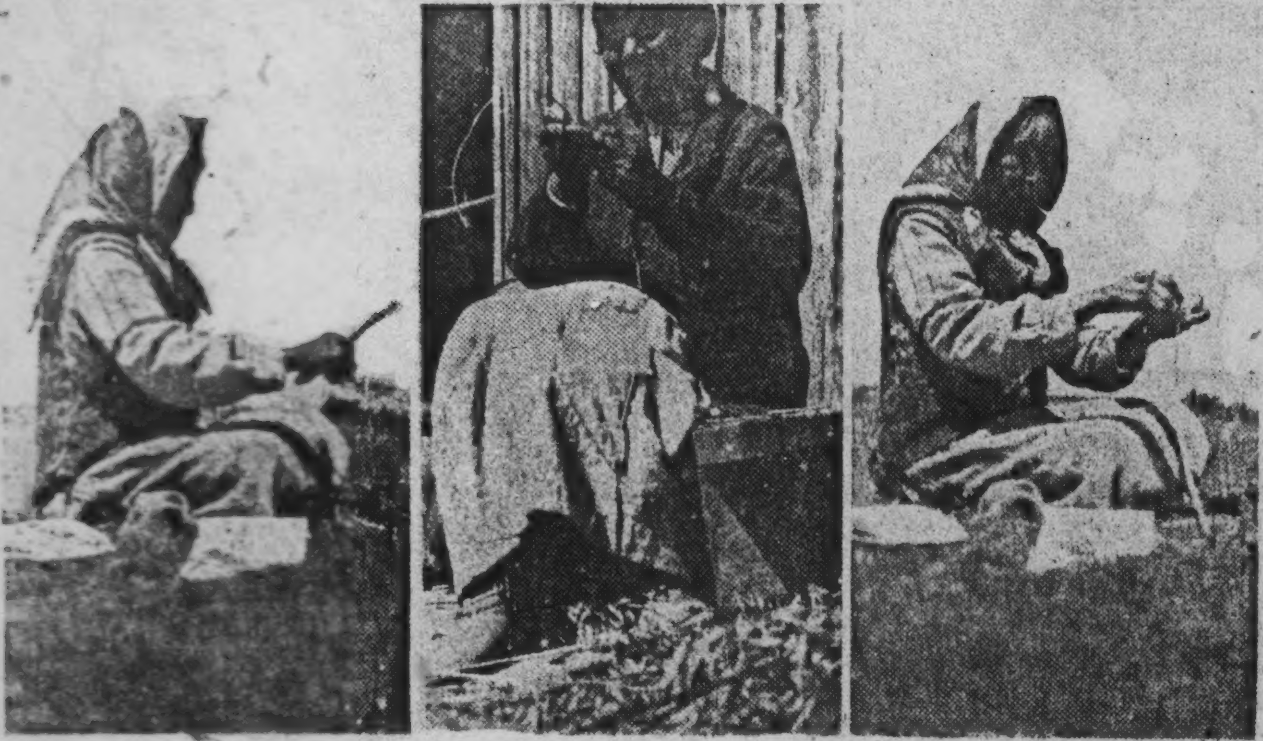


210e CRAFTS: SKIN WORKING; BASKETRY



PREPARATION OF BASKET MATERIALS

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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1; Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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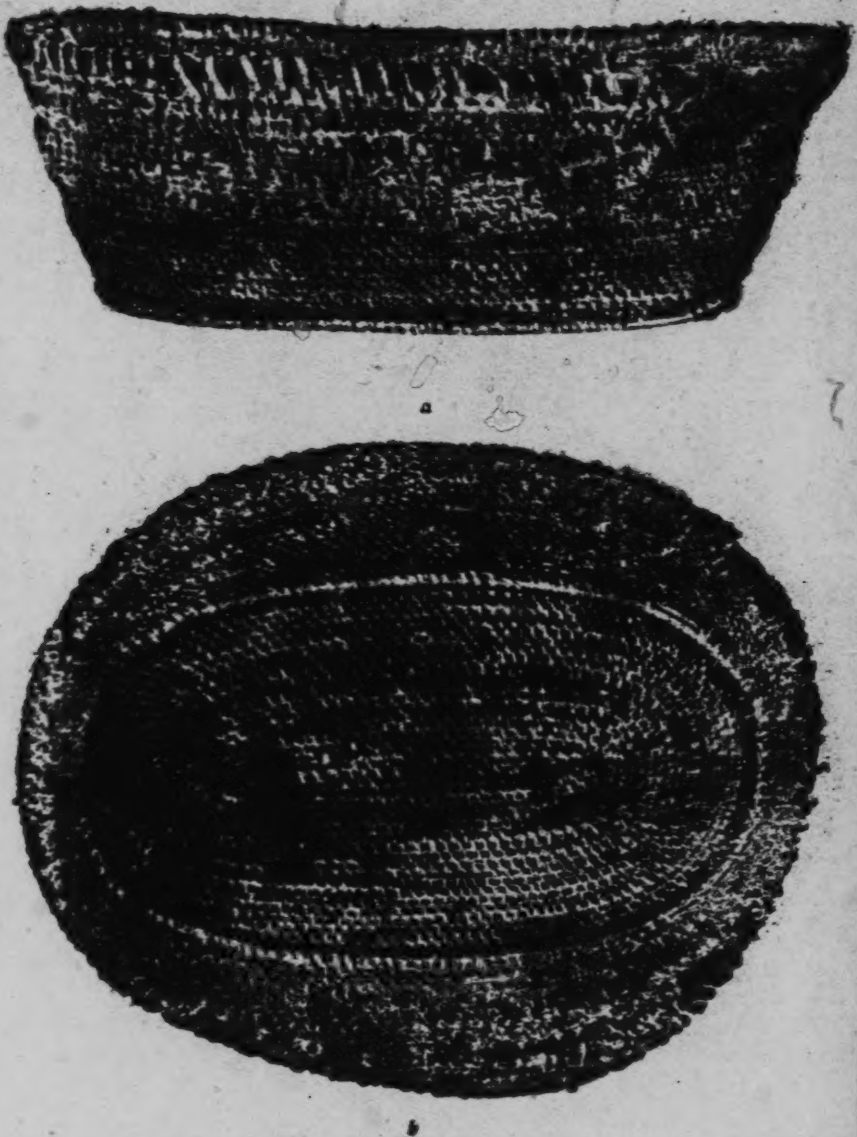

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1: Kelly .5 (1930) 1934 **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

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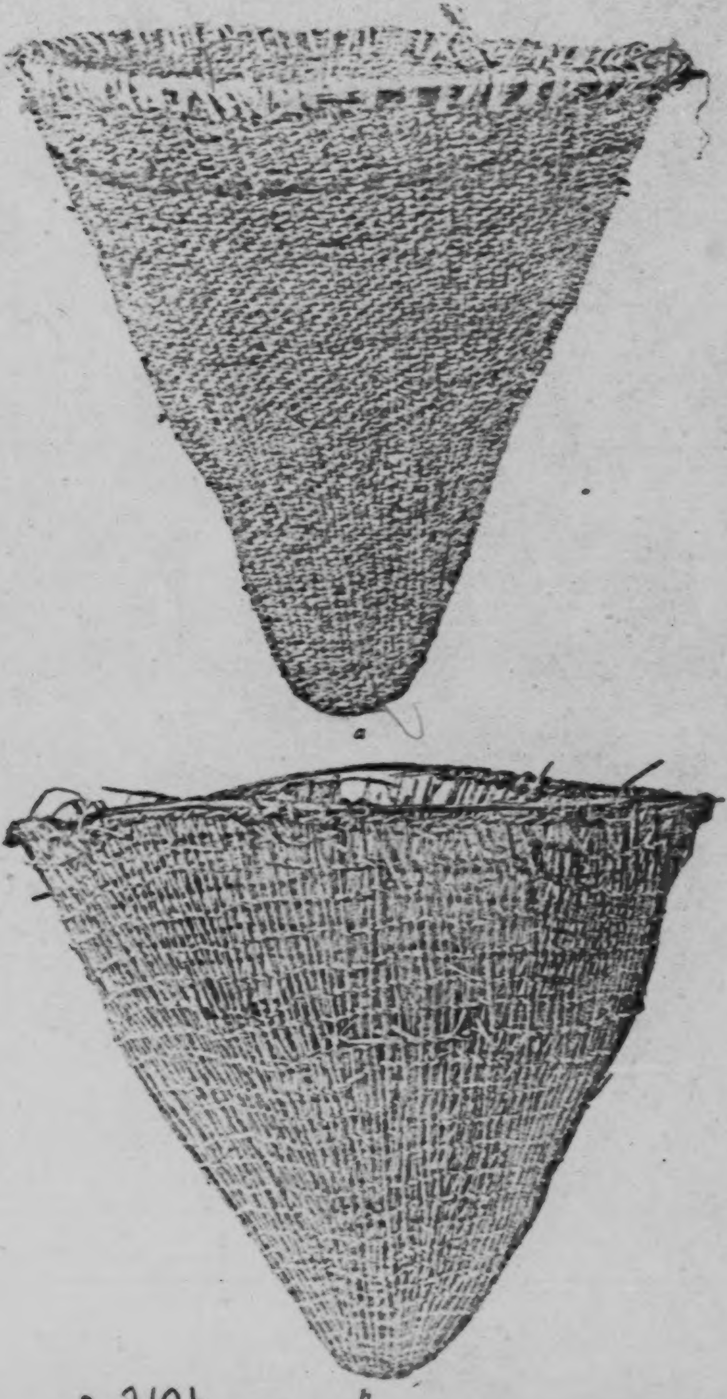

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CONICAL BURDEN BASKETS

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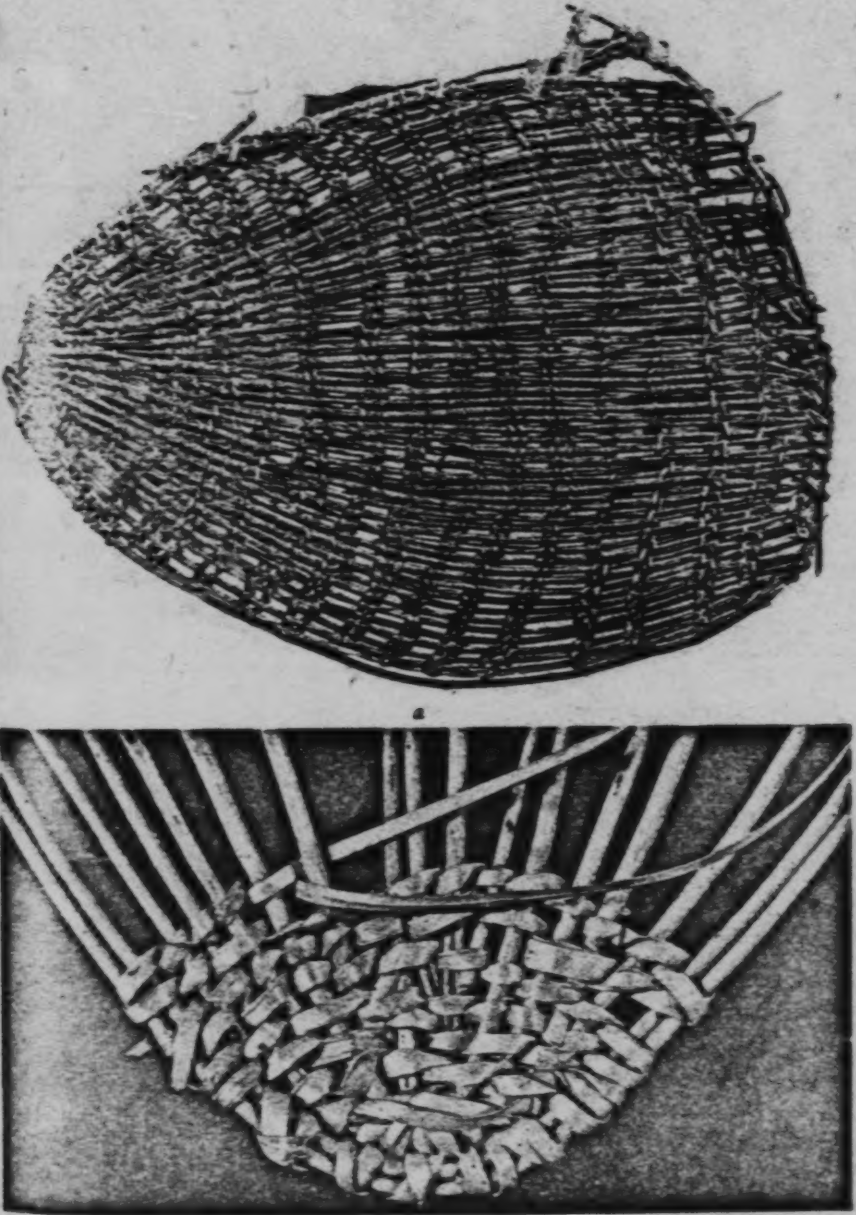

GRATING TRAY; START OF PARCHING TRAY

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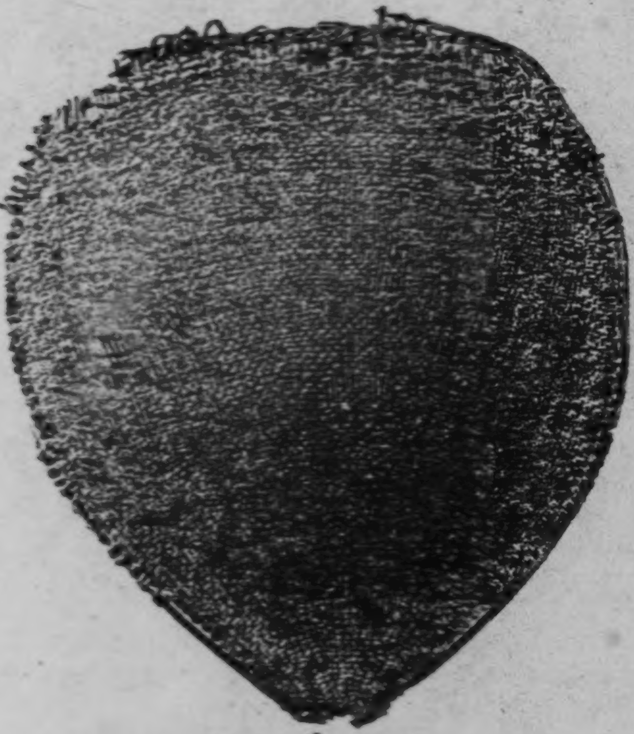

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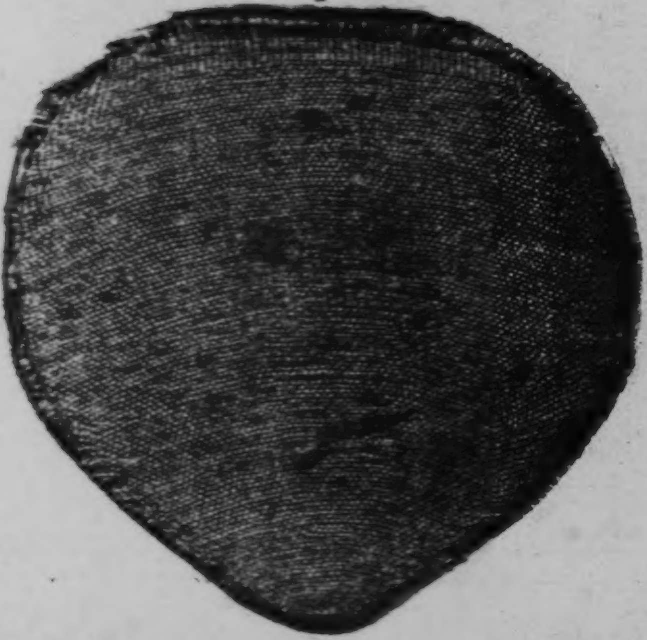

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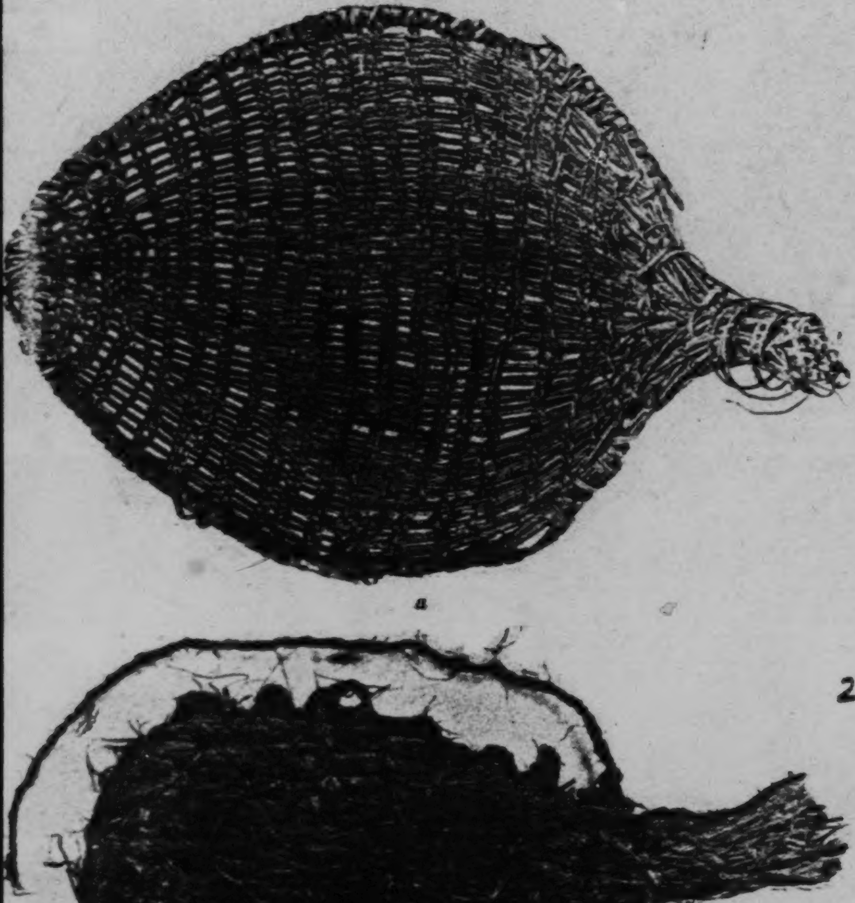

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SEED BEATER; SAGEBRUSH BARK MOCCASIN

p 210 k

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
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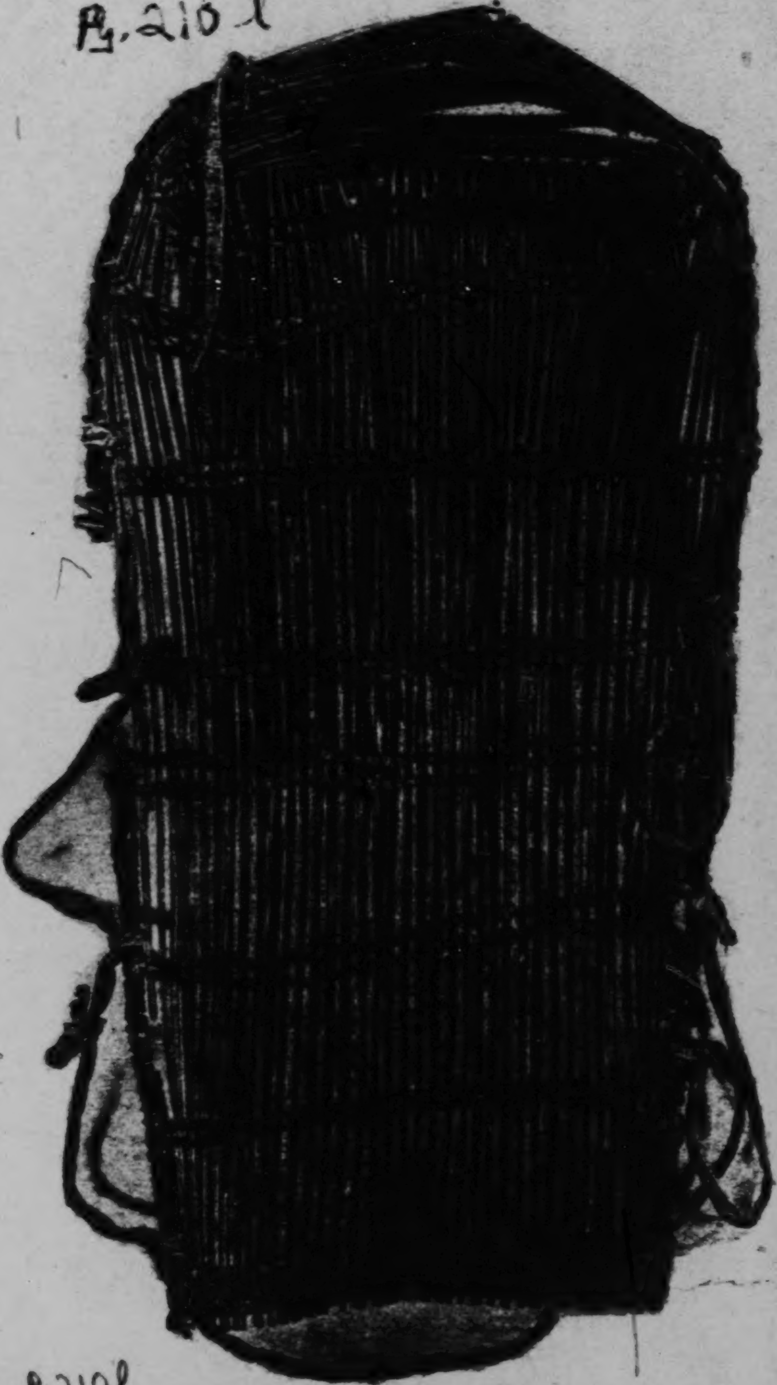

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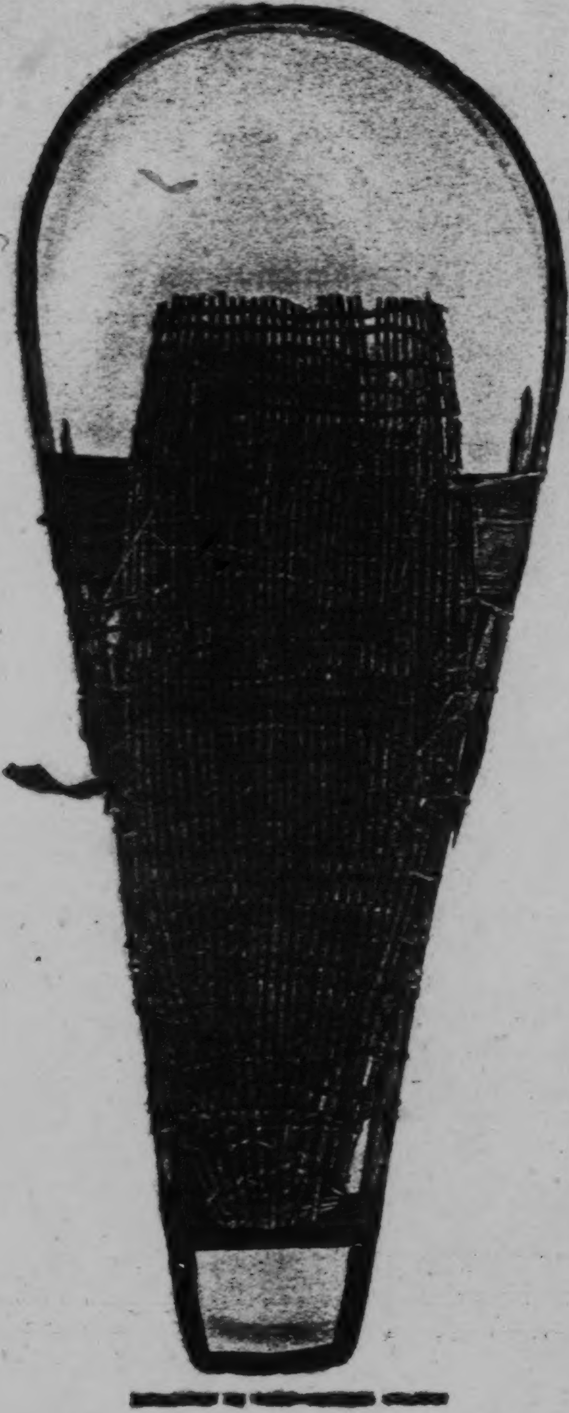

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Surprise Valley

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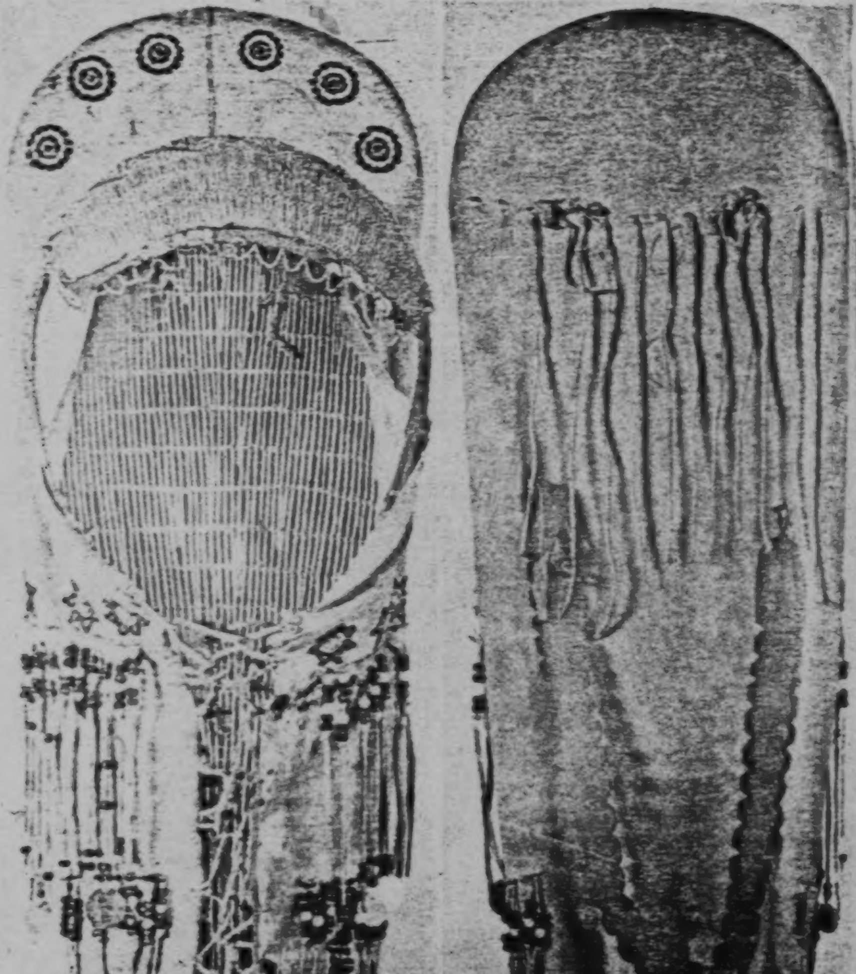

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
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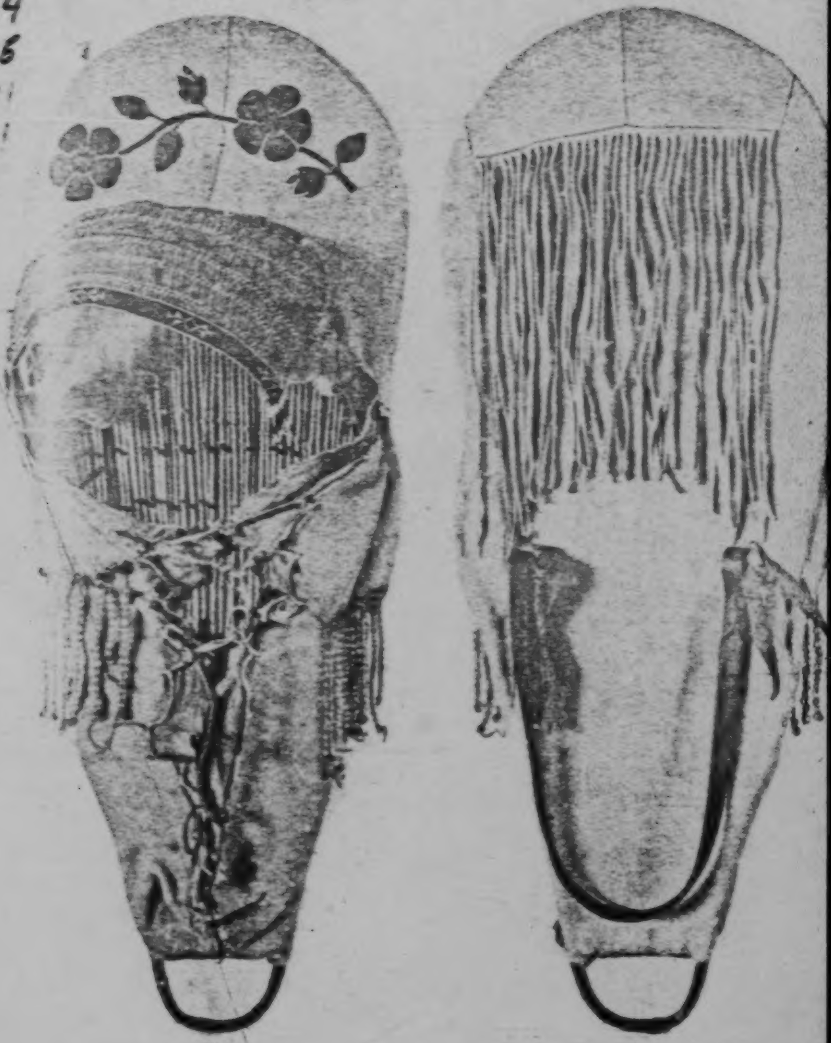

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

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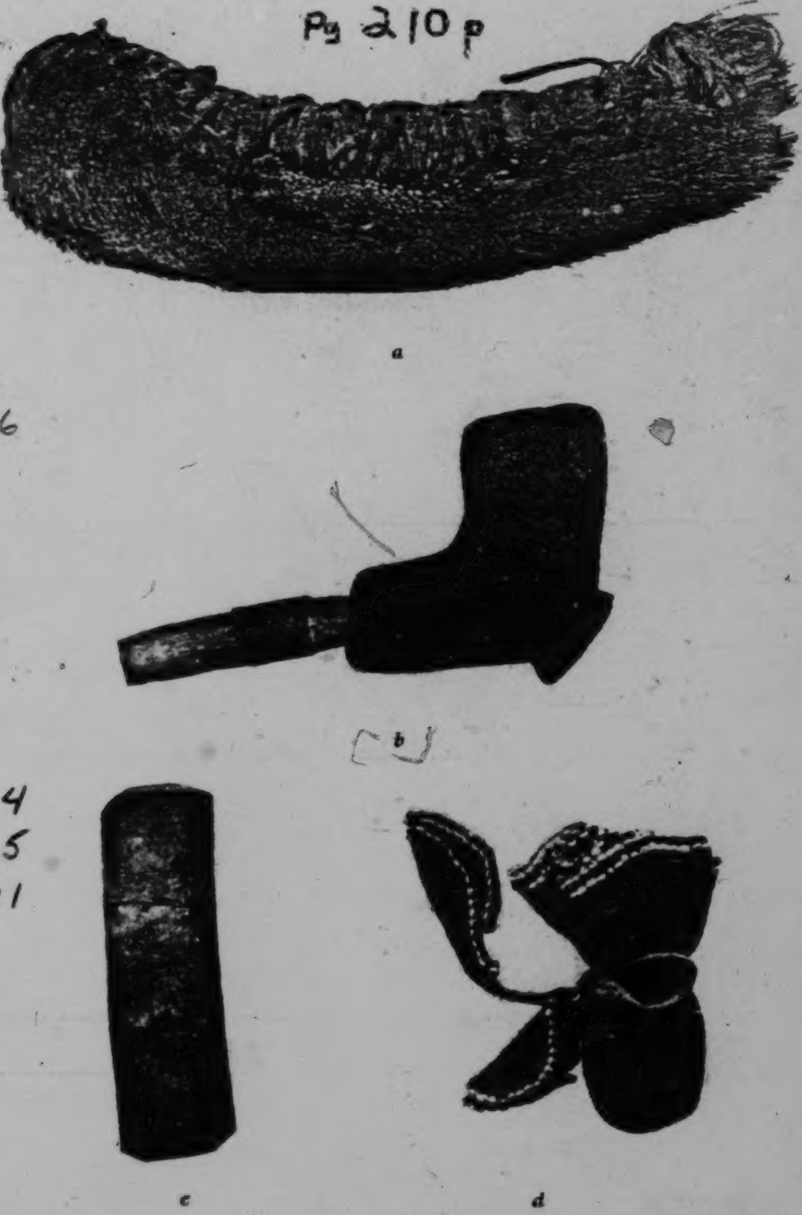

BRUSH; PIPE; GAME CYLINDER; PAINT BAG

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
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THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XX, PART III

NOTES ON SHOSHONEAN ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

[Title Page]

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1924

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NOTES ON SHOSHONEAN ETHNOGRAPHY

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE

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INTRODUCTION.

000 Although the Plateau Shoshoneans and their next of kin have been studied by Major Powell, H. H. St. Clair, Edward Sapir, A. L. Kroeber, J. A. Mason and the present writer, the sum total of published information is extremely scanty, especially as to aspects of their non-material culture. Hence the notes taken among the several groups are here collected under convenient headings and relevant passages from earlier observers are incorporated where it seemed desirable. The folk-tales and myths will be published separately.

The groups visited include the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute; the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Fallon, and Lovelocks, Nevada; the Ute of Navaho Springs, of Ignacio, Colorado, and of Whiterocks, Utah; and the [177] Wind River Shoshoni of Wyoming. Linguistically these four tribes represent three of Kroeber's subdivisions of the Shoshonean stock: the Paiute and Ute belonging to the Ute-Chemehuevi group, the Paviotso to the Mono-Paviotso, the Shoshoni to the Shoshoni-Comanche. According to my Paiute informants, Ute is sufficiently close to their language to be intelligible.

With a view to future field-work the following recommendations are made, based on my experiences in the field and conversations with other students.

From the point of view of getting Museum material it is very improbable that much in the way of showy specimens can henceforth be obtained. On the other hand, a great deal of worth-while material could still be collected from most points, especially good models where originals are no longer available.

For scientific study all the groups present certain practical difficulties, except the Wind River Shoshoni. The Shoshoneans in general are extremely reticent about divulging ethnographical information, and in the case of the Northern Ute this sentiment is intensified by a feeling of hostility against whites generally. Interpreters are almost everywhere of an inferior character and getting connected accounts from informants is frequently impossible, every query being answered in the most laconic fashion possible. As to fees, the Ute at Ignacio and the Uintah Reservation were found exorbitant in their demands; other Shoshoneans moderate.

Since Dr. Sapir has notes on the Kanab Paiute, a long stay with this subdivision may be unnecessary. However, the Shivwits (near Santa Clara, to be reached from Lund, Utah, on the Salt Lake Route, via St. George) and the Moapa of Moapa, Nevada, should be revisited for

000 further study. At Las Vegas, and other towns in southern Nevada, it may also be possible to get additional information on the Paiute.

Of the Ute, the Navaho Springs group, thirty-eight miles from Mancos, Colorado, seems to me by far the most promising. In 1912 they were so little touched by civilization that I had to leave after a short stay for lack of any even half-way acceptable interpreter. The enforced schooling of the children must in the meantime have created a more favorable situation from this point of view. I got the impression that these Ute were far less grasping than their congeners in Ignacio and Whiterocks.

[131] The Paviotso are sprinkled over dozens of places in Nevada. The Walker River Indians and those in neighboring towns ought to be studied and the Pyramid Lake Reservation should be revisited. Professor Kroeber does not consider the Oregon Paviotso worth while in their present condition. The Paviotso are not hostile but generally far from communicative, and while a great many have a smattering of English few have a good command of the language.

It is highly desirable to investigate the Ft. Hall Shoshoni, on whose reservation the Lemhi also are now residing. The Duck River Valley Reservation is unfortunately so difficult of access that it is a question whether it is worth while visiting the mixture of Shoshoni and Paviotso reported there; the nearest railroad point is probably Elko, Nevada.

TRIBAL RELATIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS.

The Paiute of Moapa gave nōwu'^{a} as a generic term for all the Paiute and enumerated the following four main divisions:— 000

1. Mu+ápōts^{a}; from the head of the Muddy River to the other side of the railroad station at Moapa, Nevada.
2. Tandū'waits^{a}; from Moapa to Las Vegas.
3. Tō'intesà+^{a}; from Moapa to Caliente.
4. Suwū'ntsu; the St. George Indians (see below).

The Shivwits give a somewhat different list, accentuating the local divisions in their own locality:—

1. Sū'ʙūts; the Shivwits, referred to as St. George Indians at Moapa, with an agency at Shem, near the post-office of Santa Clara, Utah.
2. Qanáʙ^{i}; the Kanab of southwestern Utah.
3. Grass Valley Paiute.
4. Cedar City Paiute.
5. Moapa Paiute.
6. Qónto'qait; in the mountains.

A second Shivwits informant gives as the generic name for Paiute "nōwántsun^{wa}" and enumerates the following bands:—

1. ^{ma}tū'sats; they used to live near Panaka, from Enterprise, Utah, northward, but only Alice and three others survive.
2. Mo'ápa, formerly known as Paránō, Put-foot-into-the-water; they lived near their present territory, Moapa, Nevada.
3. Qaiʙáʙitc; the people of Moccasin, Arizona.
4. Yū+ita; not really Ute, living round Cedar City, to the number of twenty-five or thirty.
5. Qanáʙc; northeast of Milford, Utah.
6. Sūʙū'ts; south of their reservation, on both sides of the Colorado.

Linguistically, as already explained, the Paiute belong with the Ute, but, according to the Shivwits, they never came into contact with the Uintah in the old days, and this was likewise asserted with reference to the Navajo. On the other hand, a Moapa informant said that the Navajo were sometimes seen at St. George and had been in the Paiute country a long time ago. Of the Mų'qwits—meaning evidently the Hopi—the Paiute merely knew by report. The Shivwits occasionally fought with the Walapai in the old days; in recent years the latter have visited the Moapa. Some "Shoshoni" from about Reno, i.e., doubtless Paviotso, sometimes came down to the Moapa. My Moapa interpreter has seen Mohave at Needles, but it is not certain that there was contact between these two peoples at an earlier period.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake regard the Shoshoni as their best friends. They did not fight with the Washo, but neither did they enter- 648

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

648 tain any friendly relations with them. Their principal enemies were the Pitt River Indians, who used to live about Stillwater, but were driven out to California by the Paviotso. There is a tradition of the Paviotso
[173] killing the Pitt River near Honey Lake. Sometimes they would come,
[721] however, to attack the Paviotso. Horses and guns were first obtained by the Paviotso from the 'Forty-niners emigrating to California

000 The Ignacio Ute gave the following as the names of their old bands:—

1. Mōwátsi; about Cimarron, Colorado.
2. Kapūta+u; the people near the present Ignacio Agency.
3. Wímnenụtci; the Navajo Springs Indians.
4. Paiyútsi; the "Paiute" near Navajo Springs, but on the Utah side.
5. Tōwūtsi Paiyūtsi; genuine Paiute in Nevada.
6. Yapárka+u; Wild-carrot Eaters, the Uintah Ute.
7. Mōwátawiwàdziu; Ouray Ute.
8. Tăvi-wàdziu; those formerly west of Denver.
9. Pagūwadziu; west of the Uintah.

Of these the Mōwátsi correspond to the Moache of the *Handbook*; the Kapūta+u to the Capote; the Wímenụtci to the Wiminuche, the Yapárka+u to the Yampa; the Tăvíwàdziu presumably to the Tabeguache. The inclusion of the Paiute is intelligible on linguistic grounds.

The Ute were a warlike people and fought various neighboring tribes, including the Navajo, Kiowa, Arapaho, Comanche and Shoshoni.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni spoke of having once been together with the Comanche. They also traveled and intermarried with the Bannock. When my informant was a small boy his people were in the Fort Bridger country and then the Shoshoni split up into the Idaho and Wyoming branches. (Of course Shoshoni groups had been in Idaho long before this, as proved by Lewis and Clark's narrative.) The fact that Washakie is regarded as half Flathead indicates that the Wind River no less than the Lemhi came into contact with Salish tribes. The Arapaho were considered the principal enemies; in lesser degree the Crow, Dakota, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre. The French (Yúhundaibo) were the first whites encountered; the Shoshoni obtained a few colts from them in exchange for buffalo hides and also got flintlocks from them. The Spaniards (Tóyaraibo) came later when the Shoshoni already had possession of firearms. The subdivisions of the Shoshoni have been given in a previous publication.[2]

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[1] Cf. Stansbury, 232; Kroeber, (a), 8; Reed, 83 et passim.
[2] Lowie, 206.

ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans 171
did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on [241]
vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute [262]
south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1] [224]
His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one 000
of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appalas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

HUNTING AND FISHING.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögŏ'hūwa, a Tŏ'+intesà+ū seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

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[1] Chamberlin, 335.

[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

000 would carry it home on his back by means of a rope made of *wu'ŏ'is*^{i} weed. Sometimes three or four men formed a party for hunting mountain sheep, one of them scaring the quarry toward the rest. All who participated were entitled to a share. The long sinews from the backbone were taken for thread to sew moccasins, and the skins were made into women's dresses. Some hunters would hide near the watering-place and kill the mountain sheep when they came there to drink. When the weather was hot it sometimes happened that hunters perished from thirst.

The rabbit undoubtedly played a prominent part in the bill of fare. The importance attached to its chase is indicated by the fact that as among the Washo a special functionary existed to superintend the proceedings.[1] Among the Shivwits he would call out to the men to get ready for the hunt and took the lead, stationing the men about a quarter of a mile from camp, where a big fire was built. Nets were put up in a wide circle, and the rabbits would get entangled so as not to be able to disengage themselves. Then there would be a great deal of excitement with yelling and whooping. Sometimes they would hit rabbits with arrows; some had no nets. This process of snaring was repeated every day. Some men killed as many as ten or fifteen a day, others only one rabbit. Each day they would hunt in a different direction. This communal hunt with its concomitant social organization was characteristic of the winter time when all the Shivwits came together. Apart from the rabbit chase the authority of the "rabbit boss" was nil, and after hunting together the several Shivwits families would separate. The bones of the rabbits were not thrown away but pounded very fine and thus eaten with the meat. From rabbit skins the Indians made blankets.

In the old days the Shivwits did not use the rabbit stick at all. Sometimes a man would go out hunting by himself with a long pole, which he would insert into the rabbit hole and twist round, thereupon pulling out his victim.

The rabbit hunt was probably an important communal undertaking of all the Paiute groups. Powell writes:—

> They get many rabbits, sometimes with arrows, sometimes with nets. They make a net of twine, made of the fibers of a native flax. Sometimes this is made a hundred yards in length, and is placed in a half circular position, with wings of sagebrush. They have a circle hunt, and drive great numbers of rabbits into the snare, when they are shot with arrows.[2]

According to Wögö'hüwa the net was of *wu'ŏ'is*^{i} twine and was larger for jack-rabbits than for cottontails. Some ten or fifteen people

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[1] Barrett, (b), 12.
[2] Powell, 127 f.

would drive the rabbits while four or five tended the net. They would 000
catch thirty or forty a day.

Rabbits were cooked in hot ashes. Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes.[1]

The Paviotso had a communal antelope hunt with a pound into which 224
the game was driven (see section on "Ceremonies and Dances"), and also communal duck, mud-hen, and rabbit hunts. Individual hunters stalked deer and antelope; they approached the game wearing a deer or antelope head with the antlers and mimicking the actions of their victims. This practice is called *tü'hü-itaqwd*. In this way it was possible to sneak up close to the herd, and shoot an animal, which was then pursued till it fell down. A strong man might also run down an antelope by tracking it for one or two days before shooting at all. The antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley.

The duck and mud-hen hunting was executed under the leadership 223
of two head men. One of them would tell the people: "On such and such 624
a day each of you shall make a tule boat for himself. The next day you
shall make arrows. Two days after finishing the arrows you shall start." [501]
They would go on the water about daylight, led by one of the head men. There might be as many as thirty or more men in the party. They were led through the tule rushes out on the lake, where ducks and mud-hens were sighted. The hens would try to hide. Then they would divide into two parties, each led by one head man, and surround the flocks. When they had shot enough, they went home. That evening the head men told them to come again in two days for another hunt. They would scare the ducks from a small into a big lake. Then the head man said, "In three days from now we will go close and camp there. We'll start early." Then they would go through the tule on their rafts, sometimes driving the ducks out on dry land. Ducks were also caught in nets (*pühü'kwana*) stretched between long sticks stuck into the water. From a Fallon informant I obtained two canvas-back decoys (Fig. 1), the birdskins of which were fitted over a tule body.

The rabbit-hunt is likewise under the direction of a special manager; 224
at Fallon the office is filled by Billy Springer. Usually the Paviotso of 624
Wadsworth, Walker River, and other localities are invited to participate. The visitors stay with the Fallon people as long as the hunt lasts—say

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 2[illegible]2.

224 ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November
624 is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but
nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the
[462] spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The
women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not
return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have
to go a considerable distance.

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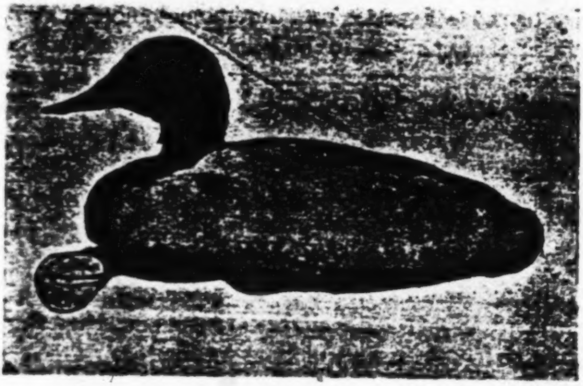

Fig. 1 (50.1–7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

224 624 In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

000 The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.[1]

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[1] Chamberlin, 335 f.

As would be expected from their location, the Ute shared the traits of the Plains as well as the Plateau Indians in their economic activities. They hunted buffalo and elk as well as deer and rabbits. The practice of eagle-catching in pits by the Uintah may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection as a typical Plains feature. Large game was killed in the late fall or winter. Deer were driven to a deep pit between the converging arms of a sagebrush enclosure; this was done near the site of Fort Duchesne. Buffalo (*gutc*) were pursued on fast horses and the kill divided into small pieces. Rabbits were hunted communally; the Uintah used nets, made from bark fiber, but the White River band (according to Little Jim) did not. Sometimes jack-rabbits were hunted on horseback. If the rabbits were in the thick brush the Ute would set fire to the brush and kill the rabbits, which then ran out of their hiding-place. 000

The Shoshoni likewise display a mingling of Plains and Plateau traits. In the winter buffalo were pursued on snowshoes (*dzink*^{u}) of large oval shape made by the men; the animals were run into deep snow from which they could not extricate themselves. Before the people had horses they would surround a herd and close in on them; the buffalo very rarely attempted to break through, but merely would go round and round within the circle. When a man crawled up to a herd alone, he hardly ever got more than one animal. After horses were obtained the surround was no longer necessary. My informant never heard of running buffalo down a cutbank. Mountain-sheep were pursued with, say, four dogs, which chased the animals till they were exhausted and brought to bay on a rock. In pursuing antelope a hunter covered himself with an antelope head with the horns; when he caught sight of his quarry he imitated a grazing antelope and thus sneaked up to the animals till he was able to shoot one or two.

The Wind River Shoshoni deny having eaten roasted ants, but they did not scorn small game. Ground-hogs were driven out of their holes with a very sharp barbed stick. A trap was used for a species of squirrel, so that the animal nibbling at the bait would pull down a big rock on itself. Rabbits would sometimes run into a rotten log. Then the hunter plugged up the hole with sagebrush and started a fire, fanning the smoke into the log. After a while the victim attempted to get out, but was prevented by the plug. When it stopped squealing, the hole was uncovered and the dead rabbit was pulled out. Hunters also hung snares of tough bark fiber from trees and scared the rabbits into the nooses.

While I find no reference in either my notes or the earlier writers to the eating of fish by the Paiute, other Shoshoneans made extensive use of this article of diet.

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000 The construction of willow weirs in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake was noted by Stansbury[1] and this custom was also described by one of my Uintah informants. The Ute, he said, would stand in the water, catch the fish by the tail as it entered the fence and move their hands up to its head. It would struggle and sometimes make its escape, otherwise they hit it on the head with a stick and killed it. Sometimes the fish were thrown out by men to the women, who would split them in two, remove the bones, and hang the fish up on a frame for drying. The dried fish were stored in caches and eaten in the fall. Fish were also cut into pieces and boiled in earthen vessels. They were shot with barbed arrows, the hunters at times pursuing them on grass rafts. An Indian of the White River band said that though this was a Uintah custom, no such rafts were used by the White River people.

226 The Paviotso fished extensively, catching mountain trout in Pyramid and Muddy Lakes, and other species in other localities such as the Humboldt River, which were dried for winter use.[2]

000 Wilson repeatedly refers to fishing by the Shoshoni and specifically mentions trout and salmon. He describes women and children fishing through the ice of Jefferson River and tells how he himself would angle with a line made from horse-tail hair.[3]

VEGETABLE FOOD.

Agriculture was wholly lacking among the Plateau Shoshoneans, excepting only the Paiute; and even in this tribe it was confined to the Shivwits and Kaibab bands. The Moapa distinctly denied having raised corn before the coming of the whites. From the Shivwits the following brief account was obtained. The Indians planted both corn (*hawū'n'*) and squashes (*pírańárö*) before white contact. Irrigation was employed. Ditches were dug with an implement called *pasedū'ᵘ*, which was shaped with a sharp rock. Along the Colorado River driftwood furnished the material, elsewhere a species of willow or the mesquite. The ground was watered from the spring before planting the seeds. When the water had not quite dried up, the men dug holes with a sharp-pointed stick (*a γō̃'ts*); while the women inserted the seeds. The earth was removed and later heaped up with the hands. When the plants came up, a second irrigation was customary. One corncob was used to shell another, and the seeds were ground on a metate (*man*).

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[1] Stansbury, 148.
[2] Hopkins, 11, 13, 76.
[3] Wilson, 20, 25, 62, 63.

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It is more than probable that even among the corn-planting Paiute life depended mainly on seed-gathering and hunting, as among the other Plateau Shoshoneans.

A full discussion of Gosiute ethno-botany has been given by Chamberlin in a paper already cited. My own relatively meager data on that of other Shoshoneans follow.

The Moapa gathered various seeds growing round the mountains and prepared them for the winter. Among these were sunflower seeds. When the mesquite ripened the people would come down from the mountains and dry them for the winter. At present cassava melons and watermelons are extensively planted. Pine-nuts were and are used to a considerable extent. Practically all the Moapa left for a pine-nutting expedition in the middle of September, 1915, and did not expect to return before some time in October. When I arrived among the Shivwits in the second half of September, they, too, had departed to gather piñon nuts and though some returned after a short time they were preparing to go out again for the same purpose. Of the Kaibab Powell writes as follows:—

> They gather the seeds of many plants, as sunflowers, golden rods, and grasses. For this purpose they have large conical baskets which hold two or more bushels. The women carry them on their backs, suspended from their foreheads by broad straps, and with a smaller one in the left hand, and a willow-woven fan in the right, they walk among the grasses, and sweep the seed into the smaller basket, which is emptied now and then into the larger, until it is full of seeds and chaff; then they winnow out the chaff and roast the seeds. They roast these curiously; they put the seeds, with a quantity of red hot coals, into a willow tray, and by rapidly and dexterously shaking and tossing them, keep the coals aglow, and the seeds and tray from burning. As if by magic, so skilled are the crones in this work they roll the seeds to one side of the tray, as they are roasted, and the coals to the other.[1] (There follows the description of grinding the seeds on a metate, for which see below.)

The Ute likewise depended partly on vegetable food. In August 1849, Stansbury encountered a group of naked Indian women and girls gathering grass-seeds in the valley of Ogden's Creek for their winter provisions, "with their baskets dangling at their backs." At an abandoned campsite on the Great Salt Lake the same observer found "a quantity of some species of seeds which they had been beating out," and the grinding of seeds into a kind of flour between two flat stones is noted in another connection.[2] A Whiterocks informant explained that formerly old women would go up the mountains in quest of berries, taking along willow baskets with a burden strap. The women would reach

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[1] Powell, 126 f.; Spier found an identical method among the Havasupai.
[2] Stansbury, 82, 103, 148.

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they
spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back
into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into
the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other
supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches.
Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They
were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into
round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored
until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'is*, was likewise
pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[415] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
[252] the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[251] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'üad, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qögí*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ă''üts*, little onions; *åsi*;
a'qö'; *kusiak'*; *göγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+ĩ*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubüs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusá*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*batlú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, con-
taining small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tüpá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a [412]
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *ăsi'* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wai'* seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tüm*ᵃ) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *ăsúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tü'm*ᵃ tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*ᵃ together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were
used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up
and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries
were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for
the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic'* root was pounded
up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

METATES.

000 The Shoshoneans of Utah and Nevada employ the metate to reduce their seeds to meal.

Among the Paiute of Moapa the metate (*mār*) is used only on one side: the muller is called *mū'ə* (Fig. 3). Powell writes as follows about the Kaibab method:—

> . . . they grind the seeds into a fine flour, and make it into cakes and mush. . . For a mill, they use a large flat rock, lying on the ground, and another small cylindrical one in their hands. They sit prone on the ground, hold the flat rock between the feet and legs, then fill their laps with seeds, making a hopper to the mill with their dusky legs, and grind by pushing the seeds across the larger rock, where it drops into a tray. I have seen a group of women grinding together, keeping time to a chant, or gossiping and chatting, while the younger lassies would jest and chatter, and make the pine woods merry with their laughter.[1]

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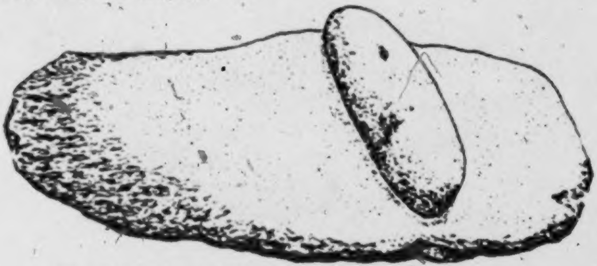

Fig. 2 (50.1-7909,7907). Paviotso Metate and Muller.

000 At Whiterocks, Utah, I saw three or four metates in my interpreter's house. They differed from those of the Paviotso in being trough-like, with two or three of the edges rimmed. They had been dug up in ploughing and were used by the Ute women for grinding coffee. I also saw a smooth slab metate, on which ripe *qō* seeds were said to be ground. My informants said that the flat and the rimmed metates were used in the same manner.

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252 Among the Paviotso the metate (*matā*^{a}) was still in constant use in every encampment in the summer of 1914 (Fig. 2). Thus I saw a woman grinding *qō'γá* seeds on a slab, scrape off the meal with her fingers, and put it into a tin can. Here I observed what I could discover among no other Shoshonean group,—a difference in the use of the two sides of the metate. In loosening the shells of certain seeds the women allow the slab to rest on a basketry tray (*tūm'*^{o}) and give the stone separator

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[1] Powell, 127.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 215]

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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[P.205]

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Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 3. Moapa Woman with Metate and Muller.
Fig. 4. Moapa Women wearing Basket Hat.

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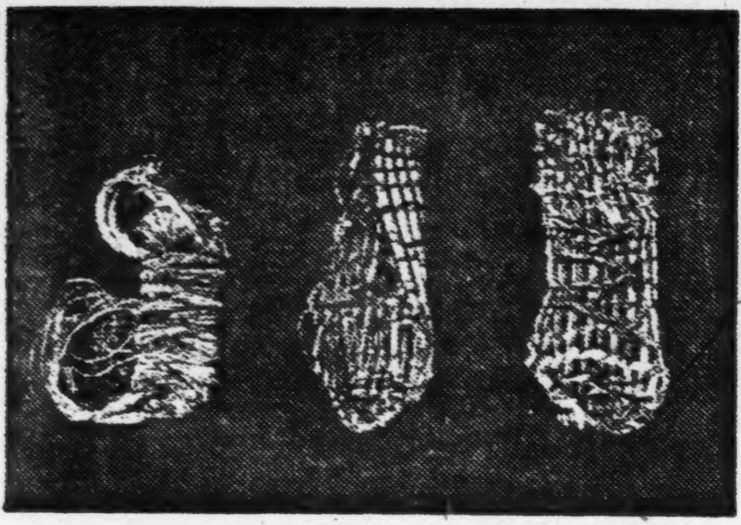

Fig. 5.

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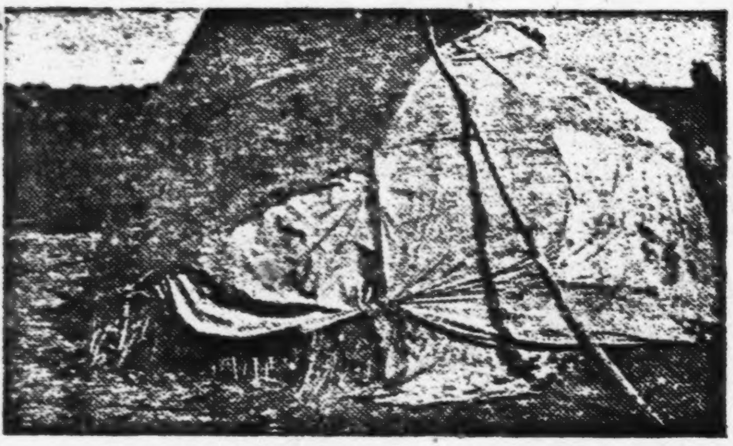

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5 *a-c* (50.1-8639a, 7966, 7965). Sandals. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, *c*, Paviotso.
Fig. 6. Tule Lodge of Pyramid Lake, Paviotso, with Canvas Covering.

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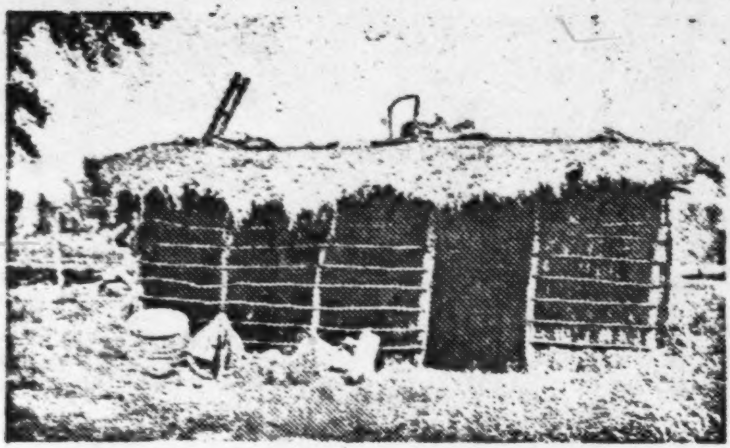

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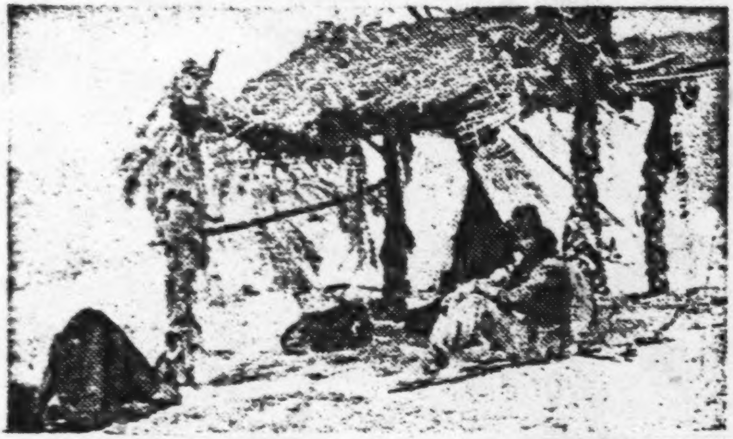

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Fig. 7. a, Moapa House of Mohave Pattern; b, Navaho Springs Ute Shade with Tipi in Background.

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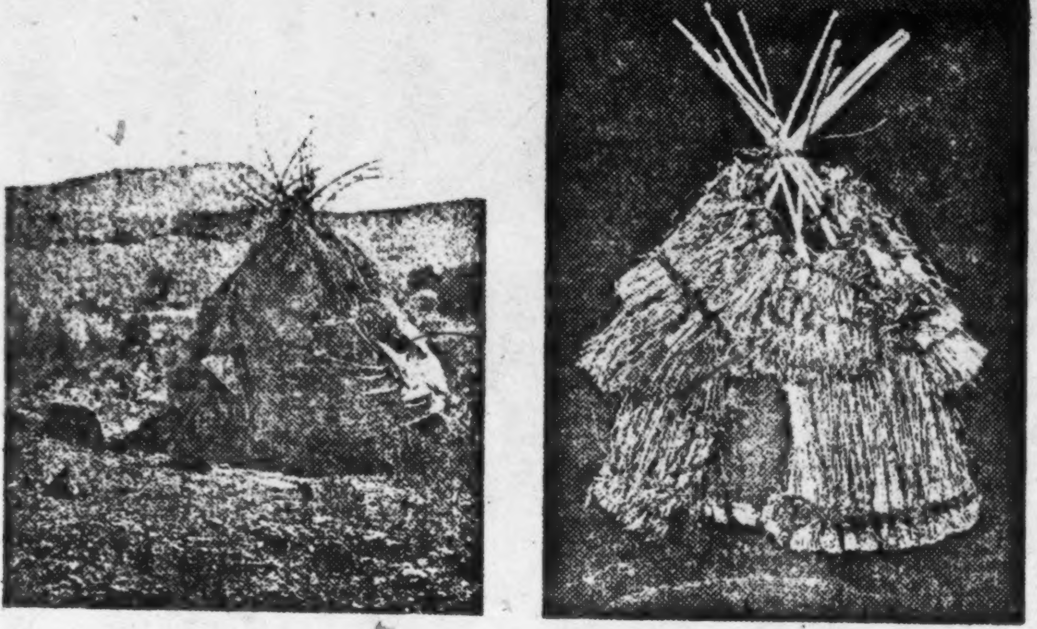
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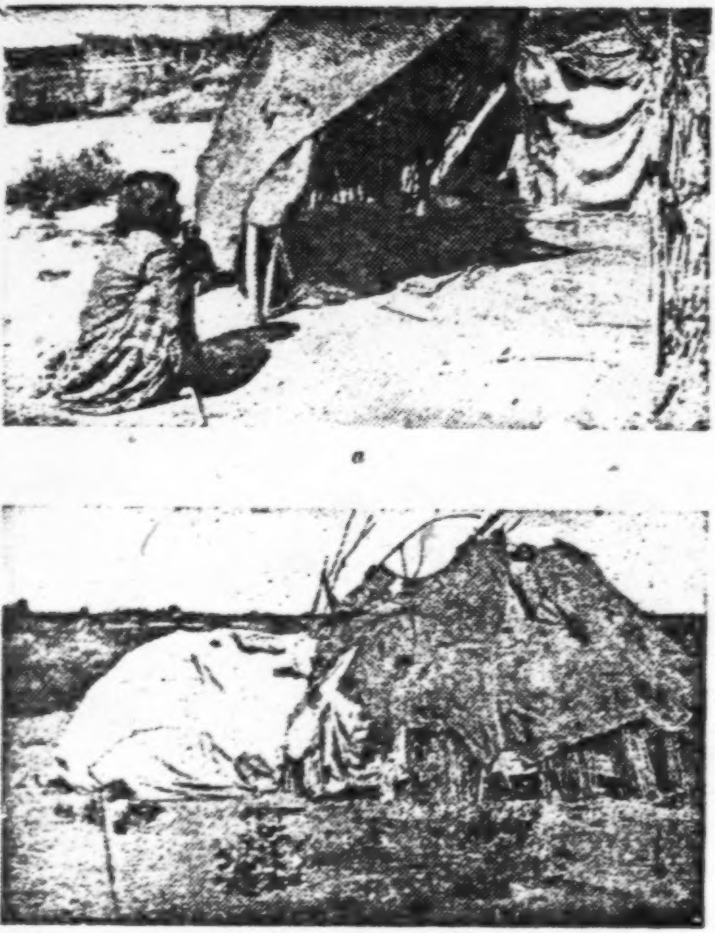
Fig. 8. a, Shivwits Shelter; b, Model of Wind River Grass Lodge.



a

b

Fig. 9. Types of Paviotso Shelter. *a*, Paviotso Shelter, Fallon, Nevada; *b*, Shelter used by old Paviotso Women in Fallon, Nevada.

213

[P.214 is blank]

252 (*winnodn*^{u}) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown
412 out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

296 It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised
[170] tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa*$^{\cdot pu}$. It is a weed growing
[824] several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*$^{\cdot a}$. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsíabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawà γoàp*^{i}, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

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231
262
171

DOGS.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212–214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 345.

000 animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

224 231 The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

060 The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

DRESS.

[291] [171] The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump*^{i}. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

hats. At Whiterocks I noted a young girl whose forehead was decorated with a circle painted in the middle. At Navaho Springs most of the men and some of the women had plucked out their eyebrows. 000

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.

[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.

[3] Powell, 104; cf. ibid., 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.

[4] Reed, 40.

The Paviotso also had rabbitskin capes for winter wear. They were very warm and lasted three or even four winters. Otherwise their main use was as a cover when sleeping. The men's costume consisted of a buckskin breechclout and fringed leggings secured with a buckskin cord. In the old days badger skin caps were occasionally worn. The woman's dress was of antelope skin and reached down just below the knees. Women did not wear leggings but exposed the leg between footgear and dress; they had basket hats. For babies blankets of sagebrush bark were made, and a boy's leggings were manufactured from deer and coyote hide. The Paviotso used a porcupine tail for a comb, also the dried and doubled roots of wild rye. 291 [237]

The Wind River Shoshoni women wore buckskin dresses decorated with elk teeth but not with beadwork. The cut of the dresses was like that of the cloth ones worn nowadays. Some were decorated all over with elk teeth in front. Leggings were of buckskin and distinct from the moccasins. Generally speaking, the Plains Indian style prevailed among both sexes. 000

Formerly young Shoshoni men who were courting girls used to pluck out their eyebrows. Among the Comanche I noticed that practically all the men were without eyebrows and at least to some extent the practice extends to the female sex.

The hair was parted by some Shoshoni men on the side, by others in the middle. It was not braided but hung down loose as a rule. Once in a while it was braided and wrapped on the side, but this was rare. In the early days there was a bang in the center, curled on a stick. They never wore a big braid in the back, but all had a little braid so that a feather or other ornament could be tied to it. Wawanabidi (1912) had his hair unparted but brushed up pompadour fashion in the center and with braids on the sides. The women parted their hair and left it loose; they never braided it as today. The parting line was painted red and still is. Old women with gray hair would paint it red. A peaked boy's cap of muskrat skin with two rabbit's tails for tassels is described by Wilson.[1]

The Moapa had deerskin moccasins if rich, while poor people wore jossweed (*tsowáramp'*) sandals. What the sandals (*úwūp*) were like among the Paiute was determined at Shem, where a model pair was

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[1] Wilson, 35.

000 secured (Fig. 5a). The two strings pass, each on one side of the second (next to the big) toe, are crossed over the toe and then pulled through the rear loop, against which the heel rests. They were tied in front on the instep. Sandals were worn on snow. Both men and women used them. Another Shivwits informant said that sandals were worn both winter and summer. They were made of the leaves of *ü'ˢs*, a plant identified by Powell as the yucca or Spanish bayonet.[1] In the winter a kind of bark called *cünäp* was tied on the sandals across the foot by means of loops. Sandals wore out more rapidly than moccasins: if a man put them on in the morning and chased mountain sheep they were worn out in the evening on account of the many rocky places trodden. Otherwise they lasted somewhat longer.

While the Moapa and Kaibab Paiute had deerskin moccasins, the Shivwits say they made theirs exclusively of mountain-sheep skin.

The Ute wore hard-soled buckskin moccasins (of Plains Indian style).

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[824]
The Paviotso wore deerskin moccasins in the summer. Skin from the tough neck of the deer was taken for the sole. Badgerskin with the hairy side in was used for winter moccasins. Softened sagebrush bark was put inside to keep the feet warm. According to one informant, only the sole was of badger hide, the uppers of buckskin. I saw a pair of woman's moccasins with a cowhide sole, deerhide uppers, and an inverted U-shaped piece in front, crenate at the top: the seam was in the back. Models of tule sandals in openwork twining were obtained for the Museum (Fig. 5bc).

000 Wind River Shoshoni moccasins were formerly all of buckskin; the Arapaho introduced the custom of having hard soles.

DWELLINGS.

In the summer the Moapa and the Tö'+intesà+u bands used a shade of rectangular groundplan called *hawáγan'*. The walls were formed of brush on three sides and the sloping roof was covered with the same material. The winter lodge differed inasmuch as the Tö'+intesà+u had cedar houses (*moγáqan'*).—conical structures with a framework of cedar trees tied together at the top and a covering of cedarbark thick enough to keep out the rain; pieces of bark were tied together with cord. Possibly this very imperfect description was meant for the slab-house type reported by Dr. Barrett from the Washo.[2] There was a fireplace in the center and a smoke-hole above it. The Moapa lacked cedars; accordingly they substituted a framework of the same conical shape but consisting of any long poles, e.g. willows, and used dry *sawáp*^{a} brush for a covering. The height of these lodges was greater than a man's stature. The entrance faced away from the wind and was so low that one would stoop in entering. Though people lived near to one another, no special arrangement was followed; the houses were scattered without any plan but all faced in the same direction. Here, too, the fireplace was in the middle; the husband and wife slept on either side of the door, unmarried members of the household in the rest of the available space. The Shivwits used the cedar lodge throughout the year. The Mohave type of summer house,[1] which Doctor Spier also observed among the Havasupai, was noted once and is shown in Fig. 7a; it was inhabited by my principal Moapa informant and his wife. An approximation to the Paiute pattern is illustrated by the Shivwits hut in Fig. 8a.

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[1] Powell, 126.
[2] Barrett, (b), 10, pl. II.

Fortunately our ideas of the Paiute houses are somewhat clarified by Dellenbaugh and Powell. Speaking of the Kaibab band, Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Their wickiups, about seven feet high, were merely a lot of cedar boughs, set around a three-quarter circle, forming a conical shelter, the opening towards the south. In front they had their fire, with a mealing-stone or two, and round about were their conical and other baskets, used for collecting grass seeds, piñon nuts, and similar vegetable food, which in addition to rabbits formed their principal subsistence.[2]

Powell illustrates a Paiute settlement (see his Fig. 43, facing p. 119). He says:—

> During the inclement season they live in shelters made of boughs, or bark of the cedar, which they strip off in long shreds. In this climate, most of the year is dry and warm, and during such time they do not care for shelter. Clearing a small circular space of ground, they bank it around with brush and sand, and wallow in it during the day, and huddle together in a heap at night, men, women, and children; buckskin, rags, and sand. They wear very little clothing, not needing much in this lovely climate.[3]

The Ute of Navaho Springs, Colorado, were in 1912 among the most wretched and primitive Indians I had seen. The majority were living in small tipis of Plains type, covered with canvas. Compared with the real Plains Indian tipis, however, they recalled the nickname of "Bad Lodges" given to the Ute by other tribes. Several of those particularly noted had a framework of eleven poles, with two additional ones for regulating the smoke hole. The length of some poles lying on

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[1] Handbook, I, 921.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 177 f.
[3] Powell, 126.

000 the ground proved to be about seventeen feet. Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a *four*-pole foundation. Summer shades were also noted. The usual type is the brush-covered four-pole structure shown in Fig. 7b, with the tipi in the background. More substantial than any of these was the earth-covered dwelling of one Ute which was directly patterned on the Navajo hogan and was said to be unique. An Ignacio informant confirmed the statement that four poles were used as a foundation by the Southern Ute. Here reference was made to a conical bark-walled or brush-covered wikiup preceding the buffalo-skin tipi. Both at Ignacio and among the Uintah I was told that twelve poles were used for the tipi, including the two on the outside for regulating the smoke. A Uintah said that the poles were of pine wood, and either elkskins, sometimes to the number of ten, or buffalo skins were sewed together for the cover. When skins were lacking, a smaller cedarbark lodge of round shape was put up; the strips of bark were carried from a great distance. When some distance west of the Great Salt Lake Stansbury saw some conical lodges "of cedar poles and logs of considerable size, thatched with bark and branches," which were warm and comfortable. They were presumably the as yet unoccupied winter quarters of Indians then (toward the end of October) pine-nutting.[1] Passing through the Reservation I saw some conical lodges at Ouray differing from the tipi merely in having a cover of brush; these were said to have also been used in the old days for a summer habitation. The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures. The door always faced east; the woman sat by the door, the husband in the rear, and visitors took up corresponding positions according to sex. The skin tipi is called *moγō̆'puqàn*; the bark lodge *moγo'qan*.

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[354]
The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake distinguish a tule lodge (*cathinòʙi*, from *cathib°*, tule) and the old-style summer shade (*hunínoʙi, nánupia*), which faced the more permanent dwelling and had the form of a roofless semicircular brush shelter with a central fireplace. The modern shades are called *hāʙá*. A large tule wikiup might accommodate as many as a dozen people. The poles were called *watákwama*, the tule shingles [462] *siwat*^{u}. Men and women coöperated in putting up the wikiup, the former erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles. 342 At Pyramid Lake I saw one tule lodge with an additional covering of 824 canvas rags (Fig. 6) and had a model made, which differs somewhat in

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[1] Stansbury, 111.

shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and 342
describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over [824]
a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center
and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement
is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures
that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not
very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned
was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting
transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer
shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting
shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in
Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section
was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small
twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule
shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a
space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely
resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size
(Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. [412]
The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a [415]
beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside. [854]

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the 000
Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin
tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people
describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and
smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant
recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became
obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from
seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they
always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for
winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled
up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available.
A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether [171]
the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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[1] Mooney, 1040 f.
[2] Lowie, 183.

000 interest in its bearing on the ultimate derivation of the Ute tipi. From the geographical location of the Ute we should be inclined to derive their specifically Plains Indian traits from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, but since the tipi of these peoples is of the three-pole pattern the assumption is untenable in this connection. On the other hand, if we knew that the Fort Hall and Lemhi Indians used the four-pole type, we should have a continuous distribution for this method from the Blackfoot and Crow southward to the Ute. The most plausible theory would then be that the Ute derived the tipi from the Wind River Indians, the Wind River from the Northern Shoshoni, and the latter in turn from their Blackfoot or Crow neighbors.

In Wilson's book there are reproduced pictures of Shoshoni lodges; the illustration of a brush-covered conical summer dwelling is especially noteworthy.[1]

FIRE-MAKING.

From the Shivwits I secured a model firedrill (*mårunù+inump*) apparatus (Museum specimen 50.1-8646ab). The hearth (*åx*) was formerly made from the wood of the *qwinúuramp* bush, which grows on the Colorado River, but for lack of this material *samásiù−ù+ip* wood was substituted. Pits were made all along the hearth. The drill was of mesquite wood, which was also used for the model; unlike the Paviotso specimen to be described below, it consists of a simple shaft.

I did not get any account of the Ute firedrill. One old informant said he had never made fire with it though he had seen others do it. For tinder the Uintah employed the bark of the sagebrush or cedar. People would get fire from a person who had some, laying down a stick before him by way of remuneration. Later they obtained strike-a-lights from the Mexicans.

372 [416] [824] The Paviotso braided sagebrush bark into torches and also used it for tinder. Their drill (*qoso"*) had the common Shoshonean characteristic of being composite (50.1-7962a).[2] Model specimens were secured. The standard apparatus was described as comprising a willow hearth with four pits (Fig. 10) and a drill of willow with a sagebrush tip. Doctor Spier calls my attention to the fact that a Havasupai specimen also has four pits. My interpreter naïvely supposed that it would take from half an hour to an hour to make fire with this apparatus. Sam Dick made a shaft of cane for me, stuffing it with charred greasewood as far as

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[1] Wilson, 16, 19, 81, 114, 184.

[2] Lowie, 180.

the first joint (Fig. 11). His and my interpreter's combined efforts did 372
not quite succeed in producing fire (Fig. 12), but Austin who substituted a sagebrush hearth was even less successful. He said that an old soft hearth of sagebrush would have been better. His drill consisted of a willow shaft to which a nine-inch tip of sagebrush was lashed. Another informant described the tip as being only two or three inches in length.

The composite firedrill of the Wind River has already been described 000
and illustrated in a previous publication.[1] Mr. Burnett, the farmer at

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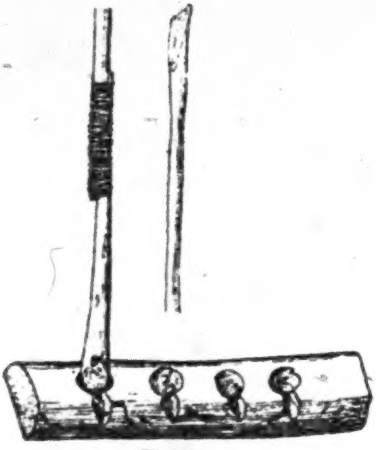

Fig. 10.

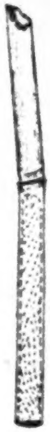

Fig. 11.

Fig. 10 (50.1-7961a, 7962b). Model of Paviotso Fire-making Apparatus, showing Composite Drill.

Fig. 11 (50.1-7962c). Cane Shaft for Firedrill, Paviotso.

Wind River Reservation, told me that Sacajawea had described the use of 000
the bowdrill in connection with fire-making, and this was corroborated by Wawanabidi, who has heard of the Shoshoni using this device. Torches of sagebrush bark were used on the march. The bark was rubbed fine and pressed into one long bundle wrapped tight with bark from the tall sagebrush. One end was lighted in traveling, and the torch would continue to smoulder without either blazing up or going out. On reaching camp, the people would gather some dry material, the slow-match was put in and blown a little, and thus fire was produced. These torches would harbor fire for a long while.

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[1] Lowie, 189.

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Fig. 12. Paviotso trying to make Fire.

INDUSTRIES.

000 *Stone Technique.* On the stone work of the Plateau Shoshoneans the following statement by Powell merits being rescued from its recondite source:—

> The obsidian or other stone of which the implement is to be made is first selected by breaking up larger masses of the rock and choosing those which exhibit the fracture desired and which are free of flaws; then these pieces are baked or steamed, perhaps I might say annealed, by placing them in damp earth covered with a brisk fire for twenty-four hours, then with sharp blows they are still further broken into flakes approximating the shape and size desired. For the more complete fashioning of the implement a tool of horn, usually of the mountain sheep, but sometimes of the deer or antelope, is used. The flake of stone is held in one hand, placed on a little cushion made of untanned skin of some animal, to protect the hand from the flakes which are to be chipped off, and with a sudden pressure of the bone-tool the proper shape is given. They acquire great skill in this, and the art seems to be confined to but few persons, who manufacture them and exchange them for other articles.[1]

Pottery. There were significant differences among the Plateau Shoshoneans with regard to their knowledge of ceramic processes. Early travelers speak with tantalizing vagueness of earthen jars among the Lemhi and their neighbors, stone-boiling being also reported.[2] On the
[323] other hand, Wind River Shoshoni informants only mentioned man-made
[285] soapstone pots and the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake very definitely denied
[252] having ever made pots, saying that baskets were used for boiling food and pitched basketry bottles for storing and carrying water. However, Sarah Winnemucca notes the modeling in mud indulged in by children, who made herds of animals and then shot at them with bow and arrow.[3] The Paiute cooked in earthen kettles (*pambö'nᵃ*) made of hard clay (*widsᵃ*). According to one hardly convincing Moapa statement these used to be made by a *man* specializing in the art for the rest of his people. This is indeed contradicted by the Shivwits, who say their "mud buckets" (*pambö'ni*) were made by women, as we should expect. It proved impossible to have a pot made, but a brief description was given. The clay used was of a yellow color but became brownish-black on firing. Only two localities were believed to yield suitable material, one near the Colorado River and the other to the south of the Reservation on a mountain over which the Shivwits originally roamed, near the boundary line of Utah and Arizona. The coiled technique was employed and a piece of turtle shell served to smooth the vessels within and outside. They were pointed at the bottom so that they could be stuck into the

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[1] Powell 27-28.
[2] Lowie, 177, 185.
[3] Hopkins, 57.

000 ground, and a fire was built around them. All the pots were undecorated. After completing a vessel, a woman would fire it all night, then on the following morning if it were struck the sound heard would be like that of a metal kettle. The Ute also made earthenware containers. At Navajo Springs, Colorado, I was told that meat was formerly boiled in such vessels, being then served on basketry trays. On the Uinta River Powell found fragments of pottery[1] and Stansbury encountered similar remnants of the potter's art in the same general area.[2] Though Powell seems inclined to view these finds as vestiges of a higher civilization than that of the Ute, we may reasonably assign plain pieces of pottery found in this territory to the immediate predecessors of the historic Shoshonean occupants. Jim Duncan, a Uintah Ute, told me that among his people both stone-boiling with baskets and pot-boiling had been in vogue. The former method was repeatedly referred to by Ute informants. The pots were made by a few of the women and were purchased by the rest. Another informant from the same Reservation mentioned the fact that black earthenware vessels with decorated rim were dug up from time to 323 171 time in the vicinity. Thus, the Ute, Paiute and (if early accounts may be trusted) the Northern Shoshoni made pottery, while the Wind River Shoshoni and Paviotso did not.

Specimens of Shoshonean pottery are to be seen in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

Preparation of Skins. The Moapa Paiute remove the hair with the bone or rib of a mountain sheep. They rub the brains on the flesh side, letting them remain for ten days or even a month so that they might soak through the hide. The skin is next soaked in water over night and wrung out next day, softened and allowed to dry. It is then quite soft. Sometimes they smoke the inside, but my interpreter declared that this was a custom started only a short time ago. Cow chips are used to make the fire, the skin is sewed up Shoshoni fashion (see below), and exposed to the smoke all day. After this process the skin is impervious to water, which just runs off it, and it never gets hard when drying after an exposure to rain.

The Shivwits use the sharpened shinbone of a deer to take off the hair. The hide was kept in warm water, then put on a smooth post and allowed to lie against a tree trunk, the hair being removed by downward strokes. Warm water is again used to soak the skin, which is wrung out and stretched so as not to touch the ground. In this position it is sprinkled with brains mixed with water, then soaked in water again, wrung out with a stick, put on a blanket and stretched with hands and feet. When dried it is soft like cloth. 000

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[1] Powell, 43.
[2] Stansbury, 182.

The Shivwits do not smoke skins but the Kanab Paiute do. They dig a hole in the ground and sew the hide together putting up sticks to support it. They make a fire in the pit and allow the smoke to play on the inside, which becomes brownish-yellow. Only one side is smoked.

The Ute (Uintah) also scrape the hair off with a deer shinbone. The hide was then wetted, dried, stretched, and smoothed with a flat stone. On the dry buckskin wetted brains are used. The skin is sewed together and hung from a tripod to be smoked. My informant's tripod was standing in her summer shade and a stick extending from it to the shade formed a meat rack. For the fire the Ute use dried willows. On September 1, 1914 I was able to observe the process of smoking. The pit was rather small and in it a smoldering fire was maintained. The skin was sewed together and suspended from a tripod, being staked down with three small pieces of wood and weighted down with earth. The smoking began at 9.05 A.M. and the skin was taken down, tanned on the inside at 9.38. It was then turned inside out and suspended once more but without the bottom being staked. The second smoking began at 9.42 and ceased at 9.51, but the side tanned then was of much lighter shade than that first exposed to the smoke.

Captain Bob's wife said that in dressing a skin the Ute first of all removed the flesh with a serrate flesher, next scraping off the hair with a knife. Then the hide was soaked and stretched. A beaming tool was used only on the hairy side. Brains were put on and the hide was soaked with them, then stretched, dried and softened with a smooth stone. The beaming tool only was used on deerskins. On tough hides, such as those of the buffalo and nowadays the cow, the adze-shaped scraper is and was substituted. The beaming tool was made of deer bone.

The Paviotso remove the hair with a horse rib, which is also applied to the fleshy side. The scraping process is called *pö''hwōna*. After being scraped, the skin is soaked in cow or deer brains, which process is known as *tözó'pigin*. Rubbing the skin with the hands is called *töcáñgo+i+a* and smoking it *tö'wipuctak* ^{in}. 281 [237]

According to "Bob," the Wind River Shoshoni dressed the hides of all animals in similar fashion. In making robes the hair was left on, for other garments it was removed. First the hide was stretched out on the ground, then with a toothed flesher, *tötziddə*, the blade of which was once 000

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse-rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*ticoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tūgwū'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

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281 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

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171 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso made no quillwork of any kind.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

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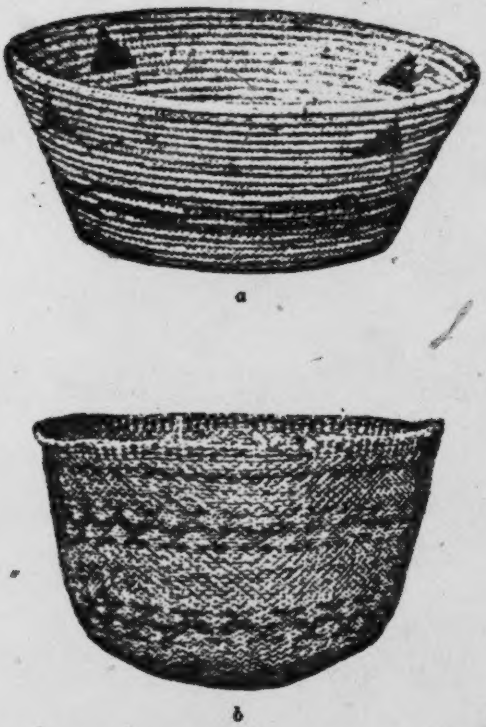

Fig. 13 *a-b* (50.1–7931, 7930). *a*, Paviotso Basket, Coiled; *b*, Paviotso Mush Bowl.

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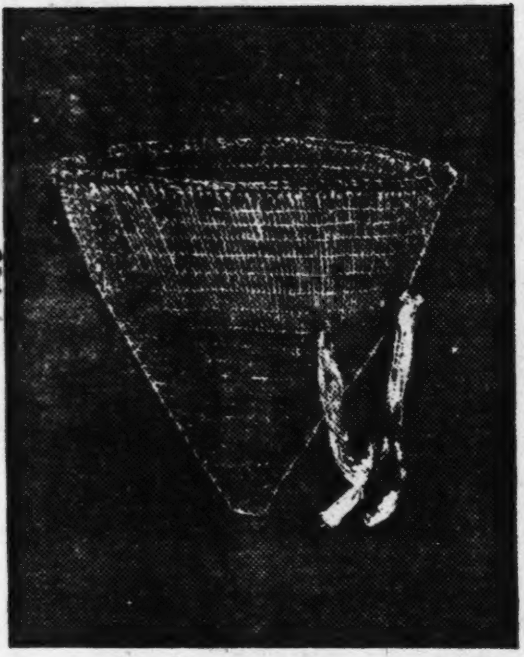

Fig. 14 (50.1-7926). **Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Openwork.**

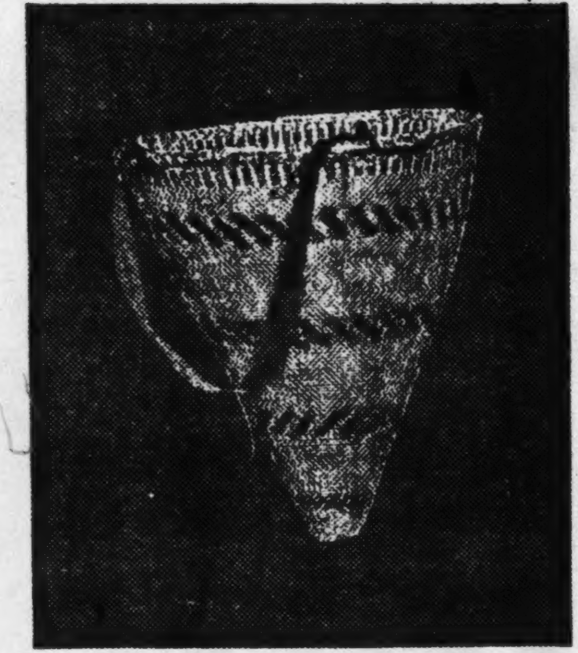

Fig. 15 (50.1-7924). **Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.**

412 285 [237] In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence. Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. [252] Watertight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 [824] The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types. Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed bowls, *cö'dzitd* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter (50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening [531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig. 13a).

171 285 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large 000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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[1] Mason, (b), 489 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*ᵉ, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tü'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nöᵉ*. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.

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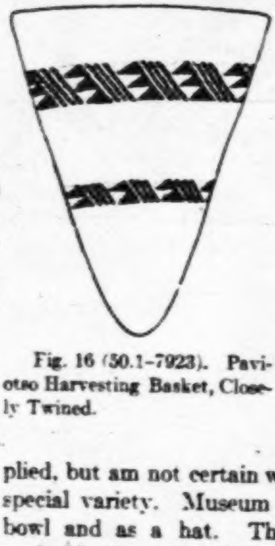

Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamö''nö, ya'tá*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

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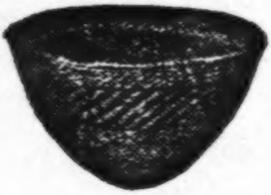

Fig. 17.

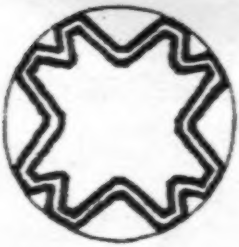

Fig. 18.

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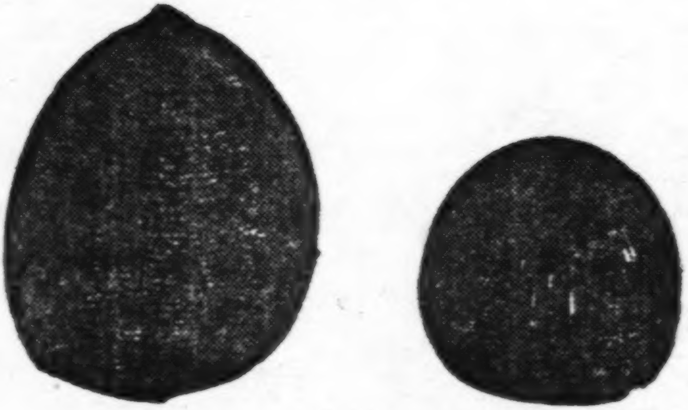

a Fig. 19. b

Fig. 17 (50.1–8588). Basketry Hat, Moapa.
Fig. 18 (50.1–8629). Decoration of Moapa Basketry Bowl.
Fig. 19 *a*-*b* (50.1–7922, 8643). *a*, Paviotso Twined Tray; *b*, Shivwits Tray, Twined.

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[P. 236 is blank]

285 sperical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion; though the point of the cone is somewhat rounded, the vessel cannot stand. There are two lugs of twine and hair, connected by a modern band. The remaining bottles stand without difficulty, all having a flat bottom, which in two cases is dented in the center.

171 285 The Paiute share most of the forms of the Paviotso, but on the basis of the available material they seem to have a greater variety, especially in the coiled technique. To what extent there may be local differences, it is impossible to determine from the collection, which includes only a few Shivwits specimens. Of these a large conical gathering-basket does not seem to call for special comment and an openwork twined tray differs from a Moapa equivalent mainly through its broader, less ellipsoidal form. A very coarse but not open-twined tray (Fig. 19b), and even more so a shallow coiled bowl present a distinctive appearance. The Shivwits, like the Pima,[1] use the pods of the devil's-claw for black splints in making designs.

000 Turning to the Moapa pieces, which constitute the bulk of the Moapa collection, we find among the water-containers one striking difference from those of the Paviotso in that two of them, both jar-shaped, are coiled (Fig. 21). They are flat-bottomed and retain part of the pitch used to render them water-tight; the lugs and carrying-rope are shown in the illustration. This type is shown by Mason[2] and from his statement it appears that Powell collected many specimens of somewhat varying shape but in the same technique from the Utah Paiute, i.e., from the Shivwits and Kaibab. The twined bottles include a flat-
[171] bottomed specimen recalling the Paviotso pattern and several pear-shaped pieces (Fig. 20c) rather more bi-conical than the Paviotso equivalent. The larger jugs are called *ōts*; the smaller, *o'tsdits*.

171 285 291 Three hats (*qaitsoqot*, *qaitsogots*) conforming to the same shape (Fig. 17) are all twined like those of the Paviotso. A single Bannock specimen is likewise in this technique. This fact is significant because it aligns the Shoshoneans with the northern rather than the southern Californians.

000 The gathering-baskets (*ātis*), which vary considerably in size, are all twined and fall into two main categories according to whether the twining is close or open. Fig. 22 shows perhaps the best sample of the latter variety. As in several other cases, the inside of the lugs supporting the carrying-band or strap is reënforced with splints or wrapped little sticks. The torsion of the warp strands noted by Mason in a Utah Paiute

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[1] Russell, 120.
[2] Mason, (b), Plates 22, 117; 250, 361, 480, 496.

000 gathering-basket[1] is noticeable in a number of my specimens also. Its shape is not duplicated in my Moapa collection, in which all pieces but one are conical and even the aberrant form may be conceived as a rounded cone, but a basket bought from the Lemhi Shoshoni closely approximates it. The close-plaited Moapa (specimens 50.1-8616, 8618) [285] [531] [171] gathering baskets are also conical; they exhibit various ornamental patterns. The large Utah Paiute specimen figured by Mason[2] is decorated with a motive practically identical with that on a Paviotso basket (Fig. 16).

A twined basket of unique form is shown in Fig. 23. The ornamentation, which is in two zones, is visible on the inside, but the patterns are externally stressed by a black coating.

[285] [171] The pointed open-twined tray (*yant*^{u}) of Paviotso shape also occurs in Moapa, but there is also a markedly less peaked specimen (specimen 50.1-8592), while another is definitely elliptical (specimen 50.1-8594). The close-plaited trays are likewise of more varied shape than those of the Paviotso: representative forms are specimens 50.1-8575, 50.1-8597, 50.1-8577, 50.1-8599. One name applied to these trays at Shem is *ta'qwū''yo, ta'qwūī'ô*, the Moapa term being ^{ta}*'qôy*^{u}.

Though I did not buy any Paiute seed-beaters, their occurrence is attested by a pair from southern Utah figured by Mason.[3]

The coiled baskets from Moapa are for the most part flat-bottomed. By far the most common shape is the bowl, which varies considerably in size. *Qo'tsits* is the term applied to a coiled bowl, said to have been water-tight and used for a plate, but *tsïtsowats* was also noted. The largest suggests a laundry-basket, being provided with lugs. More characteristic samples, also noteworthy for their ornamentation, are seen in Figs. 24, 26. Practically all the basketry-bowls have some decorative motive, as shown in Fig. 18, though in some cases it dwindles into insignificance. In a number of specimens the shape is not distinctively that of a bowl but assumes rather ellipsoidal outlines. A very neatly worked little basket, recurved at the top and markedly truncate at the bottom is shown in Fig. 29b, and a large basket with a lid quite distinct from all the rest is seen in Fig. 25.

At Moapa I unfortunately did not secure any sandals, but a pair made to order by a Shivwits (Fig. 5a) is of considerable interest, both because quite different from the tule, equivalents of the Paviotso and because strongly suggestive of the cross-woven Basket-Maker sandals described by Kidder and Guernsey.[4]

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[1] Mason, (b), 493.

[2] Mason, (b), 494.

[3] Mason, (b), 492.

[4] Kidder and Guernsey, 158, Pl. 67.

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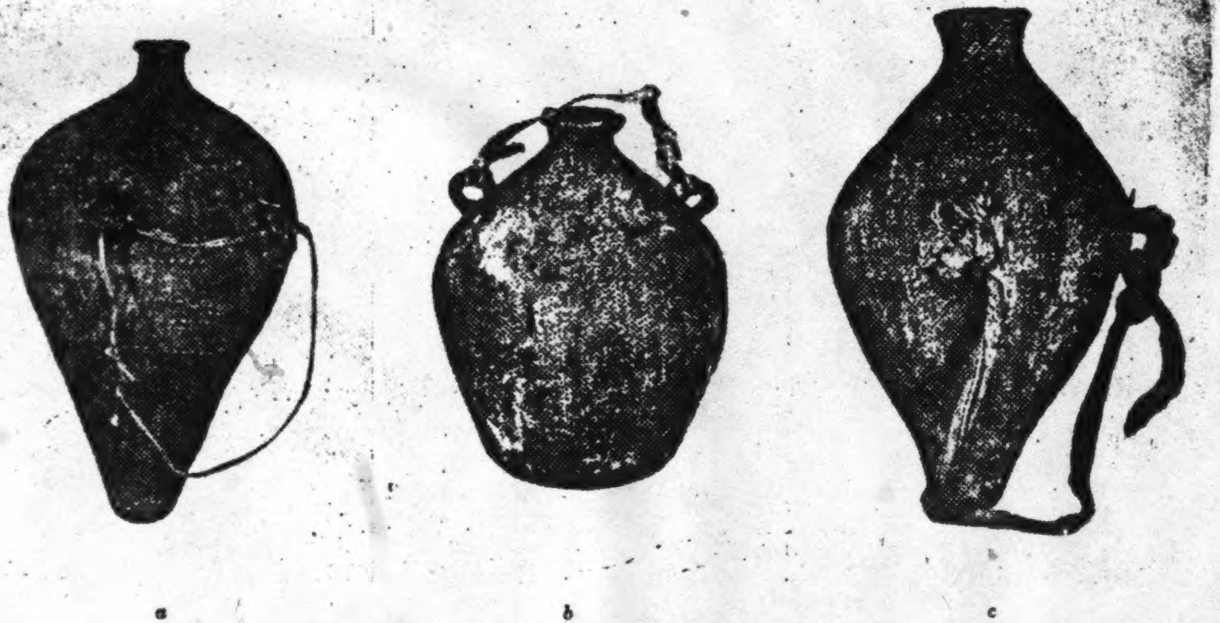

Fig. 20 a-c (50.1-7916, 7905, 8606) Basketry Bottles. *a*, *b*, Paviotso, Twined; *c*, Moapa.

000 The Museum has one coiled berrying-basket collected by J. W. Powell from the Paiute of southern Utah (Fig. 28a). It is very similar in technique and general shape to a form popular among the Ute (see below).

Several other pieces collected by Powell are of uncertain provenience, but may be confidently assigned to either the Ute or Paiute. To the former I am inclined to credit the hat in Fig. 31a because it differs from all the known Paiute equivalents and resembles in its projecting top the Ute hat illustrated by Mason.[1] Like the other Shoshonean hats, it is twined. Regarding the other Powell specimens I have no data to decide their provenience, as they are neither described by Mason nor duplicated in subsequent collections of either Ute or Paiute material. Three of them are small coiled bowls, one of which is heavily pitched in one part; they share a characteristic braided rim. A larger circular bowl, also coiled, is shown in Fig. 31d and a close-coiled meat tray in Fig. 31c.

The baskets definitely known to come from the Ute are remarkable, if the Museum collection may be taken as representative, for the dearth of twined ware. Winnowing trays of both Paiute forms are lacking. A gathering-basket of open-twined variety described by Mason as Paiute[2] and found by myself at Lemhi was bought by Kroeber among the Northern Ute (Fig. 27b). Three bottles, all of biconical or pear shape, are also twined. All the other bottles, representing a number of distinct varieties of forms, are coiled (Figs. 28b, 20).

A type of coiled basketry distinctive of the Ute is represented by a moderately sized berrying-basket, uniformly worked on a two-rod foundation. The shape varies from the anomalous cuspidor form (Fig. 28c) to the varieties illustrated in Figs. 28a and 27a. The specimens of this category come from both the Northern and the Southern Ute, those of the latter having been purchased partly at Ignacio and partly at Navaho Springs.

A plain bowl with two-rod foundation—the single sample of this shape—is shown in Fig. 29a. It was bought at Navaho Springs.

A coarse coiled tray collected at Navaho Springs recalls Apache equivalents. Relations in the same direction are suggested by three other baskets (Figs. 30 a-c).

WAR.

The Shoshoni naturally show Plains Indian influences most clearly. Among their chief enemies were the Crow, who are repeatedly cited by

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[1] Mason, (b), 490.
[2] Mason, (b), 493.

000 Wilson.[1] The emphasis was put on horse-stealing and at the Sun dance such raids were the things spoken of, provided the narrator had witnesses for his deeds. At present they also tell of chasing or killing the enemy, but my informant regarded this as an innovation due to the Crow Indians. At the time of the Sun dance and when the sham battle is held they speak of guns captured from the enemy, and other deeds, but horse-stealing is regarded as brave an exploit as any. Though scalps were taken, scalping did not rank as an heroic deed, nor was I able to get a definite statement as to counting coup. My informant had heard of punishing enemies with a long stick, but did not make any more specific comment on the subject. A man who rode up to an enemy with a gun and pulled him from his horse was reckoned a brave man; so was a Shoshoni who rushed up in the face of an enemy shooting at him and then got back safe or even repelled the enemy. Such a man would become a leader among the warriors. Scouts would carry a wolf hide and walk with the aid of two sticks. In going out there were generally two head men, who would say, "Well, let us gather men and set out." They located the enemy, watching where they put their horses. That night they would get their knives ready and drive off the horses, prepared to fight if overtaken.

During Washakie's chieftainship my informant went with the rest of the men against the Arapaho. They killed a few and got off with some horses: the scalps were put on sticks. When they got near camp the party sang war songs, then the women rode out double to meet them, relieving them of the scalp-sticks.[2] Coming into camp several of the warriors discharged their guns, then they rode round camp singing war songs. Finally everything would quiet down. In the evening they held a dance (*wutápe*). The old women would hold the enemies' hands or other parts of the body in their mouths. The dance was also performed on the next day and might be repeated for several days in succession.

There were rarely any disputes about war exploits; generally every one knew who deserved the credit for them.

Besides bows and arrows, the Shoshoni are said to have used spears of pine wood about twelve feet long with a steel spike about four inches in length.[3] They had buffalo shields (*tserop*). They cut off the breast part of a buffalo hide and pegged it down over a pit filled with hot rocks. The hide gets drawn up, then it was easy to pull off the hair. It was moved to a pile of earth and when dry was furnished with a cover of

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[1] Wilson, 27, 44, 87.

[2] Wilson, [illegible]

[3] Wilson, 177.

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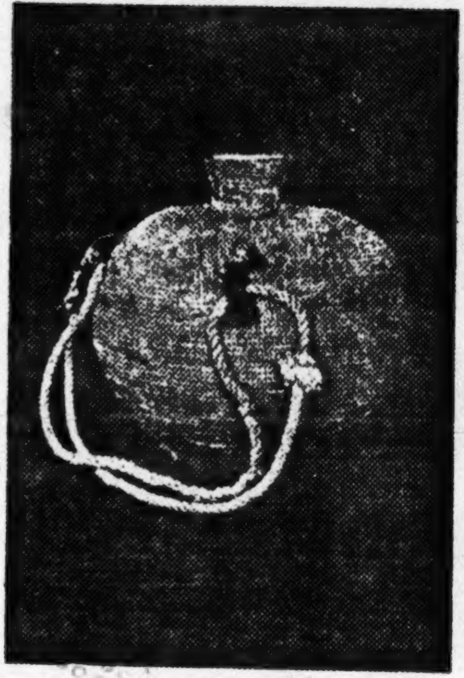

Fig. 21 (50.1-8609). Moapa Basketry Bottle, Coiled.

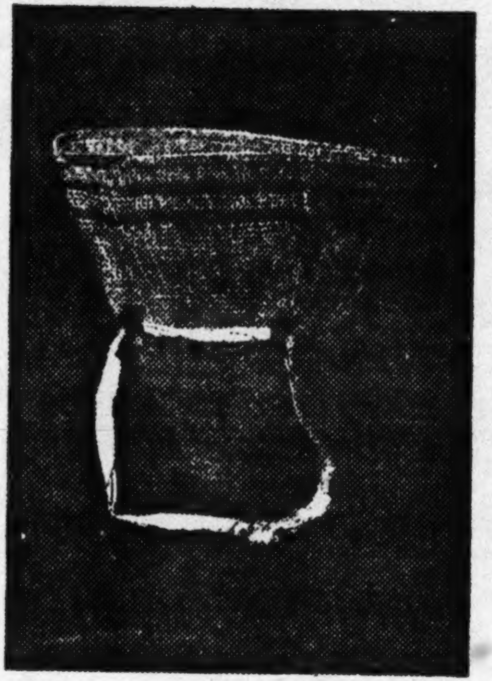

Fig. 22 (50.1-8615). Moapa Gathering Basket.

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of
237 stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it
714 first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The
whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was
killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

411 Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ărō*) by the Paviotso,—
[824] *tsɨsaʙi*, *poɣo'nōʙ*^{i}, and *uguo'qow*^{a}, the last-mentioned being used for
arrows (*poñoss*^{a}) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso
[463] made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war.
[237] The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the
kuyúi fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamŭʙi*) twisted on
[237] the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were
barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip
of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit
[237] arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point.
Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one
[824] or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper
wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs
[531] traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirŭpi*^{i}). The arrow-head was
sometimes smeared with poison (*nötúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the
mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows
were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized
with the thumb and index in shooting.

Hopkins, 54.

[2] Reed 26, 79, 83.

[3] Powell 126.

411 A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood. [824] [78]

000 The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew. They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind; most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.[1]

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from serviceberry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.[2]

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tü'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *naiəmapō̃'naite*, which literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *warđaxe*, crazy: *ba+itsiretkā'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would carry a long flute (*wá'+i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

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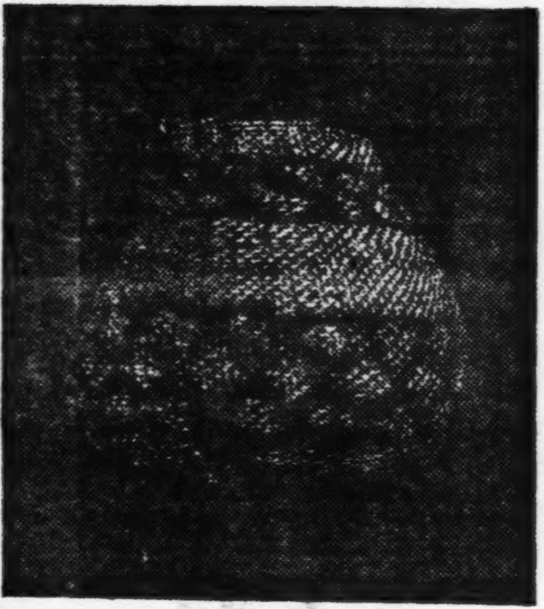

Fig. 23 (50.1-8583). Moapa Basket.

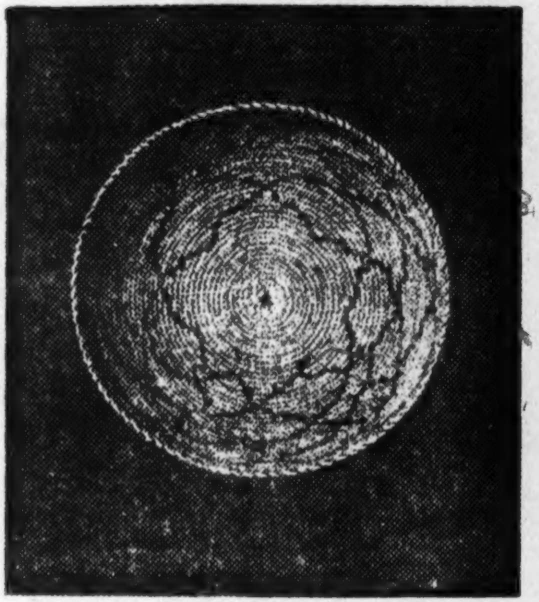

Fig. 24 (50.1-8622). Moapa Basketry Bowl, Coiled.

TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.[1] Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all. 000

Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes. 482 171

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wading, but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").[2] 000

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *posintsaxàp*‘; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*ŭ*^{u}*s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *sìmpuv*‘ grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saib*‘, while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toib*‘ or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success- 223 501

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[1] Wilson, 104.
[2] Ibid., 20.

223 501 fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the 171 501 tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc, Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal, Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

000 The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's "lattice" form.[1]

171 854 As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awn- 000 ing above the infant's head. The largest cradle in the possession of the Museum (specimen 50.1-6930) is of this category; it was bought from a Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b) shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle; to enhance the æsthetic effect the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre Ute[2] and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1-6930 also shows the two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni cradle,[3] which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

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[1] Handbook, vol I, 357.
[2] Mason, (a), 526.
[3] Lowie, 1909.

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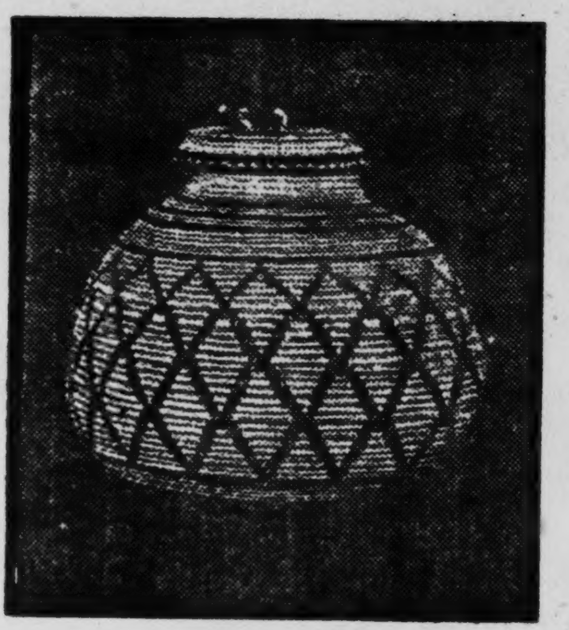

Fig. 25 (50.1-8593ab). Moapa Basket with Lid.

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000 type: a hoop encloses a series of *transverse* willow sticks gradually shortened toward the bottom and united by three strings passing through perforations near the extremities and center of each. The general shape is thus similar to that of the board cradle, while the arrangement of sticks recalls the Plains Indian backrests. A specimen from the Lenders collection (50.1-885) conforms to the usual basket-work type in which *vertical* rods are held together by a basketry technique (see below). A Ute variant of this order from southern Utah is described and illustrated by
[854] [171] Mason.[1] Compared with Paviotso and Paiute equivalents to be noticed presently its most distinctive feature is the use underneath of an ellipsoidal hoop that bulges beyond the frame laterally, but does not enclose it vertically; the sticks project beyond it both above and below. The rods are united by twining, there is an awning, and the white buckskin cover encloses the entire frame, rods as well as hoop.

854 171 285 The Paviotso use a diminutive cradle (*sa'ki'hubə*) with rounded hood at the top during the first month of the infant's life (50.1-7963); the basketry technique is that of simple openwork twining. In general shape this specimen is not unlike one of the two Shasta cradles illustrated by Dixon.[2] It is carried in the arms. Later a second cradle (*hūbb'*) is made, which remains in use until the child is able to walk. The Museum has three specimens of definitely known provenance,—two uncovered and one, lacking the awning, covered with buckskin. Four covered pieces catalogued as "Paiute" (50.1-2110, 50.1-4026, 50.1-4025, 50.1-5991) may, however, with great assurance be ascribed to the Paviotso, making seven full-sized specimens in all.

In both covered and uncovered cradles the greater part of the structure consists of parallel rods united by openwork twining, and the awning is likewise of uniform pattern to be described below. The main difference is in the framing, which leads to a difference in the outer shape of the two variants. In the uncovered variety, represented by a Pyramid Lake specimen (50.1-7912), the two framing rods, which are united to each other by wrapping, are on all sides parallel to the framed rods, which they closely adjoin, so that there results a compact quadrilateral narrower at the bottom than at the top. The covered pieces may be represented by the Pyramid Lake cradle shown in Fig. 34b, where the frame consists of two looped sticks applied from top and bottom respectively, so that the total appearance of the cradle suggests the Nez Percé pattern or that of the Ute, if rounded off below. The skin covering extends

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[1] Mason, (a), 527.

[2] Dixon, (b), 434.

854 over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the
171 average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper
285 loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks. The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120
854 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the
285 sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an
alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Mu-
531 seum specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belong-
171 ing to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's "Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso, has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.[1]

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.[2]

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.[3]

000 Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

854 The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso
171 type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of
285 the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,[4]

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[1] Mason, (a), 528.
[2] Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.
[3] Dixon, (a), 200.
[4] Mason, (a), 530-534.

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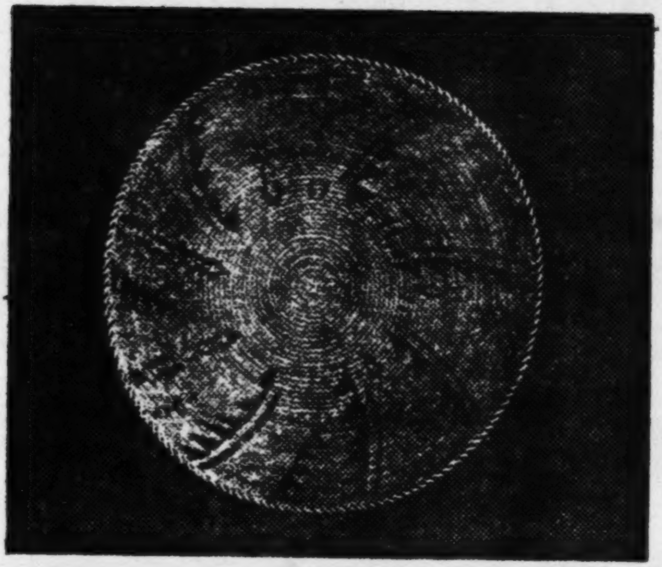

Fig 26.

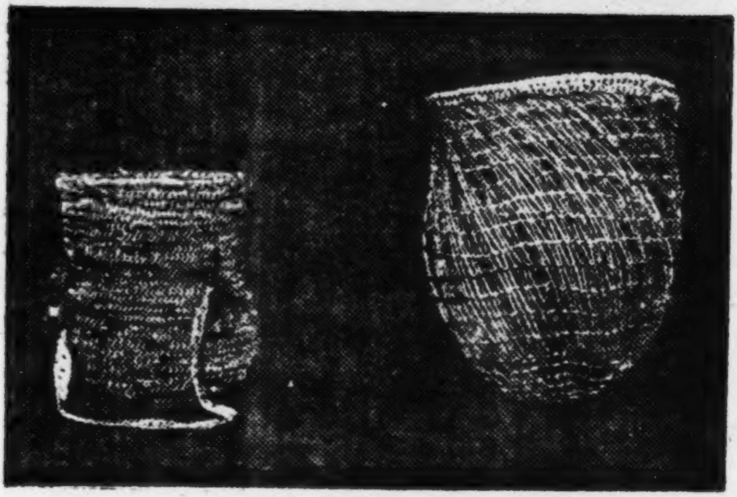

Fig 27.

Fig. 26 (50.1–8628). Moapa Basketry Bowl, Coiled.
Fig. 27 *ab* (50.1–6952, 50–1345). Baskets, Ute and Northern Ute.

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000 that is to say, it is an arch secured to the sides of the frame. In structure, however, this arch differs from those figured by Mason, since it consists of a considerable number of thin-bowed rods united in pairs by twining, which is done in such a way as to produce a decorative pattern of approximately V-shaped elements.

854 171 285 The Shivwits cradle (Fig. 33a) is double-bowed like the covered Paviotso type. In place of the compound arch of the Moapa cradle there is a single bent stick connecting the two sides. From near the top, the flat frame formed by the twined rods, there rises the twined basket-work awning, which gradually expands from a width of 2½ inches to 6 inches and is secured to the center of the arch. Compared with the Paviotso awning, which it resembles in general position, the Shivwits awning differs in being longer, narrower, undecorated, and almost flat instead of definitely vaulted; its support consists of a single rod where the Paviotso cradle usually has six and is more or less vertical to the plane of cradle frame instead of forming an obtuse angle with it.

GAMES.

000 In his monograph Stewart Culin has given rather careful consideration to Shoshonean games and I here merely offer personal notes and observations.

Among the Moapa Paiute the cup-and-ball game (*tö'dsip'* or *tö+dsinimp'*) is popular in a definite form, a cottontail skull being caught on a *pasts* stalk originally connected with it by means of *wu'tsi* string. A model was obtained (Fig. 35). Each of the tooth cavities counts 6, the holes on the side 10, any other hole 1, the front teeth 6, while catching the minute hole on the inside of each row of tooth cavities at once wins the game regardless of the score, being equivalent to countless points. It is said that a person who loses this game gets bald-headed.

The Shivwits use the bull-roarer (*nánimŭt*), but only as a children's toy, as which it was instituted by the mythical character Wolf. A father would make one for his children to play with. Fig. 36 represents a model.

A figure by Powell indicates the playing of the hand-game by his Paiute.[1]

The Ute of Ignacio thus described their manner of playing the hand-game (*naíyu'k· apărau*). All the players at any one time are of the same sex but both men and women play the game. Formerly the caches consisted of two elk teeth tied together, and each player had two. If the

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[1] Powell, Fig. 46, facing p. 128.

000 guesser missed both hands, he paid two counters; if he missed only one hand, he lost one counter. There are both large and small tallies, and one of the latter equals four of the larger, so that when a man scores four he returns the big counters in return for one little one. There are four ways of indicating a guess. When the guesser moves his hand to the right, it means that he thinks the caches are in both his opponents' left hands. When he moves his hand to the left, his guess is that the objects are hidden in the two right hands. If he lowers his hand between his opponents, he indicates that his left-hand opponent holds the cache in his left hand, the right-hand opponent in his right hand. Pointing with thumb and index extended and separated means that the opponents' outside hands hold the caches.

Cañute is mentioned as a Ute game by Reed.[1]

Among the Wind River Shoshoni basket-dice are used for a game called *ă+uwùnohŏ*, which I played with Wawanabidi, his wife, my interpreter, and a boy, each playing for himself. However, this seems to be essentially a woman's pastime. Ordinarily each participant has two throws but after the completion of a game the winner starts with a single throw in beginning the new game. Another statement that a player continues to throw as long as she scores is contradictory to the foregoing. The dice seen consisted of three bone discs and three diamond-shaped bones and were thrown by lifting the basketry tray containing them and striking the ground with it. Sometimes, however, a player takes them into her hand and casts them on the basket for her initial throw. Long and short tallies are used, the latter counting ten points and the former one point apiece. When ten long counters have been accumulated they are exchanged for one short one. The method of counting the various possible combinations of throws is given below:—

All blank sides up (*dzŭ'upin*) = 5
All blank except one star = 1
All blank except one marked diamond = 1
Three blank disks and three marked diamonds (*ndwe*) = 4
All marked sides up (*dzŭ'upin*) = 5
All blank, except two stars = 0
All blank, except two marked diamonds = 0
Two blank disks, others marked = 0
Two marked disks, one marked diamond, rest blank = 0
Two marked diamonds, one marked star = 0
Three blank diamonds, three marked discs (*ndwe*) = 0
One blank disk, rest marked = 1

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[1] Reed, 80, 172. For a full account of the Tewa form of the game, see Harrington, 243 seq.

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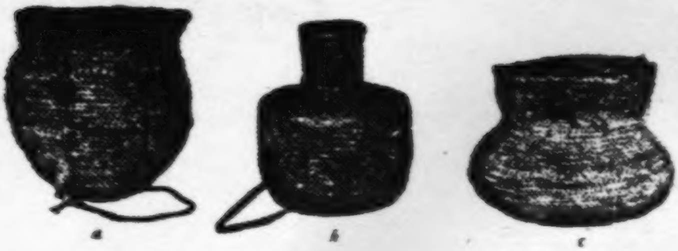

Fig. 28.

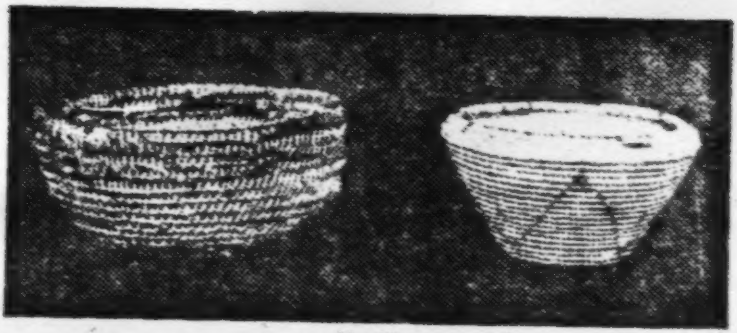

Fig. 29.

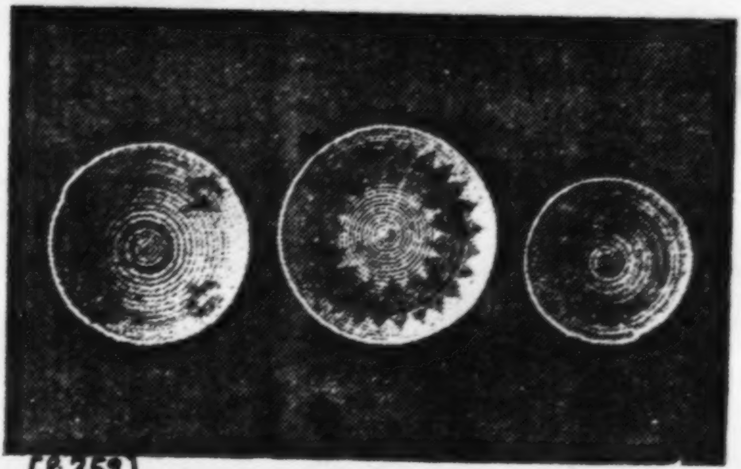

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Fig. 30.

Fig. 28 *a-c* (50-1547, 1209, 1242). Baskets. *a*, *c*, Berrying Baskets, Ute; *b*, Water Bottle, Ute.

Fig. 29 *ab* (50.1-6965, 8627). Baskets. *a*, Southern Ute Bowl, Navaho Springs; *b*, Moapa Basket, re-curved at Top.

Fig 30 *a-c* (50.1-6937, 6960, 6954). Southern Ute Basketry Trays, Coiled.

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A game called *tü'manaiyawin* is said to have been played mostly by the Ya'handika (Groundhog-eater) band, who used to live toward the west of the Wind River, and are probably now mixed with the A'gaitika (Salmon-eater) band.[1] Though this is a guessing-game the players do not hide the objects to be concealed in their hands but under big basketry trays. Two persons would hide the caches. The guesser used a wand. If he held it out horizontally and gripped it in the center, it meant that the plain caches were in (near?) the outside hands. For the inside hands he moved the wand held out away from himself, perpendicularly down between his two opponents; to indicate the hands to his own right he pointed the stick left, and vice versa. The following song was sung with the game:—

Pȧndzȯaaitc	kü̂winògin;	tü'ndzayàtsi	kü̂winògin.
Water-ogre	is shaking his head;	the prairie-dog	is shaking his head.

In the hand-game (*naïyahwin*) the position of the plain caches is guessed. When the guesser wishes to indicate that they are in the two outside hands of the concealers, he extends the thumb and index of his right hand, this guess being known as *qádzumàni*, "ends." To indicate both inside hands the guesser's hand, with fingers extended, is moved perpendicularly down between his opponents. For both caches in the right or left hands of the concealers, the guesser points his extended index in the appropriate direction, the other fingers being clenched. Another form of guess is called *sâwanó*: the guesser makes a fork of his index and middle finger, other fingers being clenched, and points in the direction *opposite* to the one he wishes to indicate. No guess counts until the guesser has said, "Dzō," i.e., "Ready!"

The hoop-game (*ndhani*) was played by two men. There was a brush enclosure toward which the hoop was rolled. A fringed stick was thrown at it, and the part that touched the hoop determined the count of the throw. The hoop was about the size of a hand-drum.

The Shoshoni also would roll the ring from a saddle cinch, while all the players tried to shoot an arrow through it from the same place.

A game called *mânigâwan dáwidoi* consisted in throwing a finger ring into a little square goal about ten or fifteen feet away.

Tü'mbi nárapē̂n was a game played on the ice by the unmarried young people, who used the occasion for courting. They selected a smooth spot and sat down in two arcs of a circle. Each side had two flat smooth rocks and a very small, usually blue, bead. The rocks were thrown at the bead of the opposing side, each hit scoring one.

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[1] Lowie, 206.

000 Stone tops wrapped with buckskin were thrown on the ice simultaneously by all the players and the one who kept his top spinning for the longest time won the game, which was called *nárapùdjin*ᵉ. When they wished to play this game the Shoshoni said they were going to have a rock-race.

Wilson describes a boys' game in which the players shot at the brush and made out they were aiming at enemies. To clip off a twig counted as taking a scalp and the successful marksman would carry the twig in his belt as a trophy. The same author describes the eagerness with which the adult Shoshoni indulged in horse-racing and gambling. The stakes were considerable, so that a gambler might win fifty ponies by a single bet.[1]

524 A game played by the Paviotso men is called *wō'qúkoratsàñen*. Six
525 cane dice are thrown on the ground within a circle traced on the ground. Along the circle a number of sticks are planted in slanting position. These serve as tallies, and a player who scores so as to come all the way round one semicircle wins the game. They used to gamble for arrows, buckskin, beads, nets, and other objects.

524 The women played a dice game (*nâBoγò'in*). They used painted sticks, which were thrown up from a basket.

526 The men played a football game (*watcimuin*). The ball was of buckskin and about the size of a baseball, but soft. Eight men played. They took off their clothing and kicked the ball towards a goal of two sticks set up at both ends. To win they had to get the ball between the goal posts of the opposite side.

The women's ball game (*nazí'tsaka*) was played by from eight to ten players. Every one had a long stick and there were two cross sticks. There were no goal posts, the goals being represented by two rings. The side that got the buckskin ball to the center of the ring won.

Two men played the hoop game (*ipai'ciin*). The hoop was thrown and the men threw their darts. If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored.

In the *wu'tóqoin* game two men kicked as many balls and the one who first reached the goal won.

524 Two forms of the hand-game were played. In the *ohôribo* form, played only by men, the caches were of bone and the plain bone was to be guessed. The four caches are hidden under a *tūm*ᵒ tray, where they are laid in a row. The concealer sings, while the opponent guesses the plain
[525] ones. There are two on each side, others gamble on the result. Eight

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[1] Wilson, 23, 42 f.

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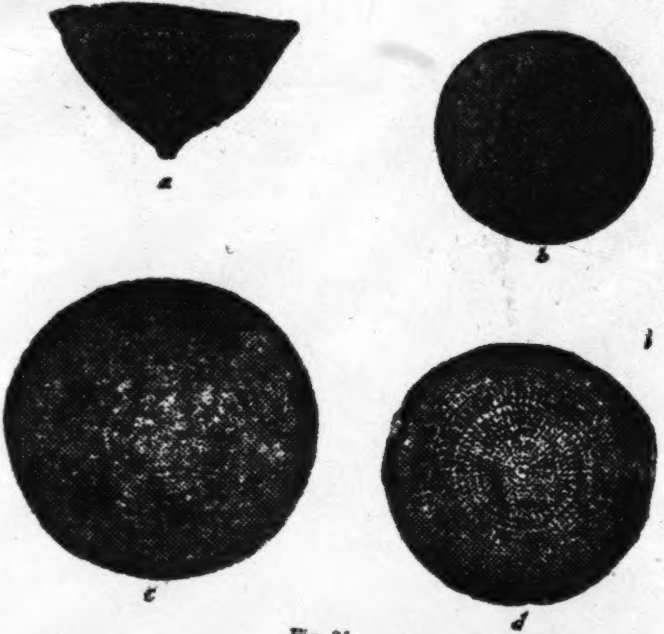

Fig. 31.

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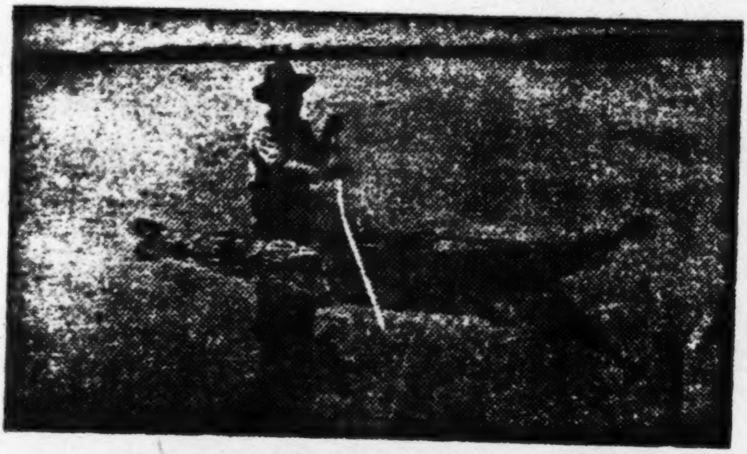

Fig. 32.

Fig. 31 a-d (50-1554, 1550, 50.1-8644, 50-1549). Basketry Hat and Trays. a, b, d, probably Ute; c, Shivwits

Fig. 32. Paviotso Balsa, Fallon, Nevada.

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524 tally sticks are used, and when one side has won all of them it wins the game. In the *nayduwĭtsa* form, not bones, but willow sticks are hidden. Long ago beets (*sic*) were used. Only two caches were used in the old days, and they were not hidden under a tray. Women, as well as men, play this form, but at any one game all the players are of one sex. There are ten sticks serving as counters.

Four men played at *narák'baĭtsa*. First an arrow was thrown, then the one who shot an arrow closest to the one thrown was regarded as the winner.

Another arrow-game, *tūrŏgwinăĭtsa*, differed in that the arrows were merely thrown, not shot, at the target-arrow.

BIRTH.

000 A Moapa woman in labor is assisted by two women, one of whom watches the womb while the other hoists up the patient's body. When these attendants are exhausted, the husband comes to take their place. The woman who watches the womb cuts the navelstring with a knife, and it is afterwards tied up in a bag and secured to the arch of the cradle. When the baby grows older, the mother removes the bag and buries it in the brush. For a month or more after the infant's birth sexual intercourse is not indulged in by the parents and for a month neither eats any meat. Also the parents would move some distance away to a small shelter, where they remained six days in case of a girl and five days if a boy had been born, whereupon they would return to their former home. As soon as the father heard of a child's birth he would formerly run some distance away and then back again "to save his life"; for the saying was that if a man did this he would live to be an old man, while contrariwise he would age rapidly and his teeth would fall out when he was still young.

Southern Ute customs recall some of these Paiute features; the rules affecting *both* parents are especially noteworthy. When a woman was in labor several old women skilled in matters obstetrical were sent for to watch her until after parturition; the husband sometimes stayed there and sometimes went to another house. Poles were planted into the floor and the women in labor knelt and grasped them. The navel cord is cut and tied; after four days the part that falls off is taken far away and buried in an ant hill, or it is fixed up neatly in some buckskin and tied to the cradle. If it is lost, the baby will grow up to run around as a foolish person; hence, any boy or girl who acts too foolishly is said to have lost his navel cord. As soon as a baby is born, plenty of lukewarm water is handed to the mother, who drinks it to cleanse herself inwardly.

She must remain indoors for a month and never drink cold water or eat meat[1]; these taboos extend to her husband, but only for four days. The old women instruct the parents regarding all necessary observances. If a man drank cold water before the proper time his teeth would soon rot; Panayüts lost two teeth in this way. The morning after the birth the father must run round in the hills. He will break a branch, run, place it on a tree, break another limb, run on, and continue in this fashion all day; otherwise he would never catch any deer. The branches represent deer. Before the birth of the child a pit is dug in the house and the ashes from a fire built outside are put in and covered with dirt, whereupon powdered cedarbark is put on top. The woman and her baby are placed on this pile; according to Panayüts the heat prevents the development of body hair such as Caucasians have.[2] There are still other regulations to be followed. Neither parent must use his fingers to scratch himself lest they leave black marks; instead a wooden scratching-stick is carried in the braid or other part of the hair for one month.[3] Further it is forbidden for both to rub their eyes during the natal period lest their eyes get sore or even become blind. The father will seek out a good old hunter and give him clothing or a bow with arrows, and the mother will similarly present a good old woman with a blanket or dress, in the hope that their baby might live to an equally ripe age and be equally successful. For several days after the birth the father refrains from horseback-riding; then he may ride a mare or some other horse of inferior quality. At the expiration of a month he will paint a good horse from head to tail and ride him. He and his wife daub themselves with the same kind of paint and some other woman cooks food and feeds the mother with it. This signalizes the cessation of the natal taboos.

A Uintah told me that a woman in travail assumed a kneeling position and clung to a big stick planted in front of her. One female attendant clasped her round the waist, squeezing her, another made the delivery, cut the navelstring, and washed the infant, who lay about for a month or a month and a half, when a cradleboard was made. Boys' and girls' cradles did not differ except that the latter were painted yellow. The part of the navelcord that falls off is put into a rag, which in turn is placed within a little beaded bag, which is attached to the cradle. When the child grows up and people have killed a deer, they sometimes remove the navelcord, and put it into the deer's guts. Others push it deep down

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[1] These taboos occur also among the Cahuilla of southern California. See Hooper, 351.

[2] The Cahuilla practise a similar custom. See Hooper, *loc. cit.*

[3] The Shasta mother must use a scratching-stick for five days after the child's birth. (Dixon, 455). Elsewhere the implement is associated with adolescence rather than parturition.

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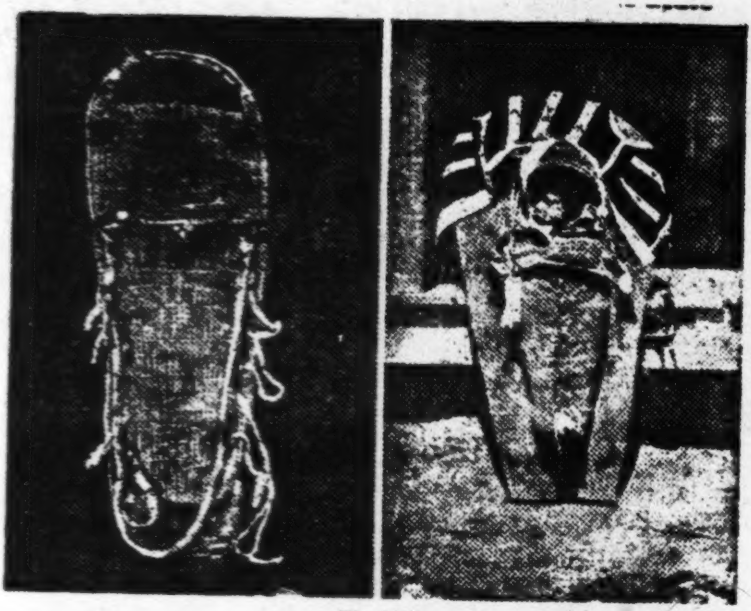

Fig. 33.

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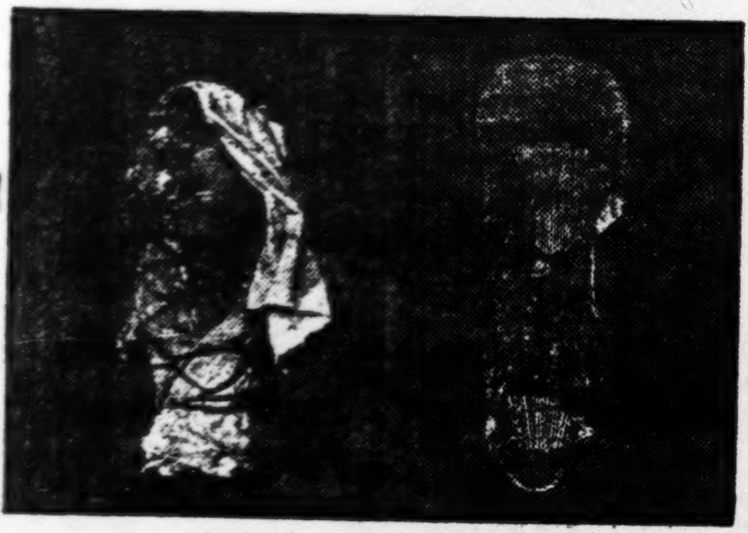

Fig. 34.

Fig. 33 a(50.1-8624). Cradles. a, Shivwits; b, Southern Ute, Navaho Springs, Colorado.

Fig. 34 ab(50.1-8623, 7915). Cradles. a, Moapa; b, Pyramid Lake Paviotso.

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000 into an ant hill. If the navelcord were merely thrown away, the child would be weak and liable to fall sick, but if it is disposed of in the customary way the infant will come to be strong. Sydney's baby had a beaded diamond-shaped pouch containing the navelcord attached to the cradleboard in the middle of the right side.

At Fallon I was told that while Shoshoni women kneel in labor the Paviotso lie on their backs like white women. In order to "loosen the blood" after parturition the mother would drink an infusion of a piece scraped off from a mountain-sheep horn.

The navelcord is wrapped up and tied inside the cradle; when they wish to get rid of it, they hide it. According to Sarah Hopkins, both parents abstained from all flesh during the natal period and

> the father goes through the labor of piling the wood for twenty-five days, and assumes all his wife's household work during that time. If he does not do his part in the care of the child, he is considered an outcast. Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully put away at the end of the days, the last one containing the navelstring, carefully wrapped up, and all are put into a tree, and the child put into a new and ornamented basket.[1]

Like her Lemhi sister, the Wind River Shoshoni woman retired to a menstrual lodge,[2] which was erected at some distance. She stayed there for about thirty days. A female attendant might remain with her; some women lived there alone much of the time, though visited by other women. The husband never came there and did not see his child until his wife returned home. If he stayed with his wife, he would bleed to death from the nose. When the child was born, another man would inform the father and say to him, "Now go to the creek and take a good bath." He would then take a bath at the same time the baby was being washed. When the navelcord fell off, a messenger also informed the father, who might then eat meat from which he had abstained. The wife was obliged to continue her meat-fast for a month. For parturition two posts were set into the ground and a crossbar was arranged for the kneeling parturient to cling to; below her a pit is dug for the baby to drop into. The female attendant cuts the navelcord; the stump is buried in an ant hill while the mother expresses the hope that her child may be healthy and as industrious as the ants. If a woman were sick after her delivery, some other woman with a baby of her own of about the same age might nurse the infant; when the mother recovered she would pay a horse for this service. In the case of twins born one directly after the other no special usage seems to have obtained. But if considerable time

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[1] Hopkins, 49 f.

[2] The Shasta also utilised the menstrual hut for this purpose. (Dixon, (b), 454.)

000 elapsed before the second delivery care was taken lest the twins see each other. The older was taken away to die, but it was believed that the younger would then be able to live long because he had not seen the other.

NAMES.

A number of interesting variations may be noted with regard to customs connected with names. Among the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute personal names are meaningless. Very few of the Moapa Indians are namesakes for the usage is to make up a new name for every child born. Such names may be invented by the parents themselves or these may ask other people to name their children. The name would be kept ever after without change. The following are samples of women's names: Panán^{i}, Tüñgwí'^{i}, $^{Tso\cdot}$qwán^{o}, Pawíarö', Mu'síriq, Tamáwör, Undúmban, Hík'a, Tamína, Hö'tön, Tunúq, Örip^{i}. I also secured a list of men's names: A'panàwö, Stígwit, Wambör^{i}, Töntsínuq, Wögöhuhuwíva^{Bi}, Suwín^{i}, Wínimaq, Piñq', Tsö^{o}ts, Huwá', Pitcígant, Añgaú'qaits. When a person dies, his name is tabooed. His relatives would be angry if any one pronounced it.

With the Ute of Ignacio some names were meaningless, but not all. My informant Panayüs derived this name from another tribe, but his father had called him Tcüicínuptsits, which means "very hard" or "stout like a rock." Similarly George Bent's Indian appellation is Napá-u'tcàputs, i.e., "Wraps-his-foot," and my interpreter Tony was known as Kwíntcigit, "Left-hand." On the other hand, his mother's and his wife's name, Paqö's^{a} and Tatsiá, were said to be untranslatable, though other women bore names with definite meaning. The Southern Ute received their names several days after birth, generally from the father and sometimes from the mother. A mother might name a boy and the father a girl. When the child grew up and acted queerly, it would receive a nickname from its friends. If a person fell sick and recovered from being nearly dead, the doctor would say, "I'll give you a new name." He would call him "So-and-so," and then an announcement was made that the old name should be dropped.

To illustrate the giving of a nickname my informant told these anecdotes. Some years ago he went to Navaho Springs, where he lived with two friends. These saw some women in a menstrual lodge and asked Panayüs to accompany them and possibly get a sweetheart. Panayüs was wearing a brownish-green suit. When they got to the lodge, Panayüs did not dismount but asked, "Has one of you girls already made a bed for me?" They laughed without answering him. He repeated his question, dismounted, walked over, and stood near the fire. One of the girls asked, "Who is this?" The other replied, "I don't know. He looks like a person traveling round at night who cannot be seen in the daytime. He is Inúsakats," (a mythical invisible being, whose voice, however, can be heard). Then all the others called Panayús by this nickname and it clung to him for a long time. Another man acquired the same sobriquet. Though married, he would visit another woman, slinking home before daylight every night. The young woman's mother heard her talk at night and thought she was going to get married, but not seeing her lover she said. "I think you are running round with Inúsakats," whence the nickname. Another appellation of similar type was given to Panayús while he was watching his brother dance. His brother said, "Say 'Siwátanu^{a}' (a Cheyenne word) and we'll repeat the song." Panayús said. "Siwátanu^{a}" and was nicknamed accordingly.

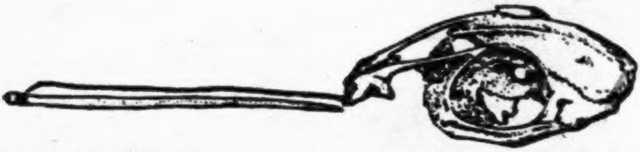

Fig. 35 (50.1–8582). Moapa Cup and Ball Game, Model; Cottontail Skull.

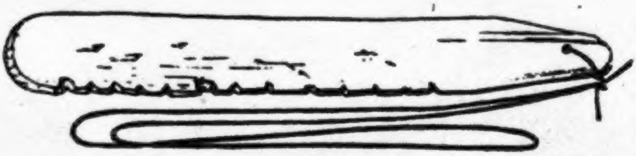

Fig 36 (50.1–6637). Shivwits Bull Roarer Model.

When a person died his name was not pronounced in his relatives' presence.

The Uintah Ute name a child when it is about a year old. Apparently all their names had some meaning. Eva Attwine's son is called A'pātsig'á, Little-boy, and he will keep this appellation even when adult. Eva herself is called Tsà γowəts, Wrinkled-face, because as an infant she had a wrinkled face. One woman was named Pāmánts, Water+?; another Tō'ni^{bw}, Chubby, because when little she was chubby and short; a third. Qorúmp, Smells-of-urine." The nickname character of nearly all these designations is manifest.

551 According to Sarah Winnemucca the Paviotso named the majority of their girls after flowers, others after rocks; boys were designated according to some chance observation they made in infancy. If they particularly noted the flight of a bird or the passing of an animal or a sister's black eyes, they were named after the objects in question.[1] My Paviotso informant said that some but not all girls were named for flowers. Usually a child received a nickname, which developed into a permanent designation. Bob Carson, now called Oite^{i}, Left-handed, was originally known as Nü'ʙanats, Snow-on-him, from nü'ʙaʙi, snow, and nats, boy. Later because he always wore clothes of canvas he was named Toxákus, from tohá, white, +?.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni parents or some of their friends gave names to children, sometimes according to what the children do when old enough to laugh. These real names are not altered in later life, but nicknames may be acquired and used so constantly that those ignorant of the circumstances mistake them for the real names. Wilson was called the Crier because he once mimicked some crying women and children.[2] There is no objection to mentioning deceased persons, but a distinctive suffix, *hap*, meaning "the late" is appended, e.g., Tíndoi-hap. Carrot-leaf, Drowning, Elk-twins, are illustrations of women's names. The Wind River Shoshoni do not like to tell their names; a man rarely does so—more readily if alone than in the presence of other tribesmen,—a woman never. If other Shoshoni are present, one of them may, however, pronounce his name. This reticence with regard to one's own name is found also among the Lemhi, and though I can find no specific note for the other groups mentioned above I think it is probably a deep-rooted and widespread Shoshonean feature.

MENSTRUATION.

According to a Moapa Paiute, his tribe never had a menstrual lodge, but the Shivwits say that during the period of illness a woman would sleep some distance from her husband. At the first menses a Shivwits girl would abstain from eating meat for a whole month because it had a disagreeable odor for one in this condition. However, this rule is no longer maintained. On later occasions the women merely abstained during the menstrual period.

The Southern Ute had very definite rules. A girl would announce her first menses to her mother, who then led her out and made her run back and forth like a horse in training. While she was trotting in this fashion, her mother gave her instructions about the menstrual lodge and its regulations. Then she would make a brush structure or "blood lodge" (*na·d·γan*) for her daughter. The next time the girl would know what to do. The brush lodge was erected about a quarter of a mile from home and a brush bed was prepared there. Sometimes several girls having their menses at the same time jointly constructed a larger shelter for themselves. During the three or four nights spent there meat was tabooed: a married woman's husband would have bad luck in the chase if she ate meat. It is worth noting that among the Northern Maidu a husband was debarred from hunting during his wife's illness.[1] Young Ute men were permitted to go to the blood lodge and make love to their sweethearts within, but they were warned not to attempt cohabitation lest they fall sick in later life, and girls were told by their mothers that carnal intercourse in the lodge would make them short-lived. Menstruating women were never allowed to attend a dance. At the time of my visit these rules were largely obsolete at Ignacio, while the Uintah declared that the menstrual lodge was still in vogue. These Northern Ute share with their Southern kinsmen the meat taboo and the courting custom. When a girl menstruated for the first time, an old woman made her take a bath and washed her thoroughly. She had to remain alone in a blood lodge for ten days, when she was again washed by the old woman. Thereafter her period of seclusion was shortened by a day every successive month until it was reduced to the normal span of three days.[2] Sometimes a small girl or boy would sleep in the shelter with a menstruating woman. 000

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[1] Hopkins, 46 f.
[2] Wilson, 27

Both on the Pyramid Lake Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, my Paviotso informants denied the use of a special menstrual lodge, though they knew of its occurrence among the Shoshoni. This was confirmed at Lovelocks by Annie Lowry, who told me that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people. However, at Pyramid Lake menstruating women were not supposed to enter the place where a sick person was staying and the meat taboo was enforced, the diet being largely confined to seeds. At Pyramid Lake Old Winnemucca said that during her first menses a girl had to carry sagebrush for firewood every day for five days and the neighbors would use the wood.[3] After the five days the girl took a sweatbath and cleansed her- 841 [343] 881 841

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[1] Dixon, (a), 239.

[2] A gradual shortening of the period has been noted by Professor Kroeber among the Mohave.

[3] Cf. Dixon, (a), 236; *idem.*, (b), 456.

841 self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope
881 impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she re-
582 turned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants. The entire ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.[1] Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual
(343) lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

000 As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo, which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.[2] The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.[3]

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[1] Hopkins, 48.
[2] Lowie, 214.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 446.

MARRIAGE.

Among the Shivwits Paiute a man would work for his parents-in-law, 000 bringing them game. Both here and in the Moapa band some men had two wives but never more, and usually the women of a bigamous household were sisters, a man sometimes marrying his first wife's younger sister. The levirate is also common to both groups, indeed is still said to be practised by the Shivwits; with the Moapa it was especially an unmarried man that took to wife his brother's widow. Among the Shivwits I was told that cross-cousin marriages were not in vogue.

The Southern Ute who wished to marry would send a friend to propose for him to the girl's father. When the latter asked what he wanted, the go-between would say, "My friend sent me, he wishes to marry your daughter." If a clearly negative answer was given, the messenger at once returned. Otherwise he waited for the family council. The girl's wishes were consulted; parents might persuade but did not force her to marry against her will. On the next day the suitor himself went to the lodge and stayed over night; after several days he took his wife to his own house. Sometimes, especially in the case of youths, proposals were made to girls while they were in the menstrual lodge. It was not customary to marry first cousins; a man who transgressed the rule was compared to the mythical trickster. In case of a separation the man would keep the children if his wife was at fault and vice versa. An aggrieved husband might take away a war-bonnet or leggings from his wife's lover, but if he killed his rival's horses by way of punishment he thereby surrendered his marital rights to the culprit. If a man had an intrigue with another woman, his wife might summon her friends and they would jointly take away all the paramour's property, even stripping her of the clothes she wore, and the adulteress had no redress and made no objection. In such a case the husband usually came back to his wife, but not always. Sometimes a woman finding her husband return home from a visit to his mistress would ask him why he had not stayed with his sweetheart and would strike him on the shinbone.

The Uintah Ute assert that in former days girls never married when very young. The father-in-law would notice a young man who was a skilled hunter and bid his daughter marry him, knowing that his son-in-law would provide him with venison and skins for moccasins. It was customary for the young couple to stay with the bride's parents for a long time, then they would live with the husband's family; nowadays this custom is not followed and the couple settle wherever they please. Young men who were not good hunters and were not skilled in going for

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries.
If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated.
A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother disapproved
586 of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down."[1] The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory.
Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587 *tönónaiⁿ qumádu*, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, 584 her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks (593) I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that 582 a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nubility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young 584 suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

> but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to "be himself," and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.
>
> At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits 585 by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes 000 here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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[1] Hopkins, 48-49, 50.

000 would take the initiative and send word to a desirable suitor, who would then come and stay with her some evening. In those days girls did not object to their parents' wishes, but nowadays they decline a lover whom they do not like,—which my old woman informant regarded as a bad way. However, she added that even formerly if a girl had a positive dislike for the suitor, he might notice it and refrain from claiming her. A brother, as well as a father, might force a husband upon a girl against her wishes. It also happened that a man proposed to the girl's parents. After repeated visits they would become husband and wife. The bridegroom gave no presents to his wife's parents but it was customary for the young couple to stay with them and the husband hunted for his parents-in-law. However, matrilocal residence was not universal. No form of cousin marriage was considered proper.[1] A good many men had two wives, a few three. In cases of polygamy each wife had a lodge of her own; if they were sisters or cousins they got along well, otherwise they were liable to quarrel. Sometimes a man kept one sister at her parents' home and lived with the other elsewhere; however a man who had married the eldest daughter had no right to interfere with her sisters' marrying other men. A man frequently married his deceased brother's or cousin's wife; the levirate was also mentioned for the particular case of a widower marrying his brother's widow. An unfaithful woman was formerly beaten and abused. The aggrieved husband might take the adulterer's best horse or kill it and either keep or divorce his wife at will. If he caught the intruder again, he would take another horse or get his friends together and attempt to thrash the culprit. Whichever was thrown down received a terrible kicking, then friends of both would rush in and start a general fracas. A man who knew of his wife's treachery might stick a medicine-arrow into the bed, which would cause the adulterers to cleave together like dogs having intercourse and they would not be able to get asunder. Then he could catch them together and the other people could see what they were doing. A woman who discovered her husband's disloyalty would set out with her friends to whip the mistress, at the same time warning her to keep away from the man.

The Comanche cut off an adulteress's nose.

DEATH.

At present the Moapa place a corpse into a coffin and bury it in the ground, but formerly two distinct methods were employed,—cremation or burial. Ā'panàwō said he had personally witnessed both. The corpse was removed by the usual exit and the house in which the deceased had died was burnt down to be superseded by a new lodge; but this custom has become obsolete and people no longer abandon their habitation after a death. Women used to cut their hair in mourning. People would come together to cremate the corpse, stay till it was consumed by the flames, cover the bones with some ashes, then go away. After returning from the ceremony or from three to four nights later they might have a singing performance, (*huwi'ab*), or the mourner might summon all the people three or four weeks later. Then several men and women would sing. This ceremony lasted from one to five nights. The last night they continued singing until morning. Sometimes the participants—mostly the young people present—danced the *nö'qáp'*. For interment a corpse was rolled up in a rabbitskin robe, put on the ground into a wash, and covered with rocks, the bigger ones on top to keep off coyotes. My interpreter drove me to two of these graves. One, said to be about thirty years old, was not very far from the main road on the Reservation in a sloping depression on a hillside, where a space of approximately seven by three feet was marked off by a pile of stones. The head, according to my guide, was always at the higher end of the grave. The second grave was of similar character, but situated at the foot of a hill on nearly, though not quite, level ground, a few feet from the road. At the higher end were the bones of a horse; my interpreter explained that horses were sometimes killed and given to the dead.

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[1] Only one informant thought it proper for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter, but not his father's brother's daughter. Others expressly denied any difference between parallel and cross-cousins as respects marriage.

The Shivwits also mentioned two modes of disposing of the dead, though old Sally only referred to burial in the clefts of rocks. Buffalo Bill, however, said that the people would pile up cedar logs to a considerable height, place the corpse on top and burn it to ashes. The house of the deceased was also burnt down. The chief mourner arranges a weeping celebration (*yáxau"wias'*), for which he and his family provide food. This ceremony came from California and reached the Moapa when my informant was young; much later it got to the Shivwits also. Formerly they merely had the weeping but now the Bear dance is also danced on such occasions. All wail aloud. When some one begins to sing, all present sympathize with the mourner, and if some one delivers a speech everyone weeps. Men and women are ranged in opposite rows. Usually the performance lasts two evenings; on the first they sing till midnight, on the second they continue till morning. About midnight a feast is spread.

The Southern Ute took the corpse away to the hills, where they buried it in the ground. All the relatives cut their hair for mourning

000 Sometimes a widow would cut off her leggings and throw them into the fire. Husband or wife was expected to remain unmarried for a year after the spouse's death. A woman would burn up the whole lodge in which her husband had died with everything pertaining to it; a mourning husband also burnt up the lodge. If there were horses left, the deceased man's brothers would come, speak to the widow, and kill all except one gentle horse, which they left for her. Sometimes no horse was spared, at other times one would be saved for the father or a brother. The Uintah put their dead into ditches, covering up the corpses with dirt and rocks piled on them. Some mourners clipped their hair short.

To Mrs. John H. Molineux, for some years a teacher among the Uintah, I am indebted for the following account of a funeral at Whiterocks. James was the son of John Duncan, one of the chiefs. When it was known that he would probably die, he was placed in a tent near his father's wooden house. After his death the old women painted him and dressed him in his best clothes. Mrs. Molineux took the older school children there and all who were in any way connected fell on the bed, which was on the floor, and wept or howled one at a time and chanted alternately. The rest stood very still and looked on. Mrs. Molineux was permitted to have the Indian school children sing hymns and to take them to the burial on the following day. The site of the grave was in as remote and inaccessible a place as possible. The father had purchased a coffin at Vernal and the boy's horse, dogs, saddle, blankets, and other property were all assembled by the grave ready to be put in with him. The older people sat on the ground at the edge of the pit that had been dug, weeping and moaning. Charlie Mack, a chief, rose and delivered a speech, saying how good a boy James had been, how sorry all the Indians were for his parents, and that now he was going to the Great Spirit. Mrs. Molineux was next asked to speak and read the Episcopal service, with the children singing the chants and placing the earth on top of the coffin. Then David Van rose and said that James was a good boy and that the white people also liked and respected him, that the Sun too was sorry since he did not shine that day for it was dull and rainy. Then all the boy's property was put in and there was a debate as to killing the horse and dogs, but Mrs. Molineux dissuaded them from doing so on the ground of James's own preference. The Indians covered up the earth in a crude way, never expecting to visit the spot again. Mrs. Molineux adds that as late as 1912 babies were wrapped up with their dead mothers since the Indians thought there was no way of feeding a child except with the mother's milk.

At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians 764 (Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of them "in any old way"[1] the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the Lemhi.[2] The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration; relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom, furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse, some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration. When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms, her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our de- 765 ceased friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was buried she would weep." When her uncle died, the widow and also 765 Sarah's parents clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and 302 legs, this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The (304) widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower like- (587) wise cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length[3] and her face was not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other women until relieved of these restrictions by her father-in-law or mother-in-law. Sarah mentions signal-fires used to announce the death of a chief.[1]

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[1] Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

[2] Lowie, 215.

[3] A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.

A Wind River Indian who died was dressed up in his best clothing, painted, carried to the mountains, and deposited in a cleft or cave, which was blocked up lest the corpse be attacked by animals. This practice continued until recent times. Formerly the mourners would go off to one side and stay in a rude shelter. The women cut their hair short, gashed their legs, and removed their leggings for several days. When the hair had grown long again, the mourner returned home and the mourning period ceased. If a man died, one of his horses was taken to the grave and killed there so that his soul could ride away on it. Corpses were taken out by the door. If a person died in a house, the house was abandoned. A tipi was either buried with the owner or appropriated by a friend not related to the owner, for if a relative kept it he would die from the same cause. It was believed that if one member of a family died of some special cause, e.g., disease, the next would die for the same reason; for example, if one child was killed, all children would be killed. If a Shoshoni had been killed by the enemy, the people tried to recover his body; if they had slain an enemy, they would drag the corpse away and leave it exposed.

Wilson also describes cleft burial as the normal form. He speaks of a specific case in which a boy was mourned by the whole camp for five days. The corpse was put into a crevice together with bedding and various utensils, and three horses were killed and buried with the deceased.[2]

BERDACHES.

A Shivwits informant recollected hearing people speak of a man who never hunted and though not dressing like a woman acted like one and had a feminine voice. He would lead the women with a basket when they went seed-gathering and roasted seeds like them. He was married to two men, sleeping with each on alternate nights. In myths such persons are called *ma+dï'pots.*

Among the Southern Ute Panayöts remembered hearing his father tell of a berdache (*tuwásawits*), who owned a great many horses. Possibly as many as half a dozen boys would stay there and have him cook for them. One morning when the berdache rose early one of the boys was lying on the side as she was stirring the ashes and " she " touched his

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[1] Hopkins, 21, 41, 66, 70, 120.
[2] Wilson, 85, 195.

000 member with her feet. The boy got angry and kicked her, then she walked away and would not cook for them any more, so the other boys got angry at the one who had offended her. At Ouray my informant saw two berdaches himself, and my interpreter Tony recalled one he had seen there about eighteen years ago,—a tall stout man, also another one of short stature at Whiterocks.

838 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake recalled a man who wore woman's dress, made basketwork and did laundry work. This was about twenty years ago (in 1914). Such men are called *t'ū sás, t'ūs̄áse moγó'ne* or (better), *tūsázandn*ª.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

000 None of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes possessed a clan or gentile organization.

A strongly developed central authority was likewise lacking, but as might be expected from their Plains affiliations the Shoshoni had an institution for regulating the march and the communal hunt,—two societies the Yellow Noses and the Logs, who acted as policemen (*tïrakône*). Their activities have already been described.[1] Wilson speaks of a war chief in addition to the camp chief and reproduces a picture of this functionary's lodge in 1861.[2]

The Shoshoni reflect Plains contact in other ways, perhaps most of all in the influence of war deeds on social prestige. The head chief (*tū'wute tïgwani*) was a brave who had killed some enemies. According to one informant the chief long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick (*bándzugu wúkidûwi*), with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him down from his horse. Môpotsi is remembered as an important chief who held office for a long time; Washakie came at a later period, being contemporaneous with my informant's father. There was another position of distinction, that of herald, which likewise depended on a man's martial record. There might be three heralds at one time, in which case the one with the best voice would make the announcements. The chief would decide where buffalo were to be hunted and where the people were to camp. When the Bannock and Shoshoni traveled together, each tribe had a chief of its own, and the two jointly made these decisions, the Shoshoni chief taking the lead.[3] The title of chief was used somewhat vaguely for distinguished men, all of whom

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[1] This series Vol. XI, 11, 813 et seq.
[2] Wilson, 70, 112 seq.
[3] This assertion must of course be taken with a grain of salt.

000 were however subordinate to the camp chief, who always led against the enemy.

Wilson says that it was customary for the Shoshoni bands to come together every three years for a grand tribal meeting. He estimates his own band at 250 Indians, owning 400 horses and more than 500 dogs and living in sixty tipis. When traveling, they broke up into smaller groups to make better time and secure more advantageous pasturing.[1]

As among the Lemhi a murderer was dealt with by his victim's relatives or friends. One informant says they might kill him, another that they would merely kill his horses and destroy his property.

The Southern Ute said they had three chiefs and one or more heralds (*mïarikàt tawáts, apáro' tawáts*) in the old times. Although my informants did not speak of a police force in connection with the communal hunt, the chiefs exerted a certain amount of authority at that time. When buffalo were hunted and were close by, two scouts were sent ahead and the chief would bid all men get ready on the following morning. All obeyed and acted properly, being afraid to run ahead because of the chief's orders. He would wait for laggards and called the names of all to make sure that none were missing. When all had assembled, the chief said, "When I give the alarm, all of you shall run over to the buffalo." When the signal was given, they ran for the buffalo herd.

A Uintah, Jim Duncan, said that long ago when he was a young man there was a great chief, Yellow-hair (Öáqar), after whose death the Ute split up into different bands. The Indians obeyed Yellow-hair, who would restrain his people from fighting other tribes. When a quarrel arose between individuals in camp, the other tribesmen made them stop. Little Jim spoke of a chief who would direct the people to have a Bear dance, who announced a deer hunt, or urged the Ute to put horses where they could get pasturage.

It is highly probable that the functions and powers of a Shoshonean chief were originally very meager. The Paiute had a head man for the rabbit hunt, but apart from that special occasion his authority was nil. All the Shivwits would unite in the winter time to form a single group but after hunting together for a while they split up again into distinct families, each of which had a property right in a spring of their own and the seeds growing round it. A Tö'+intesà+u informant said the people of his band used to have a chief who would announce in the morning what they were to do and they would obey him; when he died someone

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[1] Wilson, 20, 28, 68.

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000
advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was
another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor
Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624
rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respec- 224
tively. Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is sup- 223
posed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914),
succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big under- [628]
taking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wads-
worth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1]
Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out.
Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your
breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning
but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director.
If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion,
descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some
"smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622
authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire
Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn
was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief
presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to enter-
tain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623]
> said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least
> is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided
> upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any
> quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the
> great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-
> chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606
Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171
group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence
at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or
Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000
that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.

[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.

[3] Lowie, 211.

000 regarded more or less like one's own mother. One informant said that formerly a man spoke with neither his wife's parents nor with her brother except through his wife, but the very inclusion of the latter relative renders the statement of doubtful value (see below), and as explained, the consensus of native opinion was clearly in the opposite direction. It may be noted that on the same Reservation there are also Arapaho Indians, whose observance of the taboo is a well-known fact, and possibly my informant's remark was in part due to this circumstance. In the beginning of married life the Wind River husband was looked upon as more or less of a hired man who was expected to perform odd jobs. Similar conditions prevailed among the Shivwits.

From all the available data I conclude that the mother-in-law taboo was not a feature of the ancient Shoshonean culture and that its occurrence among the Lemhi is merely due to probably Crow and Blackfoot contact.

I obtained no evidence of a joking-relationship in any of the tribes here specially considered, but a usage recorded among the Comanche will be noted presently.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni brothers-in-law are especially friendly. This also applies to the Comanche, in which tribe the brothers-in-law play jokes on each other and have a peculiar privilege in cases of adultery, as illustrated by a personal experience of Mr. Hope M. Fullbright, who grew up among the Comanche. An Indian had been guilty of adultery and his brother-in-law confiscated his horse, one of his hogs and some other property (all comprised under the term *nánawökip*), and gave all to the aggrieved husband. However, such property was regarded as undesirable and the new owner at once disposed of the horse and hog, selling the former to Mr. Fullbright for $5 and the latter for $2 (one-fifth of its real value). Mr. Fullbright saw no reason why he should not ride the newly bought horse, but found that all the Indians looked down upon him for doing so; accordingly he exchanged it for a horse belonging to another white man. Against this no objection was raised. The Comanche treated a brother's wife and a wife's sister with familiarity and called them by the same term as their real wives.

603 A Pyramid Lake Paviotso told me that in his tribe an orphaned
593 child was usually taken care of by the maternal grandmother. At Love-
736 locks I was informed that a Paviotso woman would never walk with any man but her husband.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

Two rather imperfect lists were obtained at Moapa and the Shivwits Reservation respectively, but taken with Dr. Sapir's Kaibab material[1] they give some notion of Paiute kinship nomenclature. The differences between my own lists suggest real dialectic distinctions of a minor character. Gaps in the Shivwits data have been supplied by Sapir's Kaibab terms and are bracketed by way of distinction.

Moapa	*Shivwits*
mü'än^{i}, father	*mu+äʙ*^{i}
pi+äm^{i}, mother	*pi+äʙ*^{i}
tuuän^{ni}, son	*tu+äts*
pätsö'n^{ni}, daughter	*patcö'ts, pätcin*^{ni}
paʙiin, elder brother, male cousin	*pa ʙiin, paʙitsen*[2]
tsa'qaiin, younger brother, male cousin	*tsa'qaiin*
naʙävi+u, two brothers	
pätsin, elder sister, female cousin	*pätsin*^{ni}
namiin, younger sister, female cousin	[Kaibab: *namintsin*'^{i}]
qö'nün^{i}, father's father	*toγón*^{nia}
toγón, mother's father	
qönütsiñ, qunütsin son's child (m. sp.)	*toγótsin*[4]
toγótsin, daughter's child (m. sp.)	
uätsin, father's mother	[Kaibab: *qärun*'^{i} for either paternal or maternal grandmother and *qärutsin*'^{i}, grandchild.]
u'tsitsin, mother's mother (?)[3]	
qagütsin, daughter's child (w. sp.)	
ädin^{ni}, father's brother, mother's sister's husband	[Kaibab has phonetic equivalents, but from the Shivwits I obtained only the terms *cünän*^{ni}, *cünätsin*, which see below.]
ädütsin, brother's child (m. sp.)	
qä'^{wn}, father's brother (w. sp.)	[*qäutsin* in Shivwits = brother's son's child, *qä wätsin*, son's daughter. Kaibab approximations mean great-grandfather and great-grandchild.]
qä^{w}*tsin*, brother's daughter (m. sp.)	
pahän, father's sister, mother's brother's wife	*pä*^{a}*n*^{ni} (only first English meaning obtained)
pahäts, brother's child (w. sp.)	*päatsin*
sünän, mother's brother	*cünän*^{ni}, also father's brother
	cünätsin, sister's child (m. sp.) also brother's child (m. sp.)
qa'qoin, mother's brother	^{aa}*qoin*
qa'qoitsin, sister's son (m. sp.)	^{aa}*goitsin*
diʙe(en), sister's child (m. sp.), mother's brother	*diʙatsin*

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[1] In Gifford, 245.

[2] My notes record *pa'tsin*, older or younger brother (w. sp.): this is probably due to an error.

[3] Father's sister's husband was also given as a doubtful meaning.

[4] Sister's child (m. sp.) is given in my notes as a doubtful meaning.

[5] Analogy suggests rather the meaning of son's child (w. sp.).

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Moapa	*Shivwits*
	eładsin, father's brother's son
nimbian, mother's sister	*nómpian*
tank'ån', mother's brother's son,[1] father's sister's son	
piwán"', wife	[Kaibab: *piŋwan'*]
gümán"', husband	[Kaibab: *gom'an"'*]
manáts·in, daughter's husband (m. sp., w. sp.	[Kaibab: *monatsin"'*]
ánáimwan, brother-in-law (m. sp.) brother's wife (w. sp), husband's sister	*anáimwan*, sister-in-law (w. sp.), *anáimwaB'*, brother-in-law
	tanadziŋ, brother-in-law (m. sp.)
	tanlánadziŋ, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
w'tsimbian', son's wife (m. sp., w. sp.)	*"wi'tsimpiaB'*, mother's brother's wife
ya+ítsin, parent-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)	
	naimpiwánni, wife's sister, brother's wife (m. sp.)
	naiŋgumánni, sister's husband, husband's brother

At Ignacio and Navaho Springs I obtained the following Southern Ute data, which should be compared with Sapir's from the Uintah, as published by Gifford.

aina-mu, my father
aina-pi, my mother
tùwátsin, my son
baviłsi, *bàBidzin*, elder brother, parallel or cross-cousin (male)
tsqáits, younger brother, parallel or cross-cousin (male)
bàdzidzin, elder sister, parallel or cross-cousin (female)
nemidzin, younger sister, parallel or cross-cousin (female)
áisin, *áisi"*, father's younger brother, elder brother's child (m. sp.)
"qáitsin, father's elder brother, younger brother's child (m. sp.)
"kwá'itsin, *azkwitsin*, mother's elder brother[2]
sinátsin, mother's younger brother, sister's child (m. sp.)
bátsin, father's sister, brother's child (w. sp.)
mávitsin, mother's elder sister, younger sister's child (w. sp.)
nòpwá'atsin, mother's younger sister, elder sister's child (w. sp.)
kònátsin, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)
toyo"tsin, mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)
kaki dzin, mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)
"wi'tsitsin, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
àvátsin, my great-grandfather, great-grandchild
piwán, spouse

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[1] I consider these meanings doubtful.

[2] Sapir's equivalent is rendered "younger sister's child, m. sp." and without the diminutive suffix "mother's elder brother."

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

yáitcin, yáitsin, son's wife; husband's parent, husband's brother or sister, brother's wife (m. sp., w. sp.), husband's sibling's spouse 000
yayáitcin, collective name for all of husband's relatives
tatáwarin, wife's brother or sister, wife's parent, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.), daughter's husband, mother's sister's husband
tatáwurian, collective for wife's relatives

My Southern Ute material differs from Sapir's for the Northern Ute mainly in two respects. In the case of a single stem to designate two relatives of different generation my informants did not distinguish the junior member of the couple by a diminutive suffix but employed the diminutive form indifferently. Secondly, my two comprehensive terms of affinity are differently defined by Sapir.—*yaitcin*" as spouse's parent, son's wife: *tantauarin*" as wife's brother, sister's husband, m. sp. Among the Northern Ute I myself obtained the following renderings:—

yä"tsin, son's wife, brother's wife (m. sp.), husband's sibling, spouse's mother, mother's brother's wife;
tantä"win, father-in-law, father's sister's husband, brother-in-law, daughter's husband.

From the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Lovelocks, and Fallon the following list was secured, which tallies fairly well with that obtained by Kroeber from a Pyramid Lake informant[1]: 60 [114]

inä'a[2], father
pía, mother
dûa, son
bädö, pädö, daughter
bäsi'i, elder brother, male cousin[3]
bahä'a, younger brother, male cousin
ana', elder sister, female cousin
bäni'i, younger sister, female cousin
hai', hä'i, father's brother, stepfather, mother's sister's husband
pa'wö, father's sister
ätsi'i ätsi'i, mother's brother, mother's cousin
pirä'a, mother's sister, stepmother
hüza, h"ja, brother's child (m. sp.), stepchild, wife's sister's child (m. sp.)
imidö', my sibling's child (w. sp.)
inanik', my sister's child (m. sp.)
gōnu'u, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)
hutsi'i, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
ito'yö', my mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)
imu'ä, my mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)

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[1] Kroeber, (b), 259 seq.

[2] The initial *i* is probably the first person pronoun, as it certainly is in such combinations as *idua, ibäsi'i*, etc.

[3] No distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins.

601 *ihósi'ᶥ, ihósi'ᶥ*, my greatgrandfather, greatgrandmother[1]
igǘma, my husband, sister's husband
inórök', *inorigʷᵃ*, my wife
iyáhi, my parent-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
iroγóna, my son-in-law
gönűbia, *gö'nupia*, daughter-in-law
arálo+i, *ará, doi*, brother-in-law (m. sp.), father's sister's husband
ininé'ᶥ, my sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother
usdnápia, wife's sister or cousin
aráadzi'pia, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
na'üdik'a kʷᵃ, child's parents-in-law

Kroeber suggestively discusses the etymology and later extension of meaning of the terms *iroγóna*, *gönűbia*, *usdnapia*, and *aráadzi'pia*.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni, I recorded the following kinship terms:—

ápö, father, father's brother
piə, mother, mother's sister
nórüə, my son (*undúə*, his son)
nöpá'di, my daughter (*umpá'di*, his daughter)
nöbâbi, my elder brother, male cousin,[2] wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband
nötámi, my younger brother, male cousin, wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband
nöbádzi, my elder sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife
nönámi, my younger sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife
báhe, father's sister, brother's child (w. sp.), spouse's mother, daughter's husband (w. sp.)
áre, mother's brother, sister's child (m. sp.), wife's father, son-in-law (m. and w. sp.[3])
kö'nu, father's father, son's child (m. sp.), husband's father
gágu, mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.), mother's mother's sister, mother-in-law
dóko, mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.), mother's father's brother, wife's father
hútsi, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
guö', wife, wife's sister, brother's wife
guáhapö, husband, sister's husband, husband's brother
mónapö, son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
hútsömbiə, daughter-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
bahámbiə, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
nö'ri, husband's brother's wife
nárédə, my sister's husband (m. sp.), wife's brother

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[1] Kroeber, limits the term to mean father's father's mother and reciprocally son's son's child (w. sp.).
[2] No distinction is drawn between parallel and cross-cousins.
[3] Probably this is an error and should be limited to m. sp.; see above, *báhe*.

It is interesting to note that suggestions of classificatory terminology are most conspicuous at Wind River, as we should expect. The lack of distinctive cousin terms and still more so the use of reciprocal stems for the grandparental relationship are perhaps the outstanding features of our Plateau Shoshonean systems. The most interesting variations occur, as noted by Sapir, as regards the designation of the uncle-nephew categories. Thus, the Paiute and Ute are found to use reciprocal stems, while the Paviotso have correlative stems not etymologically connected (e.g., *hai*ˀ and *hūza*, *ätsi*^{ˀi}, and ɪ*nandk*$^{\cdot wa}$). 601 171

RELIGION.

Information on the personal aspect of Shoshonean religion is extremely sparse and the following notes are given mainly to stimulate further inquiry. 000

Among the Shivwits supernatural power did not come in solitary fasting but in dreams. Cünáwaʙ^{i} was prayed to for success in the chase, and after game had been killed some of the fat was thrown in all directions as an offering to him. Prayers were not addressed to Tūʙáts. The Moapa believe that Cotsípamápöt never aged and never died. Cünáwaʙ^{i} and Töʙáts also are still living and sometimes people say the dead go to them.

Women, as well as men, might be doctors. Moapa is the center of the earth.

The object of the Southern Ute Sun dance[1] was primarily the attainment of a shaman's powers, secondarily the cure of sick men. The leader was of course possessed of shamanistic powers. Sometimes as many as forty men participated in the ritual, but only a few of them attained their wish of becoming medicinemen. Some Ute would take part in four or five ceremonies before having their hopes fulfilled. When exhausted from fasting, a person would faint and then he might dream about eating and the Sun would tell him that he was to be a medicineman. After a while he would wake up and feel quite well.

It should be noted that the Sun dance is a very recent acquisition of the Ute. At Ígnacio I was told in 1912 that even the Utah branch of the tribe only got it from the Shoshoni about twenty-two years ago. Prior to that time the shaman (*pö'aγat*) apparently got his power in dreams without fasting. Some shamans were good (*äte-pö'aγat*), others bad (*öwú-pö'aγat*). The latter were sorcerers who caused people to fall

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[1] See this series, vol. 16, part 5.

000 sick. Sometimes a good medicineman examining his patient at night, as was the custom, would say, "I have discovered that So-and-so is making him sick; I have tried my best, but the other medicineman is too strong." If several shamans corroborated this view, the Ute killed the sorcerer as soon as his supposed victim died. This idea of killing a bad medicineman seems to be very fundamental with the Ute. When I was at Ignacio, a shaman from Navajo Springs came driving up post-haste one evening seeking refuge from his neighbors. He had been doctoring a patient without success and was afraid of being killed. Sometimes a shaman will tell his patient: "You have dreamt about your mother, she wants to take you away with her." Then the sick person confirms the diagnosis, saying that he had dreamt of his mother, that she had tried to give him food but he had refused it. This dream is then taken as the cause of the sickness. Sometimes a practitioner sucks out of his patient's body some little worms or small objects, treated as the pathogenic agents, which he swallows, making a gargling noise and singing. Several others may assist in the singing.

Panayüts told me of a Comanche boy raised among the Ute who developed into a great shaman with a reputation that bullets could not harm him. He received his powers from an old Ouray Ute chief who had this gift of invulnerability. One spring the people were camping by a mesa near the site of Ignacio. The Comanche shaman would doctor sick people, but there was always the discharge of guns accompanying the treatment since the medicineman had other men shoot at him. Panayüts had always been skeptical of the man's powers. On this occasion the medicineman rose early and said to my informant, "Friend, you have never believed me. When the sun shall rise, I will give you an exhibition, then you'll believe." When the sun was nearly up Panayüts's son was still asleep. The Comanche said, "Wake up the boy and bid him stand in the door. Put him behind the door, standing toward the sun." Panayüts was a policeman and had a revolver with all its chambers loaded. The shaman asked for it, whistled a tune, snapped the cock, walked toward the boy and then round the fireplace, then cocked the gun and shot at the boy. The boy was scared but not hurt; in the door no bullet hole was to be seen. "Do you believe me now? I'll show you again." He asked for a blanket and let the boy lead him. The informant's mother was cooking while his father was outside and also saw it. The shaman covered himself with the blanket and stretched it out, led by the boy. Panayüts shot him between the shoulders. There was a little ripple on the blanket but no hole. He shot again with the same result. Close by the door, only a few feet away, he shot again: there were marks on the blanket but no hole. Then Panayűs believed in the shaman's power. "Now you have faith in me. I have given you proof. If you or your boy should wish to become a shaman, I'll give you some of my power and you will be able to do the same." But Panayűs declined. Shamans who were bullet-proof were called *tōpō'ye pō'aγat.* In this connection it is interesting to recall the supposedly bullet-proof Bannock chief mentioned by Bonneville.[1]

A few random Ute notions may be enumerated here. These people were afraid of the rainbow (*páro γaurlnitikil*). They would say: "Someone lost his knife and it is underground. Where the rainbow touches the ground, there is the knife. Don't point your finger towards it or the rainbow will cut off your finger." The lips also must not be used in pointing at it. Mrs. Molineux reports a comparable superstition against turning round and walking backward, lest a relative (particularly an aunt) fall sick. Once my informant took some Uintah girls on a walk. Daphne Ice turned round to see those who were in the rear, but was sharply pulled back by a companion, who gave the reason mentioned.

As a protection against lightning the Southern Ute put a kind of hard wood, *tōndpuᶦ*, into the tipi, for they said it was never struck, the lightning being afraid of it.

The Southern Ute believed in a world underground and another in the sky. If a conflagration came it would be due to Cūnáwavᶦ, the mythical hero, who might save the people by lifting them to the sky or dropping them below. Some think the sky is supported by one big cottonwood tree in the west and another in the east; if either gets rotten, it may break and the sky then would fall down, killing everybody. The horses of a dead person were always killed. All the persons killed on the warpath live separately from those who die a natural death.

At Ignacio twins were said to be due to a man's continuing to hold intercourse after pregnancy.

Tony Buck told me that when a person sneezes a little stick is bent at right angles and thrown up into the air to determine the direction where someone is talking about (or to?) the sneezer. The short branch indicates the direction. My informant said that this custom is shared by the Arapaho. The Moapa say that when a person sneezes (*ha+úsipᶦ*), he says, "Some one is thinking of me in some other country."

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[1] Lowie, 224.

000 At Navaho Springs rabbit's feet with beads are said to be worn as charms, but the trader thought the idea had been stimulated by whites.

According to Annie Lowry, the Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son, as in the case of Coffee Charlie. The medicineman's soul leaves him when he doctors and goes into a trance, but the patient's soul remains in his body. The shaman's soul goes to the place of the spirits in order to get their aid. A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision. The paraphernalia of shamans differ,—some have an eagle tail, others a magpie tail, etc. The shamans also use a rattle.

Coffee Charlie was once doctoring his own boy, four years old, who was very sick and had been given up. The boy suddenly said, "Do you see a little bird on my head?" Coffee Charlie told him there was nothing there, but the boy insisted that a bird was there, chirping, and the bird was saying to him, "Little boy, you won't die, you will live." Coffee Charlie doctored him, and he lived. On another occasion Coffee Charlie doctored Annie Lowry's son, who had been given up by the white physician. Coffee Charlie used a stick about four feet long, carefully smoothed, and sprinkled with white clay, and with an eagle (?) feather at one end. This was set at the patient's head; the idea of the clay was that it would cause moisture all over the patient's body. The shaman went into a trance, then the boy was placed on him so that the pits of their stomachs were together, then the boy was taken away by his mother. Before this he shook his rattle; at first the sound seemed far away, but gradually it got closer and closer. The boy at first did not recognize his mother, but did a little later. He recovered.

755 756 (683) Mack Winnemucca said that the Paviotso killed sorcerers (*stai*^{yu} *puhdγa*^{iyu}) who caused people's death. When a person "died," i.e., was very sick, the shaman would lie beside him and also "die" for several hours in order to bring him back. On the return trip, they heard talking about mountains. When the patient came to, his parents talked to him, asking whether he was well now, whether he wished for a drink of water, etc. They would give him water. The other Indians sat around both the patient and the doctor. At times it was necessary to keep up the treatment for three or four nights. Sometimes the doctor's spirit coming back unsuccessful was heard crying. During the doctoring the shaman did not move but lay stiff as a board till his return. This procedure is called *mugwămandą'*, a word doubtless connected with *nŏ'mō mūgua*,
775 human soul or spirit. A person who dies goes across a big body of water

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are
up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking, the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
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> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
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> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
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> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 191
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both
Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will 845
also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is 827
thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the 000
Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.
[2] Ibid., 12, 47, 48, 80, 87.

800 obtained through dreams. Long ago the Shoshoni would go to the hills or rocks in the mountains where there was "a kind of writing." There they would sleep for from one to three nights in quest of a dream, but without fasting; in the morning they went back home. Some animal or person might appear to the would-be visionary and tell him he was to be a physician. Not all the shamans used the same form of treatment, but all sang some songs. They made different marks near the fireplace and perhaps stuck a feather up by the mark. The shaman (*púhagant*) would place a feather on the affected part of the sufferer's body and suck at the other end, then blow away or vomit the disease. Only the doctor himself saw what he vomited. If a shaman cures his patient, he gets $5 or possibly a horse. Once a white man cured by an Indian doctor gave him $20 or $25. If there is no cure, there is no fee. My informant had never heard of evil shamans trying to kill personal enemies. The shaman administers no drugs, though all Indians have knowledge of certain medicinal roots or weeds, which is not acquired through dreams. Nowadays medicinemen get power by dreaming while at home. One informant had heard of a shaman who doctored gonorrhoea, like Tumodzo of the Lemhi,[1] by suction; this probably made him bald-headed. His treatment was based on dreams and he never used roots.

Some people claimed to receive power from dwarfs called *nü'nümbi*, who are described as only from two and a half to three feet in height but with big muscles. This would fit the dwarfs of Crow mythology, but these are uniformly benevolent, while the *nü'nümbi* are regarded as generally of evil disposition, killing people with bow and arrows so that the Shoshoni are still afraid of them. They are always naked.

The Wind River Indians owned medicine bundles, especially for war-like purposes. These were composed of bear claws, otterskins, etc. Most of them contained eagle feathers as part of the sacred aggregate. The bundles were generally kept on a tripod behind the tipi, being only taken inside when it rained.

775 When one informant was a boy he heard that there was one part in
774 the human being called *mūgua* different from the body and surviving it.
171 Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi[2] and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity.

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[1] Lowie, 228.
[2] Lowie, 226.

Wáwanabɨdi mentioned a hunting medicine carried with arrows. When a hunter finds fresh elk tracks he puts it into the tracks and says to it, "Do you overtake that elk where he lies down. When you are there he'll get uneasy and begin to come back, back-tracking himself." This medicine, called *tôyandiowora*, grows only high up in the mountains and has a pretty, pink flower; it is chief of all medicines. Only a small piece of it is broken off at one time. The elk soon returns, the hunter merely having to sit down and wait for it. Wáwanabɨdi was skeptical at one time and made a test once when tracking deer. He talked to the medicine in the fashion described. Soon two deer came along, one after another, and he shot and killed both. He went to a spring for a drink, saw elk tracks and put some medicine into the tracks. After a while he saw an elk approach and shot him. This happened only about fifteen years ago (1912). With red paint the same medicine was rubbed on the body and back of the head in war time, and the following prayer was addressed to it, "If the enemy comes, give me power so that even if he aims at me and pulls the trigger, the trigger will not work and he will not hit me." When enemies were stealing horses this medicine put on the track caused the horses to become exhausted. Once my informant's father-in-law escaped through this root when all the other Shoshoni were killed. Any one might use it, but it was rare because it was hard to get it. Sometimes the seeds were mashed and rubbed on the neck when children had a sore throat.

A little girl came to Wáwanabɨdi's lodge wearing, probably as a charm, a sausage-shaped buckskin necklace stuffed with pine-needles (*woñgo gwâna*), an infusion of which is used to cure bad colds.

When a Shoshoni sneezes, the people say that some girl is making a remark about him and wishing that the sneezer were with her.

Wolf and Coyote are not prayed to by the Wind River people, so far as Wáwanabɨdi knows.

When people whistled through rushes, they caused clouds and rain to come.[1]

A whirlwind is considered a ghost (*dzôap*). When a person dies, a whirlwind is caused thereby.

Once Wáwanabɨdi was fishing at Jackson's creek when he heard a baby crying, but paid no particular attention. Suddenly he came upon it. It was a *pâona*,[2] which looked like a baby with yellow body, but it had big arms and hands and long curly hair. My informant was frightened,

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[1] Lowie, 232.
[2] Cf. ibid., 234.

000 but it suddenly dived into the water and was seen no more, though the sound it made was heard all night until morning.

Wáwanabidi had never seen a water-buffalo but had heard other Indians describe it. It resembles a buffalo, but its horns are somewhat different. An Indian now dead told my informant he had once seen a pretty woman with long hair on the ice covering Bull Lake; as he came close, she suddenly went under the water.

Wáwanabidi, when a child, was terribly afraid of the ogre known as Dzôavits, who plays a part in Shoshoni folklore. After hearing a tale about him he would be afraid to go out in the dark. A water variety of this monster, Pán-dzôavits, was used as a bugbear to terrify children; he was said to carry children in a big bag.

When buffalo were scarce, the Shoshoni would cut out the sinew of one buffalo they had killed, blacken their fingers with charcoal and dot the sinew black with them. Then they placed the sinew on the ground and built a fire over it, causing it to draw up so that the ends would come together, when they removed it. This symbolized the coming together of buffalo from opposite directions, and a few days later they expected to find buffalo.

825 The Paviotso have a curious belief that the horned-toad speaks the Paviotso language and is able to kill a rattlesnake and Annie Lowry even declared that she had seen a contest specially arranged for the benefit of skeptical whites in which the toad worsted the snake. This notion [171] is shared by the Ute. On the Uintah Reservation I was told that sometimes a rattlesnake would find a young horned-toad (*tsinqámqatsits*) and kill it, then its mother would get furious and kill the snake.

000 When there was measles or smallpox in a Shoshoni camp, the doctor would give a dance in which both men and women participated, shaking dewclaw rattles known as *tôcitômp*. The dance was called Horn Dance (*âp nôqára*). It lasted for two or three days and was limited to the period of an epidemic.

CEREMONIES AND DANCES.

Both in number and complexity of ceremonials the Plateau Shoshoneans are noticeably inferior to the Plains and Pueblo Indians, and even of the slender stock of performances known to them in modern times some are demonstrably due to recent borrowing. This applies to the Sun dance of the Ute and Wind River Shoshoni, which has been dealt with in a separate publication and to the wailing ceremony of the Southern Paiute, already mentioned (p. 279).

The Bear dance (*mamáqqmip*) of the Southern Paiute has also been recently borrowed, but in this case the origin of the performance may certainly be ascribed to a fellow-Shoshonean group, the Ute, whose Bear dance has been dealt with in a previous publication.[1] The Ute ceremony (*mamáqunikap'*) is performed early in the spring in a circular enclosure. Its origin is derived from a bear and the alleged object is to conciliate the bear species. Both men and women participate, facing each other, and dance to the accompaniment of music produced by scraping a notched stick until in the last night's activities one dancer falls to the ground from real or feigned exhaustion. According to my Moapa interpreter, this dance had been adopted by his people only three or four years before my visit from the St. George Indians (Shivwits); these in turn informed me that they had quite recently borrowed it from the Uintah Ute. I witnessed part of a dance held at Moapa by the resident Indians and a group of Shivwits visitors. My observations follow.

Arriving on August 24, 1915, I was informed that the Indians had been holding a "pow-wow" that was expected to terminate that night, which however proved not to be the case. After driving to the site, I found that the dance was not held in an enclosure, but in an open space along the road, bounded only unilaterally by the fences enclosing the Indian lands and rendered shady on one side by a clump of cottonwoods. Within the site there were several groups of Indians, men and women, most of whom paid very little attention to the dance, being absorbed in card-playing. None of the old people participated; the majority were or seemed to be very young and the oldest could at best be classed as middle-aged. There were several musicians, at one time as many as five. These were seated round a tin wash-tub inverted over a pit; another pit a few feet away had been used yesterday. The pit was very shallow, probably not over 6 inches deep and about 16 inches in diameter. The musicians all used crudely notched sticks of obviously recent manufacture, rasping them with shorter sticks, of which only one was seen that corresponded to the cylindrical Ute scraper. One end of the notched instrument rested on the tub. The rasping was accompanied with singing and accelerated at the end of each song. The instrument, like the ceremony itself, was said to be of recent origin.

The women invited men to become their partners by tapping them on the shoulder with the hand or a stick; the men generally made a pretense of coyness. At first each couple, partners facing each other, danced several steps without joining. Later they took hold in several

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[1] Vol. XI of this series, 823–831.

000 distinct fashions. One way, observed several times, was for the girl to place her right hand on the left side of her partner's waist, while he put his right hand on her left or right shoulder. In some instances he put his arm on her waist. Several times one man danced with two girls: such a one might place his left hand on the right shoulder of the girl to his left, and his right hand on the left shoulder of the girl to his right. Some of the women placed their right hand on one of the partner's shoulders. The step was a "one-step,"—usually six steps backward and six forward, and this figure was continued throughout the dance. Some couples showed a much greater tendency to hopping than others. No native costume of any kind was worn by either sex.

On August 25 I arrived at the dance site at 9.20 a.m. and found the Indians camped very much as on the previous day, with several groups playing a Mexican card game. This morning several girls and small boys began to make music and the most striking peculiarity was that boys asked girls to become their partners in the earlier part of the forenoon's entertainment. Thus it happened in one or two cases that one girl came to dance with two boys or men. In scraping the stick some musicians moved the rasp away from, others towards themselves. The method of holding partners was again seen to vary widely. One standard way was for the girl to place her right hand on the man's waist or left hip, while he put his right hand on her left shoulder; her left hand might then be placed on his right arm or elbow. After a while the girls reasserted their privilege to choose partners. This was done either by tapping them as before or by throwing a little stick at them. While the girls were making music, one of the boys chose his partner by gently kicking one of the musicians. In one of the dances a girl threw her partner down, which put a stop to that dance. A middle-aged woman, assisted by a man, dragged one reluctant girl to the site and made her dance. She seemed eager to get people to take part. According to Mr. Hess, the Government teacher, she was a medicine-woman, while an Indian said she was "boss of the dance."

At about 11.20 another mode of dancing was noted. Instead of facing each other, partners now stood beside each other, the man's hand resting on the woman's shoulder. The step was the same as before. This figure was, however, very soon replaced by the customary one. At 11.26 the dancing ceased and the Indians had their midday meal, which had been prepared outdoors, firewood having been piled high on one side of the road. At 12.40 several men and boys began to scrape the stick again and a quarter of an hour later three couples began to dance. Two men

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armed with sticks dragged reluctant men into the dance and jabbed them in the back when from fatigue they did not swing properly but fell into a simple walk. At times there were as many as five couples dancing on each side of the centrally located musicians. At the beginning of a dance the girls, joining hands, generally stepped backwards and forwards in pairs, or even in quartets, before seeking partners. The women always faced the musicians. In the afternoon there were as many as fourteen or fifteen couples dancing simultaneously. Once I noted three couples joining for a dance.

On August 26 I arrived at the dance ground at about 9:30 a.m. and found several couples already in motion. I was told that during the night the Indians had revived an old Paiute dance, the *nŏ'qáp*ʿ, for which see below. I was myself made to dance, first with two girls, later with one alone. A man armed with a whip made all the shy young men and women dance. This morning the musicians used a pit several feet away from that used the day before, possibly because it was in a shadier spot; it was the one I had observed as not in use on the day of my arrival. I contributed $2 to the Indians, who were getting up a feast.

The last dance in the forenoon began at about 11.20, and the musicians continued scraping much longer than ever before, with the obvious intention of exhausting the performers. After a while most (but not all) of the dancers changed their positions so that instead of partners facing they were alongside of each other, with the man's arm on the woman's shoulder. Thus they continued to dance with increasing fatigue till one stout young woman fell down, theoretically, I presume, from total exhaustion. Then the performance ceased at once.

While the people were eating, an old man from St. George rose to address the crowd, expressing the visitors' appreciation of the hospitality offered them and the mutual good-will obtaining between the Moapa and Shivwits Indians. He also stated that he wished to start homeward in the afternoon. Accordingly preparations for departure were made immediately after the feast and with many farewells the visitors, about twenty in number, departed.

While the formal dancing had apparently ceased with the morning's performance, several young men and women began to scrape the notched instrument at about 1.15 or 1.30 p.m., and then the dancing recommenced.

It was perfectly clear that the Bear dance as here performed was wholly lacking in esoteric or religious features and was a purely social affair.

000 On January 6, 1872 Powell's party observed a Kaibab ceremony. The Indians, "had stripped a cedar tree of all branches but a small tuft at the top, and around this the whole band formed a large circle, dancing and singing. The dancing was the usual hippity-hop or "lope" sideways, each holding hands with his or her neighbor. In the center stood a man, seeming to be the custodian of songs and a poet himself; He would first recite the piece, and then all sing it, circling round at the same time." The white visitors were invited to participate and did so to the great amusement of the Paiute.[1]

The most important of the old dances was the *nö'qáp'*, known under this appellation to both the Moapa and Shivwits. A phonetic equivalent among the Lemhi seemed to be a generic term for "dance." In the Paiute *nöq'áp'* men and women formed a circle, neighbors interlocking fingers. One man sang and the performers moved round clockwise. Any one who chose might participate. Sometimes a woman would step between two men. The dance was held during any season of the year and in the night. One informant called it a "war dance." The participation of both sexes, the clockwise motion and the interlocking fingers all suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nüakin*.[2]

Another dance, the *mâ+inöqop*, was under the direction of a master of ceremonies, who would send out messengers in different directions announcing that a performance was to be held in so many days. He would select men and women with a light dance step, and no one else was permitted to dance. There were from four to six men, who removed their clothes and were painted by the singers, and from two to three girls in the dance. The performers did not hold one another but jumped round a big fire, the dance being held in the night-time. The manager led in the singing.

The Ute dances have been sketched in a previous publication.[3] The Bear dance is easily the most important among them and doubtless spread from this tribe to other Shoshonean groups, such as the Lemhi.[4] Specific information about the others seems too sparse to permit a definite identification with performances of other peoples, but the frequent participation of both sexes in dancing may turn out to be a distinctive Shoshonean or Plateau or even Ultramontane feature.

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796 While I obtained no evidence of any form of the Bear Dance among the Paviotso, the highly characteristic notched instrument appears there

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[2] Lowie, 217.
[3] Vol. XI of this series, 823–835.
[4] Lowie, 219.

in association with the ceremonial antelope hunt. It is interesting to note 534
that the association of this stick with game-charming occurs among the
Cheyenne and Arikara,[1] though the connecting links are not clear and 796
the resemblance may turn out to lack significance. I will begin by quoting Sarah Hopkins.

> My people capture antelopes by charming them, but only some of the people are charmers. My father was one of them, and once I went with him on an antelope hunt. 224
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> The antelopes move in herds in the winter, and as late in the spring as April. 796 At this time there was said to be a large herd in a certain place, and my father told all his people to come together in ten days to go with him in his hunt. He told them to bring their wives with them, but no small children. When they came, at the end of ten days, he chose two men, who he said were to be his messengers to the antelopes. They were to have two large torches made of sagebrush bark, and after he had found a place for his camp, he marked out a circle around which the wigwams were to be placed, putting his own in the middle of the western side, and leaving an opening directly opposite in the middle of the eastern side, which was towards the antelopes.
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> The people who were with him in the camp then made another circle to the east of the one where their wigwams were, and made six mounds of sagebrush and stones on the sides of it, with a space of a hundred yards or more from one mound to the next one, but with no fence between the mounds. These mounds were made high, so that they could be seen from far off.
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> The women and boys and old men who were in the camp, and who were working on the mounds, were told to be very careful not to drop anything and not to stumble over a sagebrush root, or a stone, or anything, and not to have any accident, but to do everything perfectly and to keep thinking about the antelopes all the time, and not to let their thoughts go away to anything else. It took five days to charm the antelopes, and if anybody had an accident he must tell of it.
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> Every morning early, when the bright morning star could be seen, the people sat around the opening to the circle, with my father sitting in the middle of the opening, and my father lighted his pipe and passed it to his right, and the pipe went round the circle five times. And at night they did the same thing.
>
> After they had smoked the pipe, my father took a kind of drum, which is used in this charming, and made music with it. This is the only kind of musical instrument which my people have, and it is only used for this antelope-charming. It is made of a hide of some large animal, stuffed with grass, so as to make it sound hollow, and then wound around tightly from one end to the other with a cord as large as my finger. One end of this instrument is large, and it tapers down to the other end, which is small, so that it makes a different sound on the different parts. My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound, that could be heard afar off, and he sang, and all his people sang with him.
>
> After that the two men who were messengers went out to see the antelopes. They carried their torches in their right hands, and one of them carried a pipe in his left hand. They started from my father's wigwam and went straight across the camp to the opening; then they crossed, and one went around the second circle to the

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[1] Vol. XI, this series, 678, 896.

224 right and the other went to the left, till they met on the other side of the circle. Then
they crossed again, and one went round the herd of antelopes one way and the other
746 went round the other way, but they did not let the antelopes see them. When they
met on the other side of the herd of antelopes, they stopped and smoked the pipe,
and then they crossed, and each man came back on the track of the other to the camp,
and told my father what they saw and what the antelopes were doing.

This was done every day for five days, and after the first day all the men and women and boys followed the messengers, and went around the circle they were to enter. On the fifth day the antelopes were charmed, and the whole herd followed the tracks of my people and entered the circle where the mounds were, coming in at the entrance, bowing and tossing their heads, and looking sleepy and under a powerful spell. They ran round and round inside the circle just as if there was a fence all around it and they could not get out, and they stayed there until my people had killed every one. But if anybody had dropped anything, or had stumbled and had not told about it, then when the antelopes came to the place where he had done that, they threw off the spell and rushed wildy out of the circle at that place.

My brother can charm horses in the same way.[1]

A Pyramid Lake informant whose father had likewise been an antelope charmer differed from Sarah in setting the length of the entire hunt at three days, with the middle day specially devoted to the killing of the game. Early in the spring, when the ground was muddy and some one had seen a big herd, the Indians would gather together for the communal chase. One man acted as master of ceremonies and was called an Antelope man; apparently two or three others sharing this title acted as his assistants. These put on antelope heads and daubed themselves with war paint. They notched a stick, which was placed on a blanket and rasped as an accompaniment to the singing. A loud noise was produced. There was a big fire in the middle, round which the men danced. The women did not participate but were allowed to be present as spectators. The musicians were seated between the fire and the Antelope men, who were near the circumference of the circle.

224 Two scouts were sent out to watch all the movements of the antelope and returned at night to report their location. They would announce, "They are all there yet, they are not yet moving." The Antelope man would say, "We are sure the antelope are coming to our corral." They always told the truth and always killed plenty of antelope. In the center of a circular enclosure a big pile of sagebrush was heaped up, and from the sides of the gate two big diverging fences from three to four feet high were made of sagebrush, planted roots up, with the women camping along both wings. Some alert men on foot drove the game toward the structure and the sagebrush wings were set on fire while the central pile was left

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[1] Hopkins, 55-57.

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the 224 women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone.

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular 224 enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he 796 also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:— [539]

wázunaq	ína	hāûʙa	wṓ'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hāûʙa.	nṓ'mōnáqa	ína	hāûʙa.	
?	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down [756] in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he [787] fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay [841] far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation [857] of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained.

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nṓ'qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

226 796 In May, when the *kuyúi* fish came up, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the *kuyúⁱ—nö'qa*, for which there was also a special master of ceremonies. There was no structure for this any more than for the other Paviotso dances. "In five days," the conductor would say, "get ready." Then the people got ready, moved toward the appointed site and erected their wikiups there. They only danced in the night-time and for five nights. Men and women joined in a circle, the sexes alternating except in so far as young men having no female partner were ranged beside one another. The dancers interlocked fingers. There was no instrument, but one man sang. Meager as are these notes they suffice to suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nŭakin*, which was also a spring festival held partly to ensure a plentiful supply of fish.

535 In the *tosú nö'qá* men and women went round fast, jumping up. This was the beginning of the dance and was enjoyed by the young people. Another name was *ahĭ nö'qa*, Love dance.

The *hĭ'nöqá^wa* was described as more popular among the Walker River Paviotso and said to have come from Esmeralda County. Nowadays a nickel or a dime is given to some of the Indians to make them dance; formerly the presents consisted of fish or beads. The men pull off all their clothes, but their breechclouts. They did not hold one another's hands but went round like turkeys and would assume a squatting posture. There are only about ten men in the performance; sometimes about three women joined, these receiving gifts from members of their sex. At Fallon I was told that six men dance without clothes, stamping their feet, and receive a quarter from all the spectators. Three women back of the men merely shuffle their feet. This was said to be a dance of the Bannock (Kutcútiqa, Buffalo-eaters), though coming directly from Indians south of Walker River. I got the impression that this might be a form of the Grass dance.

The only other dances mentioned at Pyramid Lake were the *nöcába*, Circle dance, and a modern war dance the *panák'iniq*, said to have been taught by Blackfoot visitors. The notched stick (*ná+idanàq*) so prominent in the antelope hunt was said not to be used for any of the dances.

At these dances men sometimes got fighting about a woman, then the strong men of the tribe got together and pulled the combatants apart.

At Fallon I heard of a "squaw dance" that was generally kept up for five days, sometimes longer.

[796] Sarah Hopkins describes a "festival of flowers" celebrated in the spring. The girls named for flowers would go to see whether their floral namesakes were in bloom and talk about them at home, saying, "Oh,

I saw myself today in full bloom!" The girls were full of expectancy 796 until some evening they would hear the chief announce that in five days the festival was to take place. Then on the day stated the flower girls 535 danced along together, the other girls likewise forming a group of their own. The dance ground had been prepared by the girls' elders.

> . . . Each one gathers the flower she is named for, and then all weave them into wreaths and crowns with scarfs, and dress up in them.
>
> Some girls are named for rocks and are called rock-girls, and they find some pretty rocks which they carry; each one such a rock as she is named for, or whatever she is named for. If she cannot, she can take a branch of sagebrush, or a bunch of rye-grass, which have no flower.
>
> They all go marching along, each girl in turn singing of herself; but she is not a girl any more,—she is a flower singing. She sings of herself, and her sweetheart, dancing along by her side, helps her sing the song she makes.
>
> I will repeat what we say of ourselves. "I, Sarah Winnemucca, am a shell-flower, such as I wear on my dress. My name is Thocmetony. I am so beautiful! Who will come and dance with me while I am so beautiful? Oh, come and be happy with me! I shall be beautiful while the earth lasts. Somebody will always admire me; and who will come and be happy with me in the Spirit-land? I shall be beautiful forever there. Yes, I shall be more beautiful than my shell-flower, my Thocmetony! Then, come, oh come, and dance and be happy with me!" The young men sing with us as they dance beside us.
>
> Our parents are waiting for us somewhere to welcome us home. And then we praise the sagebrush and the rye-grass that have no flower, and the pretty rocks that some are named for; and then we present our beautiful flowers to these companions who could carry none. And so all are happy; and that closes the beautiful day.[1]

The dances of the Wind River Shoshoni have already been sketched 000 in another publication.[2]

Two Paviotso dances were enumerated with their games, but come 535 more properly under this heading. In the *toʙú nigàʙa* ten women and men formed a ring, and moved round, holding one another's hands, jumping and stamping their feet. Each man stood between two women. They continued jumping as long as the singing lasted.

The *hí negà ʙa* was a war dance. Six men did not move, but only stamped their feet alternately. Two women danced, moving from their positions.

SWEATBATH.

The Shivwits Paiute declare that the sweatbath does not represent a 000 native custom of theirs but was only borrowed in recent times from the Walapai.

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[1] Hopkins, 47 f.

[2] Vol. XI, this series, 813–822.

000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pour-
515 ing water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*tŏpínaBăgia*) was con-
structed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into
it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat,
but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not
plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said
that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was
very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus
giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of
transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side;
Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates
[782] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was ac-
companied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge
[178] in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso
call the sudatory "*naBdrinana.*" Here also the rocks were put on one
515 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both
157 sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also
for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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[1] Matthews, 227.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.
[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 75.

would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *ndakugariñgen.* 000

MISCELLANEOUS.

PAVIOTSO.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving. 262

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:— 538

> Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.[1]

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them. 356

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame. 854

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache. 757

WIND RIVER.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing. 000

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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[1] Mooney, 770 f.

000 Horn is burnt and pulverized, then put on a sore or scummy eye. A mountain-sheep horn is used more than a buffalo's for this purpose. This recalls a Lemhi practice.[1]

I bought specimens of a number of medicines and obtained the following information as to their use.

After discarding the rind of the root of a weed called *to'dza*, the natives boil the shavings of the root and drink this infusion as a remedy for smallpox, the measles, and eruptive affections generally. When a person is ailing, a little piece of the root is sometimes smoked and placed under the patient's face. This makes his nose run and cleanses it. The same treatment is administered to sick horses.

A small piece of the *bďwô-inump* medicine is broken off, boiled and drunk as a tonic by a woman after delivery and also after leaving the confinement lodge. Though mostly a woman's medicine, this is taken by both sexes for rheumatism and numbness of limbs.

A tea is also prepared from the *tü'mbi* or *tü'mbai* medicine. This is a remedy for gonorrhoea. Chewed raw instead of boiled, it serves as a cure for toothache, coughing, and an itching throat.

If a man suffers from cramps and diarrhoea, he chews some *ko'hoi* medicine in raw form. Sometimes it is mashed and boiled into a tea. In this latter form it is administered to horses afflicted with diarrhoea.

Both sexes, but especially men, use *pďwága* to recover strength when tired and drowsy. Though sometimes taken raw, it is usually boiled.

A plant bearing berries, which the Indians, however, do not eat, supplies the *ic'andônump* medicine, which is pounded up and spread on a swelling. Sometimes an infusion is drunk for the same purpose. Both because the plant grows plentifully about the reservation and because there are many cases of swelling, this remedy is used more commonly than other medicines at the present day.

For nose-bleeding *piə nádcu* is pounded up, boiled, and drunk from time to time after cooling off. It was not snuffed into the nose. For headache the head was washed with this potion.

A person with fever sores, especially on the arms, applies the *kûnokip* root, pounded up and wetted with water. The same medicine is used for wounds. One of the roots, strung together in the sample secured would suffice for one application.

A very scarce medicine (*wo'ñgo-gwûna*) was obtained by boiling the needles of a small pine species growing on river banks. This was used a good deal for bad colds. The Shoshoni both drank the infusion and also smoked themselves with the needles. The latter method was used when this medicine was mixed with the *to'dsa* root mentioned above.

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[1] Lowie, 227.

Another rare medicine is called *ŝwuhigdre*. It is applied to wounds, but can also be drunk. The Ute used it a great deal. Pounded and rolled up with grass, it could revive an exhausted horse.

E. N. Wilson mentions the rubbing of skunk oil on the legs to make a wound heal; also in another connection, the preparation of a poultice from mashed weeds and the washing of the wound with an infusion of sage leaves.[1]

A Shoshoni is ashamed to pronounce his own name. This has no connection with the *Nünümbi* belief.[2]

Wawanabidi had an iron flute three feet long, with fur wrapping at the top for about eight inches and in the same place a hoop from five to six inches in diameter with a bunch of yellow-hammer feathers hanging from it. The flute was carried in horizontal position. Flutes are used for charming girls. Each flute has a slightly different sound and the girl would recognize the man blowing it and join him at night for a rendezvous. Once a woman heard a fine flute player, who was very ugly on account of a disfigured lip. She was charmed by his playing and joined him at night without knowing who he was until she discovered his identity, when she left him.

The following seasons are recognized:—

Late in fall—"Little month" (*tü've mō'ə*), when the ice begins to appear on the edges of creeks.

Big moon (*pīə mō'ə*), creeks are all frozen over, except the middle which might be open.

Cold month (*ō'djō mōə,*) creeks all frozen.

Pōeitc, thawing of ice and big snowflakes come down.

icarūə mō'ə, wolves are having their young and ice has gone from creeks.

mō'dzarūə, mountain sheep have their young and grass is beginning to come up.

bōdzamak kimia, water going down.

tōgwetāts, midsummer.

PAIUTE.

The Moapa put on face paint in the morning; *úmp'*, the red paint, is not found among them but in Shivwits territory; *turûs'*, the black paint, is found about five or six miles from Moapa.

Stories were told in the winter at night, one story in one evening. Women only knew a few of the myths.

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[1] Wilson, 17, 99 f.

[2] See Lowie, 235.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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A'panàwō's second toe is markedly longer than his big toe. Several other individuals with this trait were noted among both Moapa and Shivwits.

The Man in the Moon is called *toγo'n*, maternal grandfather.

There is a dialectic variation between the speech of the Shivwits and Nevada Paiute, possibly mainly in vocabulary. Thus, *qūtc* is "cow" among the Shivwits, while the Las Vegas and Moapa say *wañgdsi*.

The Shivwits believe that Wolf is still living in the sky; about Coyote they do not know.

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[Title Page]

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By Jaime de ANGULO and L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort 114
Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number
of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are [101]
congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray
who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in
that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all [102]
possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in
touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of [115]
their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During
the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged
around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George 115
Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on
the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he
was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible
for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very
valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit 121
my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the
point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the
Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion
of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more
and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior 114
Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a 191

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[1] I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

[2] For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

114 typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of
171 California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite
[121] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value howere, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with whom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

101 The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the
[131] east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.
133 This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

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To the north and to the south the range gra-

dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. 101 33 [131] It is probable that to the south they were separated from the Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by 648 both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [589] both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [727] home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101 through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 3 seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361] eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316] "mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes, Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war. Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133 northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habi-
619 tat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *neim·i* (e. g. *ni neim·i non·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak
[197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBī*
Silver Lake	*Toba'TeP·i*
Duck Lake	*TīBī'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Dīqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Dīqa*
Maidu	*TaKone*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tse*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tīziyamoso*
Lake City	*Paua'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pībī-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there
821 built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when
622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership 622
if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less
cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups
impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wan- [621]
dering over their semi-desert country.

HOUSES.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the 342
summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was suffi-
cient), were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a frame-
work of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large
enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm
even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in
view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this
could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles).
Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of diffe- 342
rentiation between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The Cali- [171]
fornia house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least
for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof cav-
ed in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of
Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of
house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with
two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut
themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subter-
ranean hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr.
Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy tim-
bers, slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particu-
lars of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the
tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three 342
foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only
one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it.
Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has [137]
pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at
least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roam-
ing and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is notice-
able how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much [198]
greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

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SWEATING, AND SWEAT-HOUSES.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly 751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America. 783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. [171] Typical Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say [343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found to-[171]day in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the [179] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the old men frown on it.

CLOTHING.

391 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to [171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative. There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men [177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in [174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing nothing but a kilt.

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the 291
Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves.
Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually wore only
the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometines
donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder
with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest.
As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it
that way.

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their [302]
shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the
women a basket-cap (also like the Pits).

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same [171]
as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two
peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the
front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a [281]
single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge
of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the
toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut
wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit
extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much
like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference
that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added
: one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other
is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special
name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except
that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped
around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the
foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly
Californian mocassin.

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of
tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain
and snow.

WEAPONS OF HUNTING AND WAR.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of 411
the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different:
the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is
therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right
instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular
position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the [171]
arrow on the right hand side.

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 [411] For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[714] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

Agriculture.

241 222 [412] They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

Foods.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region[1]. But

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[136] [312] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no
acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from
their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in
Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252
mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the
ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals
in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted
it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized
religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious
forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [191]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite
well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he
positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [191]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the
world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [774]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the
Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blanketsin the usual manner. 239

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which
George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently
found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [191]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

Résumé.

105 171 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit even fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.)[1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

General Impression.

197 193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

Phonology.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

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[1] See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

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The phonetic system of Northern Paiute appears to be rather simple. For an accurate analysis based on experimental methods, see *Phonetic Elements of the Northern Paiute Language* by T. T. Waterman, U. of Cal. Publ. Vol. 10, No. 2. For the purposes of dynamic phonetics from the point of view of significant sound-patterns the following cadre, although only a schematic reduction, represents the reality fairly well:

I. CONSONANTS.

		Laryngeal	Guttural	Palatal	Frontal	Labial
Plosive Intermediates			*p K G*		*T D*	*P B*
Fricatives	surd	*h*			*s c*	
	sonant		*g*		*z*	
Nasals			*ṇ*		*n*	*m*
Liquids					*l*	

II. SEMI-VOWELS.

y more vocalic than consonantal (tendency to diphthongize *ya*, *ye*, etc. to *ia ie*, etc.)

w more vocalic than consonantal: more labial than guttural (*wa*, *we* tends to sound like *ua*, *ue*)

III. VOWELS.

u, *o*, *a*, *e*, *i* between the "close" and "open" positions.
ï. *ë* ("unrounded u and o")

The preceding table represents in a gross way what seemed to me to be the "ideal" functional scheme of Northern Paiute phonetics. Many other sounds occur besides, but they appear to be either sporadic or deviations from type through the influence of juxtaposed sounds.

194 It will be noticed that in the *plosive* series I have eliminated both true surds and true sonants, and reduced everything to the *intermediate* level, writing *P* or *B*, *T* or *D*, etc. according as my own subjective impression leaned towards the surd or the sonant. In the guttural position the velar *q* undoubtedly occurs and with such frequency that I am in doubt whether it does not really replace the *K* in the ideal scheme. Furthermore it is quite often markedly aspirated (*q*ʻ), and often even degenerates into x in rapid speech. The "glottal catch" when final is apt to be followed by a voiceless echo-vowel (*a*ʼᵃ).

The *b* sound is of the ordinary type of "inverted affricate" as in English.

In the *fricative* series the absence of x is notable. The absence of bi-labial f and v is easily compensated by the semi-vowel *w*, but I must also note that the *B* has often a bi-labial spirantic quality (β). There is however no tendency for *P* to appear as φ (in other words no tendency to aspiration : P^{c}). *s* and *c* appear to be equivalent. The absence of affricates (*ts*, *dz*, etc.)is notable.

In the *liquid* series *r* is absent.

All the vowels are intermediate in position between the close and open articulations, with a fairly wide margin of variability. This is especially true of the "unrounded back-vowels", where there is perhaps only one ideal type, namely *ī*, but this vowel often appears as an undoubted *ĭ*, and again as either *o* or *ε*. This is rather strange and would indicate the possible presence of "ablaut" changes which have escaped me.

The tendency to *unvoicing* final vowels, even when the preceding syllable is not particularly accented, is so marked that is sometimes amounts to true "whispering". This is of importance in regard to the possible gradual loss of "endings".

Dynamic stress is not marked, but there is an evident tendency to interpolate obscure unaccented vowels as a sort of transition between words (as in southern French), resulting in a pseudo-accentuation or peculiar lilt.

Lengthening of vowels often appears in my notes, but may perhaps be only the result of over-careful enunciation on the part of my informants.

A peculiar sound occurs rather frequently : *TsKw*, in which the *w* element is voiceless, whispered and often followed by a weakly-articulated whispered *i*.

MORPHOLOGY

THE NOUN.

The noun occurs most usually as a pure radical. Affixes are very few. There is no sign of the plural either through affixation, reduplication or symbolism. That at some preceding stage the language divided nouns into generic classes (somewhat like the Latin declensions), would appear probable from the fact that many nouns end in the same way. The ending in... P^i (or such variations as *Pi*, *Bi*, *P*, *B*, *Pī*, etc [bear in mind the evident tendency to the *unvoicing* of vowels in certain positions spoken of in the Phonological section]) is by far the most common. Another group of endings appears to revolve around... *K* and variations such as *Kwa*, *K*, *Ky*,ʼ (and especially the glottal catch followed by an echo-vowel).

THE PRONOUN.

a) Independent forms :

I	*nī*
thou	*ī*
this one, that one,	*usu*, *isu*, *Pīsu*, *masu*
thou and I	*Taa*
ye and I	*Tam·i*
he (or they) and I	*nīm·i*
ye	*mī*
they	*im·ī*

It is probable that the list was at one time more complete. All these forms apply only to the subjective case; the objective cases are expressed implicitly in the affixed forms q. v.

Reflexivity is expressed by suffixing *-ʒun*.

Ex : I hit myself *nī-ʒun Tona*

b) Affixed forms :

These are all prefixed, and express a relation between subject and object (in other words, include the object as well as the subject) :

I-him	*a-*	thou-him,	*u-*	he-him,	*a-*
I-them	*mi-*	thou-them	*mi-*	he-them	*mi-*
I-thee	[O]-	thou-me	*i-*	he-me	*i-*
I-you	*mi-*	thou-us	*mi-*	he-us	*mi-*
				he-thee	*i-*
				he-you	*mi-*

When it is necessary to indicate the plurality of the subject, this is done by means of the independent forms, in addition. Ex : we all of us hit him *nia·i a-Tona*.

Verbs which would be intransitive in our languages are also subjected to these prefixes : Ex : I went *ni a-mia* (lit. "I went it").

Here again, in the above list, we find the same evidence of leveling from a probably more complete original system. For instance, *mi*-expresses five out of the seven possible relations which include a plural objective. One might be inclined to doubt the validity of the other two cases (*mi*-), but my inquiries were particularly painstaking on this subject.

THE POSSESSIVES.

Essential possession (i. e. inseparable from the person, like body-parts, relationship terms, etc.) is expressed in only one case : the relationship terms for the 1st person are all preceded by *i*-. Ex : *i-na* my father, my wife *-Kuma*, etc.

Accidental possession is expressed in the following forms :

mine	*ni-Ka*
thine	*i-mi*
his	*u-Ka*
thine and mine	*Ta-Ka*
his and mine	*ni-wi, ni-mi*
yours	*i-wi, i-mi*
theirs	*imi, ima*

The element *-Ka* is the ordinary Genitive suffix in this language.

THE VERB.

The verb is simple. It occurs usually in its undifferentiated radical form, except for the incorporated pronominal prefix, which is morover not obligatory.

Mode appears to be absent. Tense is indicated in the Past by the semi-prefixed word *mo'as*ᵃ = "already", in the Future by one of the two suffixes *-Tua* or *-Kuĕ*. The Continuative-Habituative by the suffix *-win*.

The termination *-K* is frequent and as far as I could make out, optional and devoid of special meaning.

Many verbs use a different radical when the subject is plural. Plurality of the object does not affect the radical. In the semantic list I have always indicated the cases where the radical was ascertained to be the same in the plural as in the singular. Where no mention is made it is because I have no data.

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES.

I. *Word-Order*. Apparently of little importance.

II. *Affixation*.

Infixation is absent. Prefixation is limited to the incorporated pronouns. Suffixation is but weakly developed (or perhaps decadent). The following suffixes were isolated :

-ma Instrumental Case. Ex : *Kwibi-ma* = with a knife.
-maT Dative Case. Ex : *i-maT* = to you, *i-Kuma-maT* = to my husband.
-BaT Inessive Case. *q'aiBa-BaT* = towards the mountain.
-Ka Genitive Case.
-ɛ added to nouns has the value of "and", "but", and sometimes of "if"
-Tua, *-Kut*, the Future of eventuality.
-win the Continuative-Habituative.

III. *Compounding*. Absent.

IV. *Symbolism* (internal modification, accentual differences). Only faint traces discovered, but probably more will be found in a more complete study.

GRAMMATICAL CONCEPTS[1].

Unless other grammatical processes come to light in a more searching study, the grammatical concepts expressed in this language are as follows :

Concept II is almost lacking.
Concept III is lacking.
Concepts I and IV are present.

GRAMMATICAL CLASSIFICATION.

This language cannot be classed either as a "Mixed-relational non deriving" language, or as a "Mixed-relational deriving" language, because mixed-relational concepts [III] are not found.

It can scarcely be classed as a "Pure relational deriving" language, because there are only two affixes that express derivational concepts.

Yet it seems rash to classify it as a "Pure-relational non deriving" language. Perhaps the true status of this language is that it is at present in the midst of a stage of transition from a derivational to a mixed-relational conceptual technique. I have already indicated that there are certain signs of the use of symbolical processes.

A deeper study might reveal a great deal in that direction.

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[1] For the terminology see SAPIR's, *Language*, chs. V and VI.

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193 In résumé, then, and provisionally, the dialect spoken by the Northern Paiute in California may be classified as a *Simple Pure-Relational* language, weakly *Agglutinative* in technique, mainly *Analytic* in structure.

SEMASIOLOGY.

196
192 The following presentation of the semantemas of the language is an attempt to combine economy of space, ease in finding any word, and a semblance of logical grouping of concepts. Such grouping should be of great value for the purposes of lexical comparative work. Alphabetical order has therefore been abandoned for a decimal numbering system.

The conceptual grouping that I have adopted (and which does not pretend to be anything more than a convenient empirical one) is as follows:

1. NATURE..............
    - 11 the sky
    - 12 the elements (fire, earth, water, air)
    - 13 time
    - 14 space
    - 15 number
2. THE ANIMALS.
3. THE PLANTS
4. MAN
5. THE BODY..............
    - 51 head and verbs related thereto
    - 52 hand » »
    - 53 foot » »
    - 54 body and organs
    - 55 life and psyche
6. THE TOOL..............
    - 61 special tools and actions
    - 62 material culture

111. sky *Komi'Ba*; sun *TaBa'*; moon *mina'*; star *Pa'TojoBa*.

112. summer *Taza'*; winter *Tom·o*;

121. fire, camp-fire, *qoso*; fire, to be burning, *na'e*; to burn (transit.), *Tĕna'yo*: ashes, *TinibiP*; coals *TubuBⁱ*; to make fire with drill, *mawi'iKg*; fire-drill hearth, *wo'i;* to fan the fire, *wiwa'Ga*; to blow fire, *PuTu·Ga*; warm, *yo'e*; hot, *iTiT*; cold, *iTsiTs*;

122. earth, ground, *Ti·P*; mountain' *q'ai·Ba*; valley, *yiPi'Kay*; stone, rock, *TciPi'*, "rim-rocks", *ooPi*; obsidian, *Tu'Pisa*, *Taq'a'*; salt, *ṇa'Bⁱ*; colour, *-KwTya'a* (suffixed), red, *asa'*; green, blue, *Pubi*; black, *Tubu*; white, *Toba*; yellow, *oba*; grey, *isi*; mottled, *mon·oc-TaBi'a*.

123. water *Pa·*, rain *Pa'maB*; river *hu'u*, lake *Panĕn'*, snow *niBaB*, ice *PaTse'goB*.

124. wind *iKwa*, *biKwaP*.

131. day *Ta BīyaB*, night *Toqan*, morning *nanime*, afternoon *TaBin* (?); 196
all the time *aToe*, now, here *ya*, then *yaic*, already, past, *mo'ar*. 192

132. Continuative-Habituative *-win*, Future *-Tu'a*, *Kuī*, Conditional *Ka-* (?).

141. large, big *PaBa*, tall, long *oTé*, round *PaTsi'Pon·o'a*, square *momu' Tsatya'a*, flat, level *PaTa'Kwen·e'e*, small, little *Ti·Tse* (*-Tse* Diminutive), short *mi·Tse*.

142. north *Kwina"aBa*, south *Pana'Kuᵃ*, east *TaBa'Tami* (Cf. sun), wes *mana'BaTema*; up *Tugu'P·a*, down *TiBo*; here *ya'a*, there *o'o*, where ? *hane* (from the interrogative *ha*); right *Tē'maDain*, left *Dī'naKuᵃ*.

151. [the numerals are usually given with the suffix -*yu*]: one *cē'mē*, two *waha'*, three *Pahe'*, four *waTse'Kwe'*, five *ma·ne·Ke'*, six *na·'Pahe'*, seven *na·Ta'KsKw* eight *wa'·KaDo*, nine *cēwa' ·KaDo*, ten *mano'*, from eleven to nineteen: formed by one to nine followed by *-maT siPoK* "added to", twenty *waha'mano'*, twenty-one *waha'ma cēmē -maT siPoK* (i. e. "twice ten and one added"), twenty-two *waha'ma waha'-maT siPoK* ("twice ten and two added"), etc..., thirty *Pahe'mano'*, thirty-one *Pahe'ma cēmē-maT siPoK*, etc..., hundred *KwayT*.

152. and, with, etc. *na*, *ono*, *noqo*; *-c* (suffix; also used to express Conditional); very *ini*; not *q'ae*, question *ha*.

153. only, single, *ʒī'ma*, *yaic*; all, everyone, *no'oyon*, *no'oqo*.

200. animal (no general word); hide, skin *Pībi*; antler, horn (same word as forehead *aa*); tail *Kwasi'*.

210. buffalo *Kutsu'* (now "cow"); grizly bear *oha·yo'na*, cinnamon bear 196
co·na', black bear *KaKw'*; deer *TēhēTy*, *ʔēhēTe*; elk *Pa-TihēTe* 192
("big deer", apparently same lack of a distinct semantema in 136
several other Shoshonean languages); doe *xaPi'aB*, fawn *iwa'*; antelope *Tin·a*; horse (see "dog"): cow (see "buffalo").

220. puma *Kakwī-Tobo* (see "bear" and "lynx"); lynx *Tobo'o*.

230. dog *PoKo* (now "horse"), *caTīi*; wolf *ica'a*, coyote *iʒa'a* (cf. "wolf", also the appended Text);

240. mountain-sheep *Ko'yP*.

250. rabbit *Tabo'o*, hare *qam·ō*; porcupine *TsaGui'Tī*, beaver *Kohī'i*, marten *Pa-TsuGo*, skunk *Poni'Tce*, weasel *Pa-BiTse*; groundhog *KiTī*, ground-squirrel *TsePic*, gopher *KooTse*, rat *ʔēKa'wa*, mouse *PunaTs*, mole *ya·'TsiP*.

260. bird (general word) *buTsi·Ba*, feather *TiTam·a*, egg *an·obo'*; quail *TuKTa*, grouse *Paqogo'o*, crow *aTa'*; golden eagle *Kwina'a*, bald-

196 headed eagle *Pasia'*, vulture *wiho'*, chicken-hawk *TaBuTsi Kwi'i*,
192 sparrow-hawk *Kini'* ; heron *PoiKwasa*, crane *wasa* ; duck *KuTa*,
[136] geese *naKiT* ; woodpecker (flicker) *aTsa'Ba*.

280. fish (no general word) ; salmon *aq'a'i*, trout *PaKwa'*.

290. spider *caaT* ; grasshopper *oaDoDa'a*, cricket *nizyo* ; *mobiP*. horse-fly *PiPiT*, bee *nobTa*, butterfly *Tso'a'nene* ; worm *wo'aB*.

196 300. wood *Ku'na*, dead-wood, fire-wood *PasaP* ; root *Tina*, trunk *siwia*
192 bark *aPo'a*, branch *ma'na*, leaf *ceaKv*, sap *ayoPi*.

137 311. tree (general term) *PobiKya'i* ; pine *wogoP*, pine-cone *q'aa*, juniper *wa·P*, fir *q'aTaB'*, spruce *winiP*. poplar *sina·B'*, willow *a·B*.

312. mountain mahogany *Tupe*.

320. grass (general term) *waba'Bi*. wild buckwheat *aTsu'*, tule : *caiB*, *PiBuP*, *Toyi'Ba*, foxtail *monoPi*, tobacco *Pacmu'*.

330. wild onion *haP·e*, wild turnip *buni'Boe*.

340. nut *obo'*, pine-nuts *TiBa*.

350. berries (of juniper tree) *apu·i*.

360. wild plum *Toyo*

370. seeds *PubiK^{w}Tya*

196 410. person ; people *neim·i*, man *na·na*, woman *mogo'ne*, old man *wa'eTs*,
192 old woman *Piya'waBi*, young man *naTs*, *TuimiTsi*, young woman *Tsia''a*, little boy *naTi'*, little girl *Tci'a'*, baby *oba'a*.

420. paternal grandfather *Kinu''u*, maternal grandfather *Togo'*, paternal
[601] grandmother *buTse'*, maternal grandmother *mu'a'* ; father *na*, mother *Pia'*, paternal uncle *hai'i*, maternal uncle *aaTs*, paternal aunt *Pabwa'*, maternal aunt *PiTo'* ; elder brother *PaBi''i*, younger brother *Kwana'a*, elder sister *bama'a*, younger sister *Pinee* ; son *Tua'* ; daughter *Pati-*, nephew or niece [through a brother] (uncle speaking) *buza'*, id° (aunt speaking) *aDa'Tsi*, id° [through a sister] (uncle speaking) *manaK'*, id° (aunt speaking) *miDo''o* ; husband *noTeK^w*, wife *Kuma'*, father-in-law or mother-in-law *yabi'*, brother and sister-in-law are composite terms made up of nephw + mother, niece + son etc.

430. I *ni*, thou *i*, you and I *Taa* ; he, she, it, this, man, etc. *usu*, *isu*, *masu*, *Pisu* ; myself, yourself, himself, etc. *-zun* ; (essential possession) *i-* ; accidental possession *-Ka* ; [Refer to the grammatical sketch].

440. shaman *Puha'gam* ; chief *PaBe'*.

450. strong *ini*, small *TiT·i*, pretty *TaBia*.

460. Paiute *neim·i*, Pit River Innian *ici'cawi'*, Klamath *PaKwi'Diq'a*, Modoc *ca'i'iDiq'a*, Maidu *TaKone*, Warn Spring Indian *aga'Tse*, white man *TaiBo'o* ; Local bands of Paiutes : see Ethnography.

510. head *Tsoq'PīGi*, forehead *as'*, nape *q'awo'TsoP·a*, hair of head *soPī'i* neck *q'uTa'*, Adam's apple *noTo'*, collar bone *Tai go'DaP·i*.

511. eye *Pu·ī*, to see *Pon·e*, to search *naT*.

5120. mouth *'īiP·a'*, lip *TiP·a'-q'a·'Ku*^{a}, chin *q'amu'*, tooth *Ta·ma'*, tongue *iqo'* (perhaps *i-qo* = my tongue), hair of face *musu'i*.

5121. to eat *TiKa'* (pl. same), to drink *biBi'* (pl. same), to bite *Gii'* (pl. same), to spit *TubiP*, to taste *Tim·a*, to suck *PiTsi'*.

5122. to tell (*Tē·K*^{w}) (pl. same), to ask *Tē·Biṇ'* (pl. same), to call *Pa'i* (pl. same). to cry *yaga'*.

513. nose *muse'*.

514. ear *naqa'*, to hear *naqa'*, to listen *naqa Pin·a* (i. e. "re-hear"), deaf *qae naqa dawa·qa* (not hear ?).

5200. hand *ma·i*, finger *mawi'an*, thumb *Toq'*, index *Poyn*, arm *PīTa'*, wrist *mawi'Dzago* (Cf. ankle), nail *TsiTu'*, elbow *maṬsi'bi*, shoulder *Tsoa'Bi*, forearm (like arm).

5210. to touch *Dzam·a'*, to feel *wim·a'*; heavy *nini'Kwi*, light *yaya'Kwa*, smooth *PataKwin·ī'a*, rough *PoBoTaq'a*, soft *yuTsoq'a*, hard *oboP*.

5221. Dative case *-maT*; to have, to have got *GaT* (pl. *Tya'yu*); to take *Kwibi* (pl. *bi'ma*); to give, to send *mametc*, *mamiya*, *sa'a*, *maKim·a'*, *mami'TyaK*, *Kia'u* (pl. *bimi'u*).

5222. to make *ban·e'* (pl. *mahan·e'*); to stretch *TsaToDoB'*, to tear *Tsq'a'u*.

5223. to hit *Tona'* (pl. same); to push *Ton·o'yoy*, to pull *zama'*.

5224. to put, place *oaTKī* (pl. *'Iiu'na*); to lay down *haP·i'* (pl. *Pukwa'*).

530. foot *KiKī*, leg (from hip to ankle) *PīKa'Bī*, hip *Tsim·u'*, knee *mia'wo*, ankle *Tawi'zog*, sole *Tapi'Da*.

531. to go *mi'a* (pl. *nawɑsi*), to depart *mia'o* (pl. *mia''o*), to walk *mi'an·o* (pl. *wayo'gan·o*); to come *Kim·a* (pl. same), to come back *Kim·a'o* (pl. *Kim·a'a*), to go up, down, formed by go + up, down; to run *Pizam·i'a* (pl. *Tando'Bane*); to jump *naTa'winai* (pl. *naTa'wa-Tiyu*); to roll *Tima'bik*; Inessive case *-BaT*.

532. to carry on back *no'o* (pl. *no·n·o*), to carry in arms *saTyaKw'*, (pl. *saTi'man·o*); to bring *o'sa* (Cf. to give, send).

534. to stand *win·ī* (pl. *q'on·o*), to fall *hanoaq'a* (pl. *abitaye*), to rise *yobTsi·ī* (pl. *yozi·u*), to lie *habi'TaBe* (pl. *Pukwa'u*) [Cf. to lay down 5224], to sit *qaTī* (pl. *a·Ta*).

535. to kick *wumu'DzewaT* (pl. *wumu'Dzeguat'*).

5410. back *buPī'wayT*, belly *Tsii*, chest *niṇa'Bī* breast *Pībi*, milk *PiDza'*, buttocks *TsaBo'*.

5420. skin *Pībi* (Cf. breast 5410), also *Tsibo'PoDo*, bone *obo'* (Cf. *oboP* = hard).

196 5430. blood *Pīī*, fat *Tyuhu*, sweat *Kuna'a*.

192 5440. heart *īDīT*, vein *Pawī'*, liver *niwi*, guts *cii*.

5450. anus *TsaBī* (Cf. buttocks 5410), to defecate *Kwii·a*; testicles *nogo'*, phallus *Kwia'*, cunnus *cuu*, clitoris *uiTsi*, pubic hair *su·bī'*, menstruation *nama'Dagai*, to copulate *oq'o*.

55. to think *ʐuban·i*, death *Tia'u*.

611. knife *Kwibi*, ax *KuTsa'no*, to cut *TsKya'u* (pl. *TsiBoqa'u*), to chop *KuTsan* (pl. *Poq*), to cut meat with flint flake *Taqas* (Cf. obsidian 122).

612. Instrumental Case *-ma*.

621. bow *Poṇọ's·a*, bow-string *PagaKwi*, arrow *buaBe*, arrow-point *Piʐu'-ma*, obsidian arrow-head *Taqa*, arrow-shaft *wa'aTī*, grooves on the arrow-shaft *TiTsaP·o*; poggamoggan war-club *TīP'i TaPon·o*; elkskin armor *TobPī*; to kill *BaTsa'*, *q'oī'*, to fight *nabbo'e* (pl. *naqoya*); to hunt *Tiboa'wa'i* (pl. *nay'mo'a*); war *naa-Kwī'*.

622. digging-stick *Poto*.

623. mocassin *mo'q'o*, legging *Kosa*, snow-shoe; *ciKī*, beads *Tso·-meBi*, ear-ring *nagKa'goe* (cf. ear *naq'ā'*), necklace *ʔigaKya*; breechcloat *PiTsaPoyo*, loin-cloth *oPiʐin·aKwe*, *ToPaDa'a*; shirt *was·ī*.

6241. house, tent, camp *noBe*, door, window *Tawaq'*.

6242. to cook *sa'a* (pl. same), meat *aTuku'*, metate *maTa'*, to grind seeds *Tucu'*, mush, soup, *nobo*, to eat mush with the fingers *ige*, spoon *KaDo'o*, bread *ʔīKa'Ba* (Cf. *TīKa'* = to eat)

6243. basket *woBoi*, *Tsam·ī'na*, rabbitskin-blanket *wiKya'*.

6244. buckskin *nacoṇọyaB*.

6245. to buy *TīmīK* (pl. same).

625. smoking pipe *Tois·a*.

627. tule boat ("balsa") *saKi*.

TEXTS.

CONVERSATION.

193 1. You saw us last summer when we came with our baby.
muas Taʐa' nimmi yao mo'o mi-Tua'-no-s
already summer we (excl.) here come us-son-with-and
ī mi-Pon·e
you us-see.

2. This time I came alone without my wife and without my baby.
ya· nī q'ae i-noTe·Kwᵉ-no Kim·a i-Tua'no

here I not me-wife-with come me-son-with
ni cī́mī Kim·a
I one come

3. Next year you will see us if you come.
Bin·a Taẓa' ī mi-Bon·e-Tua i-sᵃ Kim'a-s
next summer you us-see-will you-and come-and

4. When I go back this winter I will look for beads and send them to you.
mia'-s nī onaT Tsu·meBi Pun·e-Tu'a-s isat
go-and I (hunt ?) beads see-will-and (then ?)
nī i-maT u-maKim·aKī-Tu'a
I you-to them-send-will

5. I will tell my wife to send you the beads.
i-noTe·Kw a-TīKwe-Tu'a u-sa'a usu ī-maT
me-wife her-tell-will them-bring she you-to
u-mamiyaKī-Tu'a
them-send-will

6. Send them to my husband.
i-Kuma-maT a-mametck
me-husband-to them-send

7. I called you but you did not come.
nī i-Pa'i-c ī q'ae Kim·a
I you-call-and you not come

8. I already called you.
nī moa'sᵉ i-Pa'i
I already called you

9. Are you going to town this afternoon?
ba ī town *nawai-kwī TaBin*
? you town be-will to-day

10. No. I have already been there this morning.
moa'su nī town *nanime*
already I town morning

11. If you go again, bring me some potatoes.
ka-mī'ano PaTe·Ta TēmīK
(?) go = again potatoes buy

12. All right. I will bring you some.
u-sa'a nī
it-bring I

13. I will buy bread and meat.
TīKa·B aTuKu'-noho TēmīKᵉ-Kēw nī
bread meat-with buy-will I

14. Where is my knife?
ban·e Kwibi

193 15. That's my knife and that's your knife
ni-Ka Kwibi-s imi Kwibi
I-of knife-and your knife

16. I cut it with your knife.
imi Kwibi-ma nī a-TsKyœ
your knife-by I it-cut

17. Cut it! *a-TsKwa·*

18. I am cutting it. *ni a-TsKay·-win*

19. I am cutting all the time. *nī a-TsKya·-win aTd'e*

20. I chopped it with the axe.
KuTsan·o-ma nī a-KuTsa'
axe-by I it-chop

21. The dog drank all the water.
saTī'ī Pa· biBiu nooqo
dog water drink altogether

22. The dogs drank all the water
mī saTī'ī Pa· biBiu nooqo

23. I saw a dog and a coyote together.
saTī'i-noqo iẓa'a ni u-Ponne
dog-with coyote I him-see

24. Everybody went to fight the forest-fire.
qoso-no naqoya nooqo neim·ī
fire-with fight all people

EPISODE FROM THE COYOTE-WOLF CYCLE.

193
539
773 1. *iẓa'a na PaBe'e ica'a noBe Tya'ya*
Coyote with elder Wolf camp had
brother (house)
Coyote lived with his elder brother Wolf.

2. *ha i BaTsa'TaBī PaPa'Bau KīDī*
? you kill very big ground-hog
"How do you manage to kill such big ground-hogs?"

iẓa'a a-TīBin Tī-PaBe'e 3. *ŤciPi*
Coyote him-ask elder brother Rocks
Coyote asked his brother. "(I call:) Rocks,
i-Tima'biK KīDī i-Tima'biK
you + me-roll ground-hog me-roll
roll down on me" and ground-hogs roll down on me.

193
539
773

PaPa'Bau *ʒi'ma* *ni* *q'oi'* 4. *Pis u*
very-big only I kill He
I kill only the big ones". Coyote

mia'o *itza'a* 5. *ooPi* *i-Tima'biK*
depart Coyote rim-rocks me-roll
went to the rim-rocks "Rocks, roll down on me!"

6. *KiDi* *u-Tima'biK* *u-PaPa'Bau* *ʒi'ma*
ground-hogs him-roll him-very = big only
Ground-hogs rolled down on him and he killed

q'oi' 7. *qac* *ini* *na* *q'oi'*
kill not hard and kill
only a big one. "That's easy hunting".

8. *ni skwana naPia' TiKa'-s* 9. *naPia'*
I wish here eat-and here
I might as well eat it right here". And he

TiKa' 10. *u-Kema'BaT* *usu'* *mia'*
eat he-move the go
ate it there. He oved to another place.

11. *ooPi* *i-Tima'biK* *KiDi* *u-Tima'biK*
rim-rocks me-roll ground-hogs him-roll
"Rocks, roll down on me." Ground-hogs rolled down on him.

12. *naPia'* *TiKa'* 13. *u-Kema'BaT* *usu'*
there at he-move he
He ate right there. He moved to another

mia' 14. *ooPi* *i-Tima'biK* 15. *ooPi*
go rim-rocks me-roll rim-rocks
place. "Rocks, roll down on me." Nothing but

yaic *u-Tima'biK* *naTa'winai-c* *Kwasi'* *Taq'aa*
only him-roll jump-and tail cut
rocks rolled on him this time. He was jumping around but his tail
was cut off.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY
OMER C. STEWART

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
Vol. 4, No. 3

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[Title Page]

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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The University of California publications dealing with anthropological subjects are now issued in two series.

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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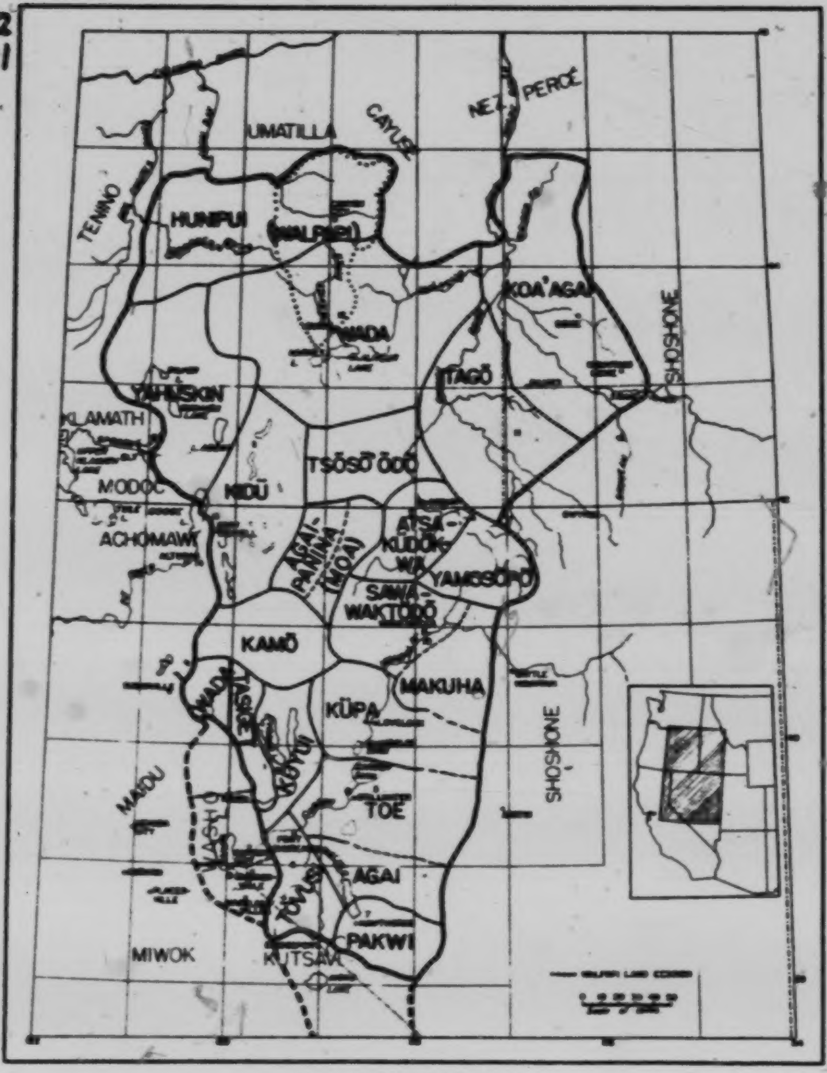
NEZ PERCÉ
CAYUSE
UMATILLA
TENINO
HUNIPUI
(WALPAPI)
WADA
KOA'AGAI
SHOSHONE
TAGÖ
YAHUSKIN
KLAMATH
MODOC
TSÖSÖ'ÖDÖ
KIDÜ
ACHOMAWI
AGAI-PANINA (MOA)
ATSA-KUDÖK-WA
YAMOSÖPÖ
SAWA-WAKTÖDÖ
KAMÖ
WADA
TASIGE
KÜPA
MAKUHA
KUYUI
TOE
MAIDU
WASHO
SHOSHONE
AGAI
TOVUSI
PAKWI
MIWOK
KUTSAVI

Map 1. Northern Paiute Bands.

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4: Stewart E-5 (1938) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Information from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 101 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose 131 of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and 136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 194] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; ĝ, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p.361(A)]

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

262 Contrary to what might be expected in such a desert region, fish and waterfowl were an extremely important dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless, because of the inhospitable environment the available food was so often inadequate that the Indians learned to eat nearly everything which could support life.
221 Seasonal migrations in search of food took Indians of nearly every band into the areas recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

114 In the two and a half months available for this study* it was impossible to visit all the bands still represented by living Indians. Of the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element lists were obtained from eleven.

124 Since it was impossible to follow the conventional methods of gathering ethnographic data, that is, by indirect questions which force informants to take the initiative in all descriptions, some mention of the methods employed should be made here. At the start of the inquiry of each complex, such as deer hunting or house building, a general question would be posed and the informant was allowed to offer what information he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary to ask about particular details, or to inquire whether something were done this way or that. With the first informant Northern Paiute names for various items and concepts were recorded; subsequently, with the remaining Indians, the native name was used in questioning.
124 To supplement the name, descriptions and pantomimes
115 were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance was obtained from several hundred photographs of material culture and a number of actual specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games, and the like. Informants usually identified known types of material illustrated; consequently, blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage. The Indians seemed to appreciate seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested particular delight upon seeing representations of their own types. Thus the pictures had the double value of establishing friendly relations between the investigator and the Indians and provided a means of exact identification of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

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*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[p. 361 (B)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant supplied the data or when several agreed, no in-
[121] dication is made in the list. An asterisk beside the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,[1] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers,"
131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[1] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

127 scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check
114 on information which could not be checked sufficiently
in the field, and as a guide to illustrations.
Of special value is the comparison of
this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent
monograph. Most of my data corroborate
Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection
with traits for which she received conflicting
128 accounts. Where published information
refers to a single band, the abbreviation for
that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a.
Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported
the presence among the Kidü-dokadö of trait number
2721a.

131
101
Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115 Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101
131
2, Kl, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

[p.362 (B)]

115 lethargic. He was less informed than ND and volunteered little except upon direct question. Although he also worked with Park, he seemed inclined to give an answer whether or not he was sure. Because his mail route required half of each day, I used his brother, Dick Mahwee, when he (DG) was not available, thereby obtaining a duplicate list (K2 in list).

101 3, K2, Kuyui-dökadö.

115 Informants.—Dick Mahwee (DM), age 59, born at Honey Lake; DG's younger brother. Except for visits to Virginia City and Reno, he lived at Nixon most of his life. Waterman,[8] who took DM in 1910 to San Francisco to use him in linguistic work, said DM spent his childhood in Long Valley near Honey Lake. When interviewed he was nearly blind, but was otherwise in good health. Having been a "singing doctor" for 20 years and "dance captain" at times, DM was an excellent informant for certain phases of culture.[9] For material culture his knowledge seemed reliable, but he refused to say anything about childbirth, puberty, and the like, professing complete ignorance. DM spent only four years in school, leaving in 1888. He spoke fair English. I worked with both him and his brother (DG) without interpreters. Ten days were spent in Nixon, slightly more time with DG than with DM.

Additional ethnogeographical data were obtained from Jane Holbrook, Kuyui, and Hattie Whitehead, Kamö. There were several other informants at Nixon who possibly could have given valuable information.

101
131 4, Ku, Küpa-dökadö, "ground-squirrel eaters," lived on the lower Humboldt River and near Humboldt Sink. In 1936 several lived in the Indian Colony at Lovelock, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Gilbert Natchez (GN), age ca. 54, born at Brown's Station, 20 miles SW of Lovelock, Nevada. Both his parents were Küpa. GN lived about 36 years at Nixon, but learned of "old Indian ways" from his mother and grandmother. He lived at Lovelock in 1936. He fell off a train when a young man, which left him badly crippled. His sight and hearing were good. He was forced to remain much of the time at home, which, he said, was spent in talking old Paiute lore. I was impressed by his breadth of knowledge and by his ability to express himself. His lack of personal experience with aboriginal culture limited his knowledge; notwithstanding, he surpassed anyone else I found at Lovelock. He was taken to San Francisco and used as a linguistic informant by A. L. Kroeber. He proved very apt and was kept three months. He learned to write his language in phonetic script and he has a paper published under his name.[10] He also supplied the culture data recorded by Loud.[11] I worked with GN four days.

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[8] UC-PAAE 10:13-44, 1911.

[9] ada (crow) is DM's power.

[10] Northern Paiute Verbs. UC-PAAE 20:254-259, 1923.

[11] Lovelock Cave. UC-PAAE 25:1-183, 1929.

115 Skinny Dave, or Parviano, the "Küpa chief," proved to be an unsatisfactory informant. He had unlimited self esteem, but very meager knowledge.

Annie Lowry (AL), age 69, half-breed Küpa, has lived always at Lovelock. She was one of Lowie's informants for myths and had a ready answer for most questions. I asked her particularly about traits concerning women. She had lived too much with white people to be extremely well informed, and some of her information was obviously colored by European concepts.

101 131 5, To, Toe-dökadö, "tule eaters," possessed Carson Sink, Carson Lake, and lower Carson River; now found on Stillwater Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, Indian Colony.

115 Informants.—Bob Springer (BS), age ca. 70, born at Stillwater and always lived there. Parents were Toe. He seemed very active and his sight and hearing were unimpaired, but he was not a willing worker. Although Lowie had used him, he refused to do systematic work with me. He seemed to know sufficient English to be a good informant without an interpreter. I spent four or five hours with him.

Little Pete, or Kupida (LP), age ca. 70, has always lived at Stillwater, as had his parents. LP could hear and see sufficiently, but his English was limited. His knowledge of aboriginal conditions was certainly not the best. He was aided by his wife (a Toe), who also acted as interpreter. About twenty hours were spent with them.

101 131 6, Tö, Tövusi-dökadö, "grass-nut eaters," in Smith and Mason valleys and upper Walker River in SW Nevada.

115 Informants.—Maggie Wright, or Tugövino (MW), age ca. 75, born at Wellington in Smith Valley. Both parents Tövusi. MW's hearing, sight, and memory were good. She had lived much of the old culture and also had heard about it, and was well informed, but needed an interpreter.

Goggles Wright, or Povawotsc (GW), age ca. 85, born near site of Fort Churchill; MW's husband. Father was Agai, mother was Wada of Honey Lake, but GW had lived most of his life at Smith Valley, where he had been a famous hunter. In spite of his age, his sight, hearing, and memory seemed good, and he was willing to tell all he knew. His knowledge supplemented MW's, and their information is combined in the element list. He also needed an interpreter.

Interpreter.—John Wright, age 39, son of MW and GW. John had traveled considerably, having been two or three years in Oklahoma and more than a year at Fort Hall, Idaho. He lauded the Peyote cult as the "Indian New Deal," but, although he desired to, he could not start it at Stillwater, because he did not have a drummer and the fire. Of all the Indians I met the Wright family seemed to be the most active participants in the old Paiute culture. They had just moved their house [768] and taken up new land because of a death on the previously occupied farm. Old Paiute superstitions and charms were carefully observed. The family lived at Stillwater. I spent three days with them.

[E-363 (8)]

N
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131 7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

N
115 Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother "half Pakwi, half Kutsavi" (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

W
131
101 8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, are the present Washo centers.

W
115 Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

N
101
131 9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuviwarai, "red-butte dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

N
115 Informants.—Pete Snap, or Nino'o (PS), aged ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

[p.364(A)]

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 131 10, Sa, Sama'waktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sama. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupinatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sama. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sama list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 131 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. She listened to the interviews [124] and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101 131 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," centering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 Informants.—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit (SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life, visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to time. He went blind a few years ago, but his hearing was good, and he was alert mentally. [124] I talked with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Töngio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, BJ lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 365 (A)]

Achomawi NS5

N 101 131 13, Ki, Kidü-dökadö, "woodchuck eaters," occupying Surprise Valley, California, and adjacent territory in southern Oregon and northwestern Nevada, were interviewed at Fort Bidwell, California.

67

N 115 Informants.—Bob Anderson (BA), age ca. 80, born near Gold Mountain; parents Kidü. BA started acting as interpreter and scout for General Crook and later worked in this capacity two years at Fort Harney, Oregon, and six years at Yainax on the Klamath Reservation. He lived at Fort Bidwell forty years. He was nearly blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), age ca. 75, born in Surprise Valley; present "chief"; parents Kidü. CW lived alternately in Susanville and Surprise Valley; was nearly deaf.

Key Henderson (KH), age 66, born near Warner; parents Kidü. KH spent life in Warner and Surprise Valley.

Joshua Brown (JB), age ca. 75, born at Surprise Valley; blind for many years; parents Kidü.

The first three informants combined their resources to tell as much of the old life as they knew; JB, better informed than the others, supplemented their knowledge, but he was too ill to work with me for long periods. Kelly[11] used all except Key Henderson for her monograph on the Surprise Valley Paiute, rating JB "excellent." Although informants told all they knew willingly, circumstances were far from satisfactory in obtaining completely reliable information. Twenty-eight hours were spent with informants.

A 101 131 14, AE, Achomawi (non-Paiute). Claiming the western slopes of Warner Range, the Achomawi were neighbors of the Kidü Paiute. Their principal area consists of the upper Pit River drainage, and there is still a rather larger colony in the vicinity of Alturas, California.

A 115 Informants.—Sam Fox (SF), aged ca. 80, born and reared near Likely, California; parents both of the Likely band of Achomawi. SF's sight and hearing were still good, and in spite of extremely poor health he was mentally very alert and willing to tell of old culture. His understanding and use of English were good.

Lily Chip (LC), about 60, SF's niece, born near Likely; could supplement SF's knowledge about such things as childbirth, girl's puberty, and other topics. I consider the Achomawi list among the best recorded: twenty-four hours were spent with informants.

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[11] UC-PAAE 31:69, 1932.

[p. 365 (B)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
• Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

N W A 224

N [231]

N W A [411]

N A [756]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

Deer Hunting

ELEMENTS	Ts	Kl	K2	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tr	Wd	Ki	AE
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•2a. Communal	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•5. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
•8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•9. With fire	+	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
•10. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	•+	-
11. In relays	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Shamanism	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+
14. In pit beside trail	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+
17. Single hunter stalks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Runs down	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•19. Disguise	•+	•-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•-	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
22. Brush carried	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
24. Fire to signal hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
•25. Formal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
26. Informal chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-
•27. Magic	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+

•Antelope Hunting

ELEMENTS	Ts	Kl	K2	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tr	Wd	Ki	AE
•27a. Communal hunt	+	•+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	•+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•29a. Brush fence around hill	+	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	•-	-
•30. Brush at intervals	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
31. Wings	•-	+	•-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	•+	+	
•32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	•+	•-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	-	•-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	+
36. Fire	+	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
•37. Notched stick	-	•-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
•38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

[p. 366]

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ye	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ah
40. Wand	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
47. Antelope mask	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
48. Round dance	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
49. Stumbling taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
50. Loss of objects taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
53. Messengers to antelope	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
57. Fires to drive	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
58. Shaman in corral	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
59. Shaman "closes gate"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
60. Special archer	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
64. Drive	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
65. Past ambushed hunters	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
66. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
67. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70. Ambush beside spring	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Disguise	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
74. Antelopeskin	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
75. Brush	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

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224
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[56
27 5]
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W
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[535]

N
[231]

Mt.-Sheep Hunting

	Ye	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ah
76. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77. Drive	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
78. Past hidden hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
79. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
80. With dogs	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
81. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
83. Through V-fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
88. Entire skin used	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
89. Fire to signal hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
91. Magic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Communal Rabbit Hunting

	Ye	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ah
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-

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[141]

[p.367]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS15

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224
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[585]

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	[illegible]	Ki	A
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
99a. 3	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
99b. Not fixed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+

Snares, Nets, Etc.

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[105]

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	[illegible]	Ki	A
100. Spring-pole trap	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
101. For birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
102. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
104. Trap behind fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
107. For rodents	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
109. For small mammals	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
110. For large mammals	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
113. Noose in fence gap	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
116. For birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
117. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
122. Tunnel shape	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
124. Willow frame	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
125. Sagebrush support	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
126. Edge staked down	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
127. Placed near water	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
129. Sagebrush wings	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
132. For sage hens	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
133. For doves	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
134. For ducks	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
136. Birds driven to net	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
137. With antelope disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
141. Basketry traps	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
144. 2-stick trigger	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
145. Bait used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
146. For large mammals	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
148. For birds generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
149. For grouse	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
153. For carnivores	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
154. For rabbits and rodents	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+

N
[223]

Booths and Blinds

N
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223

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	[illegible]	Ki	A
155. Brush enclosure	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
158. Conical house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
159. Pit	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
160. With brush fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
162. Concealment is near water	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.368]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

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223
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[224]

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
163. Shooting birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
165. Bird caught from blind with bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
166. Off perch	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
167. Inclined pole as perch	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
173. Game killed from blind: sheep	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Antelope	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Tule blind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−

Decoys and Disguises

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
178. Live birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
180. Stuffed birds	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
180a. Stuffed heads on sticks	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
181. Moved with string	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
181a. Body of tule	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
182. Birdskin on head	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
183. Animal disguise	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
184. Head	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
185. Whole skin	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
186. Sticks as front legs	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
187. Paint arms	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	[illegible]	−	+
188. Deer	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
189. Antelope	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
190. Mountain sheep	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
191. Grass or brush disguise	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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[224]

Waterfowl Hunting

Communal drive:

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
192. Balsas	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. Chief or director of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
194. Killing with club	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
194a. Killing with hands: break legs or neck	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
194b. Rabbit net used	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
195. Mud hens taken	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
196. Young ducks taken	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
196a. Young geese taken	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
197. Hunter uses animal disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
198. For ducks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
200. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−

Miscellaneous

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
201. Rodents taken from burrow by twisting stick into skin	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. Cottontail taken	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. Rat taken	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
204. Chipmunk taken	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
205. Reptile hook	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
206. Game hung on belt by head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Rats poked out	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
208. Rats burned out	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
209. Smoking out of animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
210. Jack rabbit	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Cottontail	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Other rodents	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Fan to blow smoke in den	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Sage-hen wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
216. Crow wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
217. Hawk wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+

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224

[p.369]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo. NT20

Achomawi NS5

N
W
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224

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
218. Brush	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
221. Rodents flooded out	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

Eagle (and Other) Catching

N
W
A
223

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
228. On net	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
229. Carries cage	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
[231]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

N
W
A
231

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
247. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
248. Chiefly dove	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fishing

N
W
A
226

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
257. Rabbit net used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
258. Wading in stream	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
258a. Ice pick		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
259. Net used through ice	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

N
[476]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
226
227

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
260. Weir	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
262. Platform built over river	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	K1	K2	Ku	To	To'	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
266. In weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
273. Spear	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
274. 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
275. 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
278. Torch or fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	+
280a. Angle	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–
281a. Of bone and wood	.	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
282. 1 barb at angle	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
285. Pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
287. Grasshopper	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
288. Salmon egg	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
288a. Minnow	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–
290a. Bait basket	.	.	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–
291. Fly hook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
293. Poison (toka used) placed in stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
294. Stream dammed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
295. Creek diverted	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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226
227

Animals Eaten

	Te	K1	K2	Ku	To	To'	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
297. Dog (sorobuku) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297a. Mink (pai'una) eaten	.	.	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
297b. Mole (teödzi' kwüsöva) eaten	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297c. Porcupine (tsa'kwuda or mühü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kamö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakamö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavüü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
297h. Kangaroo rat (kotsi) eaten	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
297j. Muskrat (pamunö) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (töka'wa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikwü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (köbö or küpe) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (woda'a) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavisi) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297q. Skunk (poni) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297r. Bat (biya'hana) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
297s. Elk (patu'huia) eaten	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297t. Raccoon (patakai) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
136
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Achomawi NS5

N
W
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	Te	Kl	K2	Kn	To	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	AE
297u. Bobcat (wildcat) (tuku) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297v. Mt. lion (hagwiduku) eaten	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
297w. Fox (wani'i) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
297x. Badger (huna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297y. Wolf (isa) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297z. Coyote (idtsa'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297aa. Buffalo (pagatsö) eaten	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	–
298. Grizzly bear (paduu'a) eaten	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
298a. Beaver (hobi) eaten	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
298b. Mt. sheep (koep) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
298c. Antelope (tüna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298d. Deer (male) (töhö'iya) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298g. Lizard, large only, eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
298h. All lizards eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
298m. Frog eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Birds Eaten or Used

	Te	Kl	K2	Kn	To	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	AE
299. Dove (ihovi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
299b. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
301. Blackbird (paho'roya) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
302. Owl, screech (pahö), eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
302a. Owl, horned (muhu'), eaten	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
302b. Owl feathers used	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
303. Kingfisher (tanda'nagit) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	.	–
304. Woodpecker (adza'vana) eaten	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
305. Magpie (kwida'kukui) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
306. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
308. Raven (ada) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
309. Crow (wiada) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
310. Meadowlark (patsideño) eaten	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
311. Robin (saga) eaten	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
312. Bluebird (pidaya) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
313. Hawk (saibasa'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
314. Feathers used	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
315. Mocking bird (tara saga) eaten	–	.	.	–	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
316. Quail, mountain (tsota), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
317. Quail, valley (sikigi), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
318. Helldiver (grebe) (papaka) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
319. Loon (patsikaya) eaten	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	+	+	–
320. Sea gull (kana'etö) eaten	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
321. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
322. Pelican (pasana) eaten	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
323. Eggs used	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
324. Duck (pühü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
325. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
326. Geese (nag'atö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
327. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
328. Young	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
329. Heron (wasa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–
330. Eggs used	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	+	–
331. Bittern (shitopaka) (tavavoni'kadik) eaten	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	+	–	–	–	–
332. Crane (korököö) eaten	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
332a. Eggs used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
333. Mud hen (coot) (saiya') eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
333a. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
334. Avocet (pakwrikarit) eaten	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	–	+	+	.	+	+	.
335. Snipe (sakitö) eaten	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	.	+	+	–
336. Killdeer (podö'tsiagi) eaten	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
336a. Ruffed grouse (kaküa) eaten	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
336b. Prairie chicken (pahoka) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
336c. Sage hen (hadzi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piegt) eaten	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
339. Ants eaten	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
340. As food	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
341. As tonic	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (küa) eaten	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (wetata'a) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
354. Gathered in baskets	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
356. Roasted in pit	−	−	−	−		−	−	+	−	−	?	−	−	−
357. Ground on metate	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
358. Stored, buckskin bags	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	−	+	−	−	−	+	−		+	+	−			−
362. Deer heart taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
363. To young	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
369a. If trapped	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
376. To father	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
377. To mother	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
379. To all village	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
379a. To anyone	+	−	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
389. 5 nights' continence	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
389a. 1 night's continence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
397. Kept from dogs	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
262
136
[278]

W
[252
251]

N
W
A
262

N
W
A
224

N
[784]

N
W
A
[783]

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Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
782
796

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ea	To	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	WR	Ki	AE
398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

Gathering

N
W
A
222
252
251

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ea	To	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	WR	Ki	AE
410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
412. Grinding in mortar (puraum)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

Miscellaneous Plants

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ea	To	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	WR	Ki	AE
433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mutsa)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
436. Needles burnt off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
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[462]

N
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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ea	To	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	WR	Ki	AE
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
443a. Hooked pole (teama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
451a. Piled on ground, covered	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	[illegible]	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
462. Nuts ground on metate (mota)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
465. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
472. Boiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
475. Willow-sap sugar	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
476. White pine pitch or sugar	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
482. Pitch	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
***Other Plants and Seeds Used**														
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483a. Sunflower (akipë)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483b. Sunflower (paoë)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483d. Sunflower (kusiaka)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483e. Sunflower (kusipaoë)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.
*483f. Pickleweed (kukwva)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparagi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanahö)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	+	.
*483i. Saltbrush (sönö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	−	+	+	+	.
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483kk. Rabbit brush (sugudüdupi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	−	+	.	.	+	.
*483m. Ongemso (milkweed) (wihovi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483p. Wild tobacco (paivamo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pavia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	−	+	+	+	.	.
*483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483t. Spike rush (pasasivö)	.	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	−	.	.
*483v. Sagebrush (sawava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483w. Saltbrush (onoka)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483x. nasai	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483y. ommadsigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*483z. hiwovi	.	.	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
484. Jointfir (tuukupi)	[illegible]	.	.	.	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	.	+	+	.	.	.	.
*484a. saiagava	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	−	.	.	.	.	.
*484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	.
484e. yapë	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484f. taupagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	−	−	.
*484g. tüvaa	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	.	.
484h. tövani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	.
484i. Indian potatoes (camas?) (saga or höga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484j. Indian potatoes (aputsö)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
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262
222
251
252

N
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W
A
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N
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	Ty	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AH
487. Spatulate end	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
488a. Point both ends	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuavoi)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
492. Conical seed basket (tümaymono)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
495. Basketry seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
500. Wooden	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
501. Shin bone	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Agriculture														
Wild Seeds														
505. Wild seeds irrigated	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
Seed Storage														
521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwizi)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
527. Storage in cave	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
528. Storage in rock cranny	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Food Preparation														
529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
530. Mineral from rocks	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	−	+	−	+	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
539. In house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
540. Pulverized	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
541. Mixed with seeds	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
542. Mixed with berries	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
543. Mixed with fat	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
552. Pulverized	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
553a. Only fish bones ground	[illegible]	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
554. Ground bone cooked	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
555. Vertebrae ground	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
556. Joints ground	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	?
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
558. Feet dried	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
563. In basket	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
566. Pair forked sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
568. Boiling in pot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Sun Shade														
582. Brush or tree only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
584. Posts: 6-8	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
584a. Any number	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
586. Side walls: 1	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
586a. More than 1	+	+	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
588. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
589. For winter use	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
594a. 8-10	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
595a. 14-20	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
598. Layers of grass (waiava)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
600. Mat	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
606a. Opposite wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

NWA 342

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WR	Ki	A
608. Door: of twined bark	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
608a. Of twined tule	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
609. Of twined grass	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
609a. Of tule bound between pairs of sticks	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
610. Floor covered with grass	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
611. Fire: indoors, center of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
612. Outside house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
613. In hollow pit	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*+	-	+	+	-	+
614. Smoke hole in roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
615. Tripod-Foundation House	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	*-	-	-	*+	+	-
616. For summer use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
617. For winter use	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
618. Foundation poles in tripod	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
619. Forked poles interlock	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
620. Tied at intersection	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
*622. Cone-shaped House, Circular Ground Plan	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	*+	-
623. Height, 10 feet	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
624. Diameter, 15 feet	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
625. Exterior encircled with stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
626. Covering	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
627. Tule	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
628. Bark	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
629. Grass: 2 layers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-
629a. 3 layers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
630. Twined sage-bark mats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
631. Mats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	*+	*+	-
631a. Buffalo skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
632. Pole-thatch binders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
633. Earth (entirely)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
635. Pine "sod"	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
635a. Brush	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
637. Doorway	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
638. E side of house	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	*+	+	-
639. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
640. Vestibule or tunnel	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
642. Height (feet): 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
642a. More than 4	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
643. Door	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	*+	-	-	-	+	+	-
644. Of mat	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
645. Of skin	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
646. Of brush	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
647. Of twined bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
648. Fireplace	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
649. In center of house	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
651. Pit, 3 inches deep	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
652. Smoke hole in roof center	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
*653. Gabled House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
654. For winter use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
657. Ridgepole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
658. Height (feet), 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
659. Width (feet), 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
660. Length (feet), 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
662. Covering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
663. Brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
664. Bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Washo NT20
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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
665. Twined-bark mat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
666. Pine sod	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
667. Earth	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
668. Doorway	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
669. Side	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
671. Flush with wall	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
673. Fireplace inside	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
674. Pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
675. Smoke hole in roof	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
678. Twined-rush mat	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	*+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	*+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Sweat House (nasanovi)														
688. Wickiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	*+	*−	*+	−	*+	−	+	+	*+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	*+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	[illegible]	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
693. Brush	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
694. Skin	+	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
700. Door: on any side	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
702. Of twined bark	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
703. Of twined grass	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
*704. Conical-Type Sweat House	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
713. Gabled-Type Sweat House	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−
714. 2 interior posts	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
715. Ridgepole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
717a. Built against side of hill	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
718. Roof covering	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
719. Brush	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
720. Grass	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
721. Earth	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
722. Door	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
724. Flush	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
*727. Heating by: fire inside	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	*+	−
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
748a. Optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
749. Smoking while bathing	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
751. Women used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
752a. Up to 7	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
752b. 10 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
753. Use as clubhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Houses														
760. Dog house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Small, domed willow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Special grinding house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
763. Menstrual house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
763c. Burial in caves	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
765. For general gatherings only	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
766. Circular	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Brush fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768a. E	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768b. Any direction	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
770. Fires around fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAVIGATION														
772. Pole or log raft	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
774a. 4 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
778a. 8-12	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
779. Prow curved up	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
780. No. of persons held: 2	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
780a. 3 or 4	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
781. Propulsion: with pole (willow)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
782. With hands and feet	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
782a. Swimmer towed it across stream	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
783. Rope to pull it across stream	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-

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FIRE MAKING

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
*784. Simple drill	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
785. Compound drill	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
786. Cane shaft	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
786a. Willow shaft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787. Hardwood shaft	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
790. Foreshaft spliced	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
791. Bow drill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*792. Artemisia hearth	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
792a. Juniper hearth	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
*793. Charcoal in pit	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
*794. Ground stone in pit	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
795. Bark in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
796. Indefinite number of pits in hearth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*797. Artemisia-bark tinder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
797a. Juniper-bark tinder	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
799. 2 pieces of rock struck for fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
800. Flint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
804. Bark-bundle slow match	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
805. Bark-bundle torch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
806. Fire preserved	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
807. By covering with earth	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
808. By burning sage into roots	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar (paha) and Pestle (podupo)

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
*809. Stone mortar, large: portable, spheroid	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
809a. Made by known Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
810. In bedrock	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
810a. Made by known Indians	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
811. Made by Coyote or other animals	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
812. Made by prehistoric, mythical Indians	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
813. Portable, irregular	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
814. Portable, slab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
816. Stone mortar, small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
817. For paint, medicine, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
819. Wood mortar	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
820. Cavity in log end	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
821. Sunk in ground	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
822. Basket hopper used with mortar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
824. Stone pestle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
825. Cylindrical: length (in.), 12-18	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
825a. 18-24	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
826. Mortar and pestle used for: acorns	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
828. Piñon nuts	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
828a. Any seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+

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*Metate (mata) and *Muller (tusu)

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
829. Thin, oval metate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
829a. Made by known Indians	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kb	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	W2	Kl	AX
830. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
830a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
831. Use: for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
832. For meat	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
833. For bone	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
834. For paint	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
835. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
836. With porcupine tail	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
837. With sage-bark brush	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
842. With grass-roots brush	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
841. Scraping with stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
835a. Did not clean metate	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
843. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*845. Rotary motion	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mush Stirrer														
*847. Looped stick (patu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
848. Paddle (ogo)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
*852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tsoko or tsiku)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
863. Twined willow cup (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
863a. Coiled willow cup	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
*864. Stone bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
*866. Pottery bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
*868. Biconical basket (osa; cf. 1096)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
Knives (wihi)														
*870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
*872. Flint blade hafted in wood	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	·	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
874. Bone knife	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers (pĕwanam)														
876. Stone, broken cobble	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, end notched	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
883a. Scapula	·	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Awls (witu)														
884. Horn	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
885. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	·	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*885a. Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*887. Scapula	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*888a. Tibia	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
889a. Radius	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*890. Cactus spine (nava)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
892. Awl case: bark bundle	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
893. Buckskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Drill

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
895. Shaft with bone point	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
895a. Unhafted bone point	.	.	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
896. Shaft with horn point	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Various

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

FLINT FLAKING

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
903. Flint (tupic') flaker	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
909. Flint warmed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
910. Buckskin hand pad	+	−	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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SKIN DRESSING

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent soaked	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
927. Hide tied funnel shape	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
929. Juniper-bark smoke	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
930. Wood-chip smoke	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Done by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
932. Done by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Ts	Kl	Km	Kh	To	Tb	Pu	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Kl	AE
WEAPONS														
Bow (adö)														
*933. Self bow (seroadö)	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
934. Length (ft.): 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
934a. 4	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*935. Middle of bow sinew wrapped	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
936. Of willow	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
936a. Of juniper	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
*937. Sinew-back bow (madammadö or atsa adö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
938. Length (ft.): 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
938a. 4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
939. Width (in.): 1 or 2	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
939a. More than 2	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*940. Double curve	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
*942. Of juniper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
943. Of serviceberry	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
944. Sinew in 1 layer	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
944a. 2 layers	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
944b. 3 layers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
*945. Glue: of horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
946. Of fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
946a. Pitch	·	·	·	·	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
947. From greasewood	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*948. Horn bow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
949. Sheep horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
950. 2 horns end to end	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
951. Sinew backed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
952. Horn-backed wood bow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
953. Bowstring: sinew	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
954. Vegetable fiber	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
955. No. of ply: 2	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
955a. 3	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
956. Position of bow: approx. horizontal	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
957. Slanting	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
958. Approx. vertical	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
959. Wristguard	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
*960. Bow designs	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
960a. Paint	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Arrows														
*961. Arrow without foreshaft	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
961a. Length (ft.): 2	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
962. 2½	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
962a. 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
963. Hardwood	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
964. Sharpened point	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
965. Crossed sticks near tip (for birds)	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
966. Stone head	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*967. Arrow with foreshaft	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
967a. Rosewood shaft	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
968. Cane shaft	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
969. Hardwood shaft	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
970. Hardwood foreshaft	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
970a. Greasewood	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
971. Plain wooden point	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
972. Wrapped for ducks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
973. 4 cross sticks (for birds)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
975. Stone point	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
976. Bone point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
977. Horn point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
984. Or 4	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
988a. Meat, decayed	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
989. Liver	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
*990. Gall	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
*991. Decayed blood from heart	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
992. Rattlesnake poison	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
993. Red ants	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
994. Special plant: tavisigup	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
*995. Arrow release, primary	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

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Arrow Straightener

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1004. Perforated horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
*1005. Mt.-sheep horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
*1006. Antelope horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
*1006a. Several holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
*1008. 2 graduated holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1009. 3 graduated holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1009b. 2 holes	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−

N
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Quiver (Ungutsa)

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "peeling" off	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, resewed	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
*1013. Foxskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Fawnskin	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
*1017a. Piece of buckskin	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
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Miscellaneous Weapons

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1021a. Atlatl	·	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1022. Thrusting spear	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
*1023. Shield (topa)	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+

N
X
441

[p.385]

Washo NT20
Achemawi NS5

N
W
A
411

N
W
A
285
[462]

N
W
A
285
415

	To	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1024. Rawhide	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1025. Wooden rim	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1026. Feathers attached	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1027. Armor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1028. Club, stone headed (tökuiuama)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1028a. Stone in buckskin on end of thong	·	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1029. Plain rabbit club only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1031. Sling (takui'wu'mügö) as toy (cf. 1858a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
1031a. For war and hunt also	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BASKETRY														
1032. Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1032a. Fish traps made by men	·	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Materials														
1033. Willow for coil foundation (tötsie'kwa)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1034. Willow for twine foundation (tötwic'kwima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Coil and twine weft of willow sapwood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035a. Tule	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1039. Inner willow bark brown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	-
1039a. Fern roots for dark brown	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1040. Pussywillow black	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1040a. Material buried to dye	·	·	·	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1041. Red feather quills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1042. Yellow feather quills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1043. Strands scraped through hole in can	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
1044. Applied decoration: black paint	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1045. Red paint	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
1046. Yellow paint	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Basket Weaving														
1048b. Wicker	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049. Coiling	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1051. 1 rod	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	-
1052. 2 rods	-	+	-	+	-	-		-	-	+	+	-	+	-
1053. 3 rods	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
1054. 2 large, 1 small rod	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1055. 4 rods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1056. Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1057. Counterclockwise	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1057a. Split stitch	·	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1058. Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1059. Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1060. Diagonal twine	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1061. 3-strand	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1064. Bead decoration, aboriginal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1064a. Modern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1066. Feathers woven in	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Basket Forms														
1067. Twined seed beater (taika)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	AE
1071. Twined winnowing basket (timahan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (yata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (taamo or tāma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a. Angular tray (tama)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1080. Twined	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1082. Conical carrying basket (kurua)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091. Fishing trap (ayakui)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a. Bipointed, opening on side	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. Men made	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kotomanü)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1098. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1098a. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1100. Pointed bottom	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1102. Pitch on outside	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1105. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
1108. Handle: horsehair	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1108a. Willow	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1114. Food bowl (taida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115. Coiled	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1117. Pitch coated	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled	·	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1119. Ladle (tünohama)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1129. Lids modern	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (maro'o)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1133. Of twined tule	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1134. Mat (sönö)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
285
415

N
W
A
[482]

N
W
A
[227]

N
A
[291]

N
A
[352]

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

WEAVING (other than basketry)

Skin Blankets

N
W
A
286

	Tb	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	WR	Ki	A
1137. Animal furs used (twisted strips)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1138. Rabbit (kamüdi) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1139. Rat fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1140. Wildcat fur	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1140a. Muskrat fur	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1141. Squirrel fur	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1141a. Mole fur	·	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142. Coyote fur	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142a. Meadow-mouse fur	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1143. Loom (wikato): 2 parallel bars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1144. 2 horizontal, equidistant from ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1144a. 2 horizontal, 1 above the other	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1145. 2 vertical	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1147. Warp: 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1148. Single strip	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1149. Plain stick for twisting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1151. Twisting on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1152. Weft: of string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1153. Of buckskin	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1154. Twined weave	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155. Sex of maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1155a. Female	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
[462]

Feather Blankets

N
A
[287]

	Tb	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	WR	Ki	A
1156. Bird skins used	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1157. Mud-hen skins	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1159. Skins sewn together	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1160. Skins woven, like with fur blankets (see. 1137-1155)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1162. No. of ply warp: 1	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1162a. 2	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+

1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

(See also 1134-1136)

	Tb	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	WR	Ki	A
1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
1164. Material: juniper bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1165. Sage bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
1165a. Tule matting	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1169. Weaving: twined	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

1171. Nets

N
W
A
287
N
W
[284]

	Tb	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	WR	Ki	A
1171. Nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1173a. Nets of dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi) fiber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1174. Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
1174a. Stick carved (like Hupa net needle)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	−
1176. String ball on stick	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−
1178. Knots: bowline at edge	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	·	+	+	·	·	·
1179. Weaver's	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	·	·
1180. Overhand	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	·	−	−	·	·	·
1180a. Square	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	·	·
1180b. Mesh gauge: wood	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	·	−	·	−	+
1180c. Fingers	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	·	+	·	+	−
1180d. Stone	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	+	·	−	−
1180e. End of shuttle	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	−	−	·	−	·	−	−

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

CORDAGE (twisted)	Ts	El	E2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1182. Net (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1185a. Tule	[illegible]	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1195. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BURDENS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kütonoyu)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopisokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1240. Bag (maro sokwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kuruu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tsa kibopo)														
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1256. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

N
W
A
283

N
W
A
[323]

N
W
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482

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W
A
854
285

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N W A 854

N W A [342]

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Kl	AS
1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MUTILATIONS

N W A 304

N W A 301

N W A 304

N W A [301]

N W A [844]

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Kl	AS
1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1274a. With porcupine quill	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1275. With bone awl	−	+	.	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	−	+	.	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1277. When child	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1278. When youth	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1279. All males	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1280. Most males	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1281. Some males	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1282. All females	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1284. Some females	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1285. Men's ear ornament	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1285a. Anything	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
1286. Bead on string	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1287. Glass beads	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1288. Shell pendant	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1289. Stone pendant	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1290. Wooden stick	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1291. Bone tube	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1294. Flint	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1295. Women's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Bone tube	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1299. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1302. Males	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Females	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1304. Men's bone nose pin	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
1305. Women's bone nose pin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1306. Tattoo (mavasigi)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1307. Cactus needle	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1307a. Porcupine quill	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1310. Gray colored	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1311. Done when: child	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1313. Any time	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1315. Arms	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1316. Legs	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1317. Body	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1319. Head-shape correction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1320. Done with hands at birth	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
1322. Necklaces (törakiepö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tacmi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (paidöma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1328. Animal claws	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1330. Wildcat	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1331. Animal teeth	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1332. Dewclaws (takasuna or tamitsö)	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1333. Charred pine seeds	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	−	−	−
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339. Animal fur	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339a. Mouse	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1340. Beads	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1341. Hoofs	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1342. Bones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1342a. Quills	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	+

N W A 301 237

N A W 291

N A [321]

Paint

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
1343. Dry pigment applied	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1351. Hair	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1363. Yellow mineral (caröpi)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (paitcötaigan)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

N W A 302 286

N W A [785]

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

N W A 302

N W A [515]

Hair Dressing

	Ts	Kl	K2	K3	Yo	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Ki	AE
1366. Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367. Grass bundle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1368. Rye-grass-root bundle (wai'ava)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1369. Rabbit-brush bundle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1370. Men's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1371. Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1373. Coiled on head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1374. Tied up on head	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1375. Bangs	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1376. Front lock sticks up	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1377. Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379. Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379a. Sea-otter (pasugu) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381. Women's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1383. Tucked under basket hat	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1384. Tied back of neck	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1385. Middle hair part	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1386. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387. 1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388. Bangs	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1389. Tied on top of head	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1390. Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1390a. Bone tubes	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Red paint	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1392. Red paint in part	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1393. Marrow	−	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1394. Mud against lice	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
1395. Braids fur wrapped	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396. Washing: with plain water	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1397. With white clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1398. Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400. Depilation: of beard	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401. Of eyebrows	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1402. Of pubic hair	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1403. With stone flake	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	+
1404. With fingernails	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1405a. Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1405b. Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

N A [935]

N W A 281 291

Headgear

	Ts	Kl	K2	K3	Yo	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Ki	AE
1406. Women's basketry hat	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408a. Men's bark hat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. Men's fur cap	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411. Fawnskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412. Antelopeskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1415. Muskratskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416. Beaverskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416a. Badgerskin	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417. Wildcatskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418. Coyoteskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1420. With quail tufts	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
1421. With other feathers	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. With horns	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1429. Hair net	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N
W
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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
1425. Fur eyeshade, held by string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
1425a. Badger fur only		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
1426. Band around head	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Tanned buckskin	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1428. Cottontail fur	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1429. Other fur	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Robes and Capes														
1432. Woven (twined) vegetable fiber	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1433. Woven (twined) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1434. Sewed hides, fur left on	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1435. Deer hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1436. Wildcat hide	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1437. Badger hide	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1438. Ground-hog hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1439. Coyote hide	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1440. Mt.-sheep hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1441. Gloves or mittens	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1443. Feather robes	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Shirts and Dresses														
1444. Women usually wear nothing	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1445. Women's long gown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1445a. Of deerskins: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1445b. 3	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
1446. Of antelopeskins: 2	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1446a. 3 or more	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
1447. Of mt.-sheep skins: 2	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1447a. 3 or more	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
1448. Knee length	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
1449. Shin length	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1450. Skins front and back	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1451. Inset on sides	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1452. Poncho type	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1453. Sleeves: elbow length	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1454. Fringed	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1455. Flaps over upper arms	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1456. Sleeveless	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
1457. Decoration: paint	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1458. Tubular-bone beads	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1459. Glass beads	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1459a. Olivella (tupo) shells		+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1460. Haliotis-shell (paidem) pendants	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1461. Men wear nothing			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
1462. Men's shirt	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1462a. Of deerskins: 1	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1462b. 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
1463. Of mt.-sheep skins: 1	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1463a. 2	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
1464. Of antelopeskins: 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1464a. 2	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1465. Skins front and back	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1466. 1 skin, poncho style	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1467. Shirt tied at neck	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1468. Opening down front, thong for lacing up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
1469. Sleeves: elbow length	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1471. Fringed	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1471a. Flaps over upper arm, fringed	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
1472. Sleeveless	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

A
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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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Achomawi NS5

N
A
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N
W
A
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N
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N
A
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	To	K1	K2	Bh	To	Ts	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
1473. Decoration: paint	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1474. Bone-bead pendants	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
Skirts														
*1475. 1 skin around waist	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1476. For women	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1477. Of buckskin	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1478. Of mt.-sheep skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1479. Of mt.-lion skin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1480. Fringed	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
*1481. 2 skins, sewed sides	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1482. For women	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1483. Knee length	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1484. Fringed	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1485. Of deerskin	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1486. Of mt.-sheep skin	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1487. Of antelopeskin	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1488. Small front apron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1489. For women	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1490. For men	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1491. Of skin	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1492. Fringed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1493. Of shredded bark	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1494. Braids on cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1495. Worn with back apron	·	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1496. Worn under dress	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1497. Large back apron	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1503. Vegetable-fiber skirt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1504. For women	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1505. Of shredded bark	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1506. Twined bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1507. Grass	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1508. Breechclout (G-string type)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1509. For men	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1510. For women	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1511. Of buckskin	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1512. Fur	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1513. Bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1514. Woven vegetable fiber	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1515. Leggings	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
*1516. Leggings: for men	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
*1517. For women	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1518. Of skin, sewed	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
1519. Fur	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1520. Tule	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1521. Sage, twined	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1522. Juniper	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1523. Length: hip to ankle	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1524. Hip to knee	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1525. Knee to ankle	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
Footgear														
1526. Habitually barefoot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
*1527. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1528. Soft upper	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1529. Hard sole	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1530. Badgerskin sole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1531. Sole flat	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tv	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AF	
															N W A
1532. Sole molded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	291
1533. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	281
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	294
1535. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
1536. Tongue added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	
*1536a. Olivella-shell beading	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
1545. Uppers added	[illegible]	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1546. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
1559. Rabbit hide	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	N
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	
*1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	[286]
*1562. Sandal	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	[illegible]
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	
1564. Bark	-	[illegible]	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	
*1564a. Tule and rushes	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	481
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
1570. Sinew	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	

GAMES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tv	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AF	
															N A
*1577. Ball Race (wutakoi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	524
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1579. And return	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
1583c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1586. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

N
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N
A
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	To	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wi	Kl	AX
1589. To win, ball must reach goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1590. Runner must reach goal	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1591. No. players on side: any no. agreed upon	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
1591a.2	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1591b.4	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1592. No. of sides: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1593. Referee	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
1593a.2 referees	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1594. Men players only	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594a.Betting	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594b.Roughness allowed	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
524

N
W
[525]

	To	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wi	Kl	AX
1595. Football (matsimme)	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595a. Field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595b. Goal	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595c. At each end of field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595d. Willow arch	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595e. Paired posts	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595f. Ball: wrapped bark	·	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1595g. Stuffed skin	·	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595h. Diameter (in.): 2	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1595i. 3	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1595j. Position to start game: in middle	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595k. In small hole	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
1595kk.Propulsion with feet	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595m. Roughness allowed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595n. Ball may be carried	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595o. Referee in charge of bets	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
1595p. Betting	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595q. No. of goals to win: 1	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595r. No. of players: 4	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1595s. 5	·	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595t. 6	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595u. Male players only	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−

N
W
A
[525]

	To	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wi	Kl	AX
1596. Shinny (matsi'tsoka)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1597. Field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1598. Goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1599. At each end of field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1600. Paired posts	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1603. Single post and ring	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
1606. Line on ground (circle)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
1607. Puck or ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1609. Stuffed skin, dumbbell shape	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1610. Braided-skin cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
1611. Braided-bark cord	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1612. Hide strip	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
1613. Position to start game: in middle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1614. On ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1615. Thrown in air	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1615a.On sticks	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1616. Propulsion with straight stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1617. Length (ft.): 5 or 6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618. No. of goals to win: 1	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618a.Any no. determined at start	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1621. Referee	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
1622. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1623. Men players	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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	Ts	K1	K2	Ks	Tc	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1624. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625. No. players on each side: any agreed upon	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625a. 4	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1625b. 5	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1626. Hoop and Pole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	*−
1627. Hoop (ring)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1628. Of twigs or willows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1629. Wrapped bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
1630. Buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1630a. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632. Diameter (in.): 3 or less	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632a. 3-5	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632b. 12	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1633. Pole, plain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1634. Length (ft.): 6-8	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1634a. 8-12	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
*1635. Course specially prepared	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
1636. Pile of horizontal willows as back stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1638. At both ends	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1640. Play: sides cast simultaneously	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1641. Sides cast successively	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1642. Pole through hoop wins game	*−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	*+	*+	*+	*+	*+	−
1642a. Counts 2	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1643. Pole under hoop counts 1	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1643a. Counts 2	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1644. Pole over hoop counts 1	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1644a. Counts 2	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1645. Play for counters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1645a. For poles	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1646. Points to win agreed upon	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1646a. 5 points win	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1647. Winner by elimination	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	*+	−
1648. No. players: any agreed upon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1648a. 1 on each side	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1648b. 2 or 3 on each side	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1649. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1651. Referee held bets	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1652. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1653. Ring and Pin (natsatowatima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1654. 1 pin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1655. 1 string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1657. "Ring" of: pine cone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1658. Brush ball	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1658a. Tule ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1661. Players: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1662. Women	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1663. Children	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1664. Old men	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1664a. Betting	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*1665. Playing in summer taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
*1665a. Loser received hit on hand or head	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
*1666. Hand Game (naiakwi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1666a. Challenged had "bones" at start	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1667. "Bones": hollow bone	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1668. Bitapered, solid bone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1668a. Horn	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	To	K1	K2	KH	Ya	YB	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
1669. Wood	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1670. With finger loops	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
1671. String of beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1673. 4 bones (2 pairs)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1675. 1 of each pair wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1676. Unwrapped guessed for	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1677. Hiding: in bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1678. Guesses indicated by hand signal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1679. By motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1680. Guess final only when vocalized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1681. Side holding bones sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1682. Counters: plain, straight twigs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1683. 10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
1683a. 12	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1685. Divided at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1686. Called "cooked" (kwasup) and "raw" (saya)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1687. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1688. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1689. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1690. Singing while playing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1691. 4-Stick Guessing Game (sota'tsi)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Sticks of wood	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. 4 sticks	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1694. 2 long or thin	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1695. 2 short or thick	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1696. Same as hand-game sticks	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1697. Sticks covered with: winnowing basket	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1698. Basketry bowl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1699. Guessing for: long	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1700. Short, thin	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1700a. Either, as decided at start	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1701. Thick	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1702. Unwrapped	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1703. Position guessed indicated as in hand game	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1704. Counters	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1705. Plain twigs	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1706. 8	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1706a. 10	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
1707. In neutral pile to start	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1708. Divided at start	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Called "cooked" (kwasup) and "raw" (saya)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1710. Men players	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Women players	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1712. Any no. of players each side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1713. Singing while playing	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1714. 4-Stick Dice (mavo'kai)	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1715. Dice length (in.): 6	−	·	−	−	−	+	·	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1715a. 8	+	·	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1715b. 12	−	·	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1716. Dice all red on 1 side	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1718. 2 marked in middle	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1719. 2 plain	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1720. 1 with cross in middle	−	·	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1721. 1 with parallel lines	+	·	−	−	−	−	·	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1722. Dice called: "mother," "father"	−	·	−	−	−	−	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1724. Play: throwing on winnowing basket	−	·	−	−	−	+	·	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1724a. Each side 2 dice to start	+	·	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
1724b. First to turn up a marked stick gets dice	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1725. Striking on: rock	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1725a. Hard earth	+	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1729. Counting: marks on ground	-	·	-	-	-	+	·	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1729a. 10 marks to win	-	·	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1730. Any no. agreed upon	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1730a. Scoring: white up	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1731. Red up	+	·	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1731a. "2 marked" up together wins	+	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1732. Men players	+	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1733. Women players	-	+	-	-	-	+	·	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1734. Many Dice	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1736. Dice of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1737a. Stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1738. 1 side red	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1739. Length (in.): 4	+	-	-	·	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1739a. Number: 8	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1740. 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1740a. 16	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1741. Throwing on winnowing basket	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1742. Scoring: all white up counts as number of sticks	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1743. All white up wins game	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1744. 1 red up counts 1	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1745. 2 reds up count 2	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1746. 3 reds up count 3	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1747. 7 reds up count 7	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1748. All reds up count 8	·	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1748a. All reds up count 0		-	-	-	-	-	-	+						
1749. 1 white up counts 1	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1750. 2 whites up count 2	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1758. Counting: pebbles as counters	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1759. Marks on ground	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1760. Pebble pile = 5 marks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1761. Earth pile = 5 marks	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1762. No. to win: 24	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1762a. 20	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-
1763. Women players	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1765. 8-Stick Dice (wihokotasuviva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1766. Dice of split cane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1767. Split hardwood	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1769. 1 side red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1771. No. of dice, 8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1771a. Length of dice, 18 inches	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1775. End bounced on ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1777. Scoring: all white up, 8 points	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1778. 8 doubled if 2 or 4 players	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	·
1779. Each white up, 1 point	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1780. Each red up, 1 point	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·
1785. 8 reds up, 8 points	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1786. Counting: counters moved between sticks in ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1787. Sticks arranged in arc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1788. No. of spaces between sticks: 24	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	·
1788a. 26	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·
1789. No. of moving counters: 4, 6, or 8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1790. Go back when meet opponent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1791. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1792. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1793. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Hn	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Archery (nadükuntä)														
1794. Target	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1795. Arrow previously shot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1795a. Arrow especially marked	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1796. Arrow previously thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1797. Stick	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1798. Brush bundle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1799. Willow shavings	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1800. Approximate distance 100-300 feet	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1801. Shooting of arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1802. Over tree at target	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1803. Long arrow thrown	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1804. 1 or 2 shot by each player	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
1804a. 4 shot	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
1804b. Any number shot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1805. Scoring: nearest to target, 1 point	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806. Touching target, 1	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806a. Touching target wins	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1807. No. of points to win: 1	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1807a. 4	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1807b. 5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1807c. Any no. agreed upon at start	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1808. Men players	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1809. Boy players	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810. Arrows thrown for distance	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810a. Betting: of arrows	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1811. Ring and Dart	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1822. Quoits (natütavi)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1823. Target: stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	·
1824. Rock	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825. Quoit: rock	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825a. Stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	·
1827. No. of throws each player: 1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	·
1827a. 2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	
1827b. 3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1829. Scoring: to hit goal counts 1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1838. Juggling (matapoi)	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1839. Stones juggled	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1841. Maximum no.: 3	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
1841a. 4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
1842. Women players	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1843. Girl players	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1844. Juggle while walking	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1845. Foot Race (navidö'kwa'kwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846. Across country	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846a. Betting	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847. Wrestling (nakoi)	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847a. Betting	·	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1848. Shot Putting (tupitö'kwinai)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1849. Putting with rock	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1850. Men players	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1851. Boy players	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1851a. Betting	·	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
1852. Stilts ([illegible])	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1853. Stilts used by boys	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−
1855. Jacks (madabagi)	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	−	−	•−	•−	−
1856. Jacks (no.): about 10	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1856a. Any number	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1857. Stones for jacks	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1858. Jacks used by: girls	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1858a. Boys	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−		−
1858b. Adults	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1859. Tops (tumä)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−
1860. Top: stick with pitch	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−
1861. Rounded rock	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1862. Spinning: twirling with fingers	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−
1863. Twirling with string	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1864. Lashing with whip	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1865. Spinning on ice	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1866. Players: boys	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1867. Girls	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1867b. Player tried to break opponent's top with own	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1868. Sling (tókwi'wumi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1868a. Sling as toy only (cf. 1081)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−
1869. Guessing for Clay Ball in Sand	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1870. Bull-roarer (wimo'to)	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+
1871. Whirrer: of wood	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1872. Of sheep horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1873. Bull-roarer used: as toy	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1874. To make wind blow	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1875. Cat's Cradle (wiko'vitomar'aitoa)	+	+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
1875a. String figures to determine sex of offspring	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1876. Toes used	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1877. Neck used	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1878. Static figures	+	+	−	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1879. Moving figures	+	+	−	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1880. Players: men	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1881. Women	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1882. Children	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1883. Dolls (moaö'ma)	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1884. Unbaked clay effigies	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1885. Toy cradles	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Water Pistol; Popgun														
1886. Section of elderberry with plunger	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1886a. Deer bladder	+	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−

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	Ts	K1	K2	Ks	Tb	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AX
1887. Popgun	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1888. MONEY (kumitaa)	−	•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
1890. Glass	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1891a. With middle finger	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1892. With thumb	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1893. With hand to elbow	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
TOBACCO AND SMOKING														
Pipe														
*1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1902. L-shaped bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•−	−
1903. Of stone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1904. With stem	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
*1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1906a. Bone	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
1907. Cane	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
1908. Elderberry	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
1909. Rosewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cigarette														
*1914. Cane filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
*1916. Chewing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Miscellaneous														
1921. Smoking any time	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1922. Bedtime	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+
1927. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	.	.	.	.	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
*Tobacco (pui'pamo)														
1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	+	+	+	•+
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Tb	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1933. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1935. Root of tosup for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
Rattles														
1944. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1945. Attached to stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1947. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1953. Sheep-horn rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1956a. Used by dancers	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1958. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witsavigа)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1971. Hoofs in line	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1973. Notched stick (wühunagi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1974. Plain, notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1979. Used in "bear dance"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1981. Buzzers (tösa'wühinya)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
1982. Deer patella	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bull-roarer														
(See Games)														
1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1992. 6-12	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ki	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1992a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1993. Fur on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000. As toy	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000a. For dance	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2001. Whistle	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	–	+	–	+	–	+
2002a. 2 holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	–	–	–	+	+	*+	–	*–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*2004. Flute (woina)	+	+	+	+	–	*–	–	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008. Length (in.): about 12	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008a. About 18	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013a. By nose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2017a. In hunting	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

MARRIAGE

		Ts	Kl	K2	Ki	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
N A 583	*2018. Bride price	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	*2019. As present	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2022. Marriage by abduction	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
N	2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
A	2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
	2024. Friends assist in fight	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
595	2025. Polygyny permitted	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
N	2026. Sororal obligatory	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
X	2026a. Sororal usual	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2027. Polyandry permitted	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	*–	+	+	+	–	–
587	2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2030. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2030a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
N	2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X	2032. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2032a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
582	2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
583	2037. Child betrothal	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	*–	–	–	–	–	–	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	KB	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	[illegible]	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
KINSHIP RELATIONS														
Avoidances														
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
Joking Relations														
2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adoption														
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES														
2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
591

N
W
A
684
586

N
548

N
A
836

N
606

N
A
602

N
W
A
605
607

N
W
A
597

N
W
A
838

N
W
A
[842]

N
[787]

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DIVISION OF LABOR

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2111. General seed gathering, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2112. Pine-nut gathering, both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2113. Knocking down, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2114. Picking up, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2115. Transporting, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2115a. Male	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2116. Preparing, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2116a. Male	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
2117. Cooking, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2117a. Male	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2118. Carrying water, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2118a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2119. Near camp, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2119a. Male	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2120. Long distance, female	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2120a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2121. Fire tending (gathering wood), female	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2121a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2122. Hunting, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2123. Fishing, female	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2123a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2124. Gathering: larvae, female	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2124a. Male	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Grubs, female	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
2125a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Grasshoppers, female	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
2126a. Male	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2127. Rats and mice catching, female	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2127a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2129. Pine nuts from mt. cache, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2129a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−

Manufactures

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2130. House, female	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2130a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2131. Baskets, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Skin preparations, female	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2132a. Male	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2133. Clothing, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2133a. Male	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2134. Moccasins, female	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	17	+	+	+	+	+	−
2134a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	−	+
2136. Metate, female	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
2136a. Male	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2137. Skin blanket, female	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2137a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2138. Cord, female	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2138a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139. Weaving, female	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139a. Male	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2140. Rabbit net, male only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 621

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Group

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
*2141. Sovereign body is: localized band (named group of defined region)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2142. Village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Chiefs (vohenavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinanümü)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamövoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2160. For hunting generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2161. For pine-nut trip	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2162. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2167. Band owned fishing streams	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2169. Family owned seed plots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2177. Captives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Domed willow house	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	.	+	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181a. 30 ("month")	.	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	.	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 571

N W A 622

W A [624]

N W A 621

423

N W A 721

W A 727

N A 778

832

N W A 844

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

N
W
A
844

N
W
A
[302]

N
W
A
[846]

N
W
A
844
846

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AH
2184. Hot stones for warming ground	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2185. Pit warmed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[illegible]	–	+
2186. Husband gets firewood	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Delivery: mother kneels	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2188. Mother lies flat	–	–	·	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	·	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2191. Strap tied around waist	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	·	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194. Midwife usually is: husband	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2195. Person with special power	–	–	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2196. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2197. Any female relative	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	·	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2199. Grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a. Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2200. Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	·	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2203. Afterbirth (noa'pö): buried	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	·	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2205. Thrown in brush	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2207. Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	–	+	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
2208. Treatment of mother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2212. Salt taboo	+	+	·	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2213. Work taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2214. Uses scratching stick	–	–	·	–	[illegible]	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2215. Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2216. Paints self	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2217. Gives away old clothes	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2221. Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	·	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2222. Steamed when born	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2224. Bathed every morning	–	–	·	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	·	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2225. Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	–	·	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	·	·	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2227. Tied with string	+	[illegible]	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	–	+	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2229. Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2229a. Placed in sack with yadüpi	+	+	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	·	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2232. Placed in antelope wallow	–	–	·	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	·	·	·	[illegible]		+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2238. Buried shady side of sage	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2239. Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	·	+	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2240. 1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241. 2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242. 3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243. Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2245. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.408]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	.	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	.	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	.	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2260b. 30	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2262a. Run to water	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	.	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	.	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	.	-	.	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	.	+	.	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	.	-	.	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

N W A 844 846

N W A [784]

N W A [784]

N W A 845

N W A 847

N [848]

[p.409]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NWA 855

NWA 881 784

NWA 881 [302]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Km	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2296a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2296a. Toward north	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
2297. Thrown over shoulder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2300. Thrown under green bush	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2300a. Child jumps over bush	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
*2304. First Menstruation (mubadanamani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+
2307. 5 days	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	*−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2307a. 30 days ("month")	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2308. In family house	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2309. In special house	−	−	−	*+	−	−	−	−	+	+	*+	+	−	+
2310. Behind home	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any woman	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	−	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	[illegible]	−	+	+	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2322. Cold water forbidden	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2323. Talking forbidden	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2324. Laughing forbidden	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2325. Being visited forbidden	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
2328. Combing hair forbidden	+	−	−	*+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	−	−	−	*+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2330a. Run once in special ceremony	.	*+	.	−	−	−	−	*+	*+	−	−	−	−	*+
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	−	*+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2335a. "Month"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2336. Use drinking tube	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
2336a. Use special cup	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	−	−	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2340. Bathe daily	−	−	−	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*2341a. Every 5 days	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−
*2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
*2345. Clothes destroyed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	*−	−
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2347. New clothes	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2348. Delousing by mother	+	+	−	*+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
2349. Delousing by attendant	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	−	−	+	−	−	+	.	−	−	+	+	+	−	−

[p.410]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 881

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	[illegible]	AI
2351. Scratching stick of wood	[illegible]	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2352. Single	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+

MENSTRUATION (mumadrarai)

N W A 841

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	[illegible]	AI
2354. Seclusion	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2355. 5 days	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2356. Until flow stops	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2357. Special house	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2358. Attendant: grandmother	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2365. Cooking forbidden	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2372. Avoid hunters	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
2374. Fishing forbidden	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2378. Husband must hunt	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

BOY'S PUBERTY
(See also 369-374.)

N W A 881

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	[illegible]	AI
2379. Confinement 5 days	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2380. Head scratcher used	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
2384. Mother washes boy	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2384a. Father washes boy	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+

DEATH CUSTOMS

N W A 764

N W A [767]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	[illegible]	AI
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2395. Tracks of dead covered	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

		Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
N W A	2399. Purified by washing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
764	2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2404a. West	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2412. Cremation	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2413. All deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
N	2416. Witches	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
[762]	2417. Cremation in house	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2418. In pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2419. On pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2420. Bones buried afterward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
N	2421. Funeral speech by old man	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
W	2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
A	2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
768	2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2425a. House torn down, moved	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2426. House burned	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N	2427. Other property burned	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
W	2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
A	2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[766]	2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Mourning

		Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
N	2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
W	2433. Burn hair clippings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A	2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
765	2434. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
	2437. Gash legs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
	2438a. Smear faces	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2439. Abstain from washing	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2440. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
	2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2443. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
	2444a. 3-12	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
N	2446. Abstain from washing	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
W	2447. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	2447a. 12	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
	2447b. 24	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A	2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
764·	2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
	2451. Permanent	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	2452. Only in presence of kin	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

RELIGION

Shamanism (poha'g'amö)

		Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
N W A	2469. Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
756	2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WE	Ki	AE
2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2472. Any time	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2473. Power inherited from father	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2474. From mother	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2475. Before relative's death	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2476. After relative's death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2477. Source of power in natural dreams (unsought)	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2478. Sought in mountains	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2481. Shaman interprets vision	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2483. Power may be refused	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2484. One doctor has several powers	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485. Vision gives: songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2486. Dances	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2487. Paraphernalia	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2488. Paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2489. Methods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2490. Doctor's assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2492. Feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2493. Eagle down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2494. Fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
2495. Clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2496. Deerclaw rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496a. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2497. Cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2498. Flute	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2500. Curing Performances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. In house	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
2503. Doctor sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2504. Audience joins song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2505. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2507. Pipe passed to right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
2507a. Left (clockwise)	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2508. Doctor talks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2509. Assistant interprets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2510. Doctor dances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Doctor walks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Doctor sucks out of patient:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2513. Blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Snake	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2515. Flint	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2516. Stick	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
2517. Worm	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2518. Other or various objects	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519a. Bone	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2520. Stick	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2522. Feather	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2523. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526a. Rubs object on hand	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2527. Doctor blows away disease	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
756

N
W
A
757
756

N
W
A
755

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N
W
A
755

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

Special Powers of Shaman

N
W
A
756
789

N
W
A
754

N
[787]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–

Miscellaneous

N
W
A
756
681
755

N
W
A
776
782

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2568. Killed for declining	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumamipua)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2578. To ghost (tasavü)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AX	
2579. To spirit (sunpipé)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N W A
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	782
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2588. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Guardian Spirits

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AX	
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Nonshamanistic Curing

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AX	
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	757
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	

Destiny of Soul

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AX
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-

Ghosts or Souls (tasava or mugwa)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AX	
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	N W 775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2607. Cold bath to mollify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	W
2608. Prayer to mollify	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A
2609. Smoke blown to mollify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	787
2609a. Specularite (yadüpi) sprinkled to mollify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	

"Maipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AX	
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	N 276

DANCES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AX	
2614. Circle Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A 535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[78]

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N
W
A
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	Ta	Kl	K2	Ea	Ts	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2622. To make piñon nuts grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2623. To produce rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2624. To bring deer	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2626. Center post to dance around	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2627. Dry cottonwood	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2628. Piñon	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2629. Juniper	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2629a. Any wood	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2630. Music: all dancers sing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2635. Dancing: women choose partners	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2636. Men choose partners	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2637. Dancing in one circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2639. Men and women alternate in same circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2640. Shuffle step	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2641. Hopping step	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2642. Clockwise direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2643. Counterclockwise direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2644. Dance leader: special chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2645. Band chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2646. Messengers carry invitations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2647. Occasion for courting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2649. Clowns	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2650. Duration (days): 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2650a. 5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2650b. 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2651. Camp circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2652. Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2653. Dance affirmed to be pre-white	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2653a. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2654. Corral of brush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2655. Musical rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2656. Resonator: washtub	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2657. Board	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2659. Musicians: 5 or 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2660. Dancing: women choose partners by touching with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2661. Men pay partners	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2662. Dancing in lines	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2663. Dancing in couples	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2665. Chief urges dancers with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2667. Dance stopped at a fall	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2668. Fallen person rubbed with rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2669. Fallen person covered with blanket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2670. Dance held same time as circle dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2672. Same chief as circle dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2673. Duration indefinite, usually 2 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2674. "South" or Exhibition Dance	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2675. Pre-Caucasian	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2676. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2677. Dancers' paraphernalia: eagle-down headring	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2678. Feather crown	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2679. Separate feathers on head	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2680. Yellowhammer band on head	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2681. Yellowhammer band on chest	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2682. Feather necklace	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2683. Eagle-down-rope skirt	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2684. Breechclout	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2685. Wildcat fur hung on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTR0
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2686. Fan for hung behind on belt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2687. Barefoot	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2689. Bow and arrow carried	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2692. Body	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2693. Musicians: 2	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2693a. 3 or 4	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2693b. 5 or 6	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2698. Wasolskin necklace	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2701. Dancers: 2	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2701a. 4 or 6	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2702. Dancers: men	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2703. Women	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2704. Visitors	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2709a. Several nights	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2710a. Several days	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2711. Crazy Dance (tonemugava)	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2711b. Special singers	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2712. Musical instruments	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2712a. 2 sticks	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2713a. Men dressed as women	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2715. Ghost Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2717. Shaman at center post	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
2719a. 5 nights	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	.
2719b. Any number	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2720. Descriptive month names	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2721a. 4 season names	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−

Astronomy

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2724. Smoke from fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2725. Sky path	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2726a. Menstruating women cover selves	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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805

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821

[P. 417]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
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776
789

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Whirlwind (pitcumava)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2732. You will carry a deer	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	.	.	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
2738. Crow call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2739. Dove call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2740. Meadowlark call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2296a–2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
2741a. Finger rots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	.	.	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2743. Gopher	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
2745. Informants had only heard of them	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2748. "Devil"	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–

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ELEMENTS DENIED BY ALL INFORMANTS

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

000 Deer.—Driving over cliff; into enclosure with pit; through V into pit; into trap, net, or snare. Shamanism. Antelope.—Shaman wears grass-stuffed hide. Driving over cliff; into trap, net, or snare. Mountain sheep.—Driving into trap, net, or snare. Disguise a head of sheep. Relay or back and forth. Magic. Snares, nets, etc.—Spring-pole trap for waterfowl; in enclosure for sage hen; bird noose over hole. Running noose for deer. Noose in fence gap for deer; for rabbits. Deer net. Bird net, pull-over type; sack type; used mating season; for eagles. Bird driven to net with antelope manure; with deer disguise. Booths and blinds.—Stick-and-mud house. Pit with brush cover. Bird caught from blind with bare hand; with noose on stick. Bird killed by sitting on it. Decoys and disguises.—Live birds. Live animals. Waterfowl.—Animal disguise used; mud hens taken. Miscellaneous.—Smoking out bear. Eagle (and other) catching.—Eagle caught with deadfall; from pit with bait; seized by hand; caught from "house." Mockingbird chief other bird reared.

Fishing

Fish taboo as food. Fish absent. Stream damming. Hook with 2 barbs.

Animals Eaten

Dog (sorobuku). Weasel (pavisi). Bat (biya'-hana). Coyote (idtsa'a). Snakes generally. Rattlesnakes. All lizards. Lizard eggs. Chuckwalla lizard. Horned toad (töpotsö). Tortoise. Frogs.

Birds Eaten or Used

Bald eagle (pasia). Eagle (kwina). Buzzard (wiho).

Insect Food

Crickets taken by driving into trench; into pit; into fire circle. Grasshoppers eviscerated. Angleworms eaten.

Miscellaneous Concepts

Talking before hunt forbidden. Game caught by spirits. Offering of game kill: heart on stick; liver.

Gathering

Acorns.—Cooking in hot sand. Mesquite. Miscellaneous plants.—Yucca. Joshua tree. Cactus fruit (navu or mütsö) eaten. Mescal (agave). "Cane" or reed sugar dried and ground. Piñon nuts.—Natural-hook pole. Parching in circular coiled basket. Gathering implements.—Digging stick horn shod. Basketry seed beater, plain; horn, wood, or rib edged. Seed knife ("sickle") of stone with wood handle; stone with horn handle.

Agriculture

Wild seeds.—Wild seeds planted. Wild seeds irrigated by elected irrigator; by dams; by ditches. Domesticated plants. Seed storage.—In pot.

Food Preparation

Brush burned for salt. Meat smoked; in house. Fish dried on coals; frozen. Tongs for hot rocks. Boiling in pot. Parching in pot.

HOUSES

Dwellings

Domed wickiup.—Ground plan portion of circle. House pit. Covering entirely earth. Center post. Tripod-foundation house.—Pit. Cone-shaped house, circular ground plan.—Covering of buckskin; of earth, partly; of stone slabs. Doorway: any side; excavated vestibule. Fireplace indoors near door. Gabled house.—For summer use. Pit. Doorway: end; vestibule or tunnel.

Sweat House

Conical-type sweat house. Gabled-type sweat house.—Pit. Door: tunnel; of twined bark; of twined grass. Sweat-house operation and use.—Heating by: fire inside. Rocks for heating in pile; covered with brush or grass. Uses: for daily bathing; for clubhouse; for gambling house; for dormitory; for meeting house. Ownership by community.

Miscellaneous Houses

Cave dwelling, permanent.

Ceremonial Enclosure

Fire in center.

FIRE MAKING

Compound drill with foreshaft in socket; foreshaft in split. Cottonwood-punk tinder. Striking for fire, 2 pieces of obsidian; flint and iron ore. Carrying coals in sheep horn.

[p. 419 (B)]

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and pestle.—Large, portable, stone mortar sunk in ground. Small stone mortar for grinding food. Pestle of wood. Used for mesquite. Metate and muller.—Metate cleaned with brush of sage fiber; of Joshua fiber; of hair. Muller used with rotary motion. Mush stirrer.—Single straight stick. Spoons, dippers, etc.—Dipper of: wood; gourd; turtle shell; deer skull; pottery. Spoon of cottonwood bark. Dishes: of horn; rough wooden slab; steatite bowls; pottery bowls. Wooden scoop for digging. Scrapers.—Pelvis-bone scraper. Awls.—Rabbit-hip-bone awl. Cactus spine; with handle pitch covered. Eyed awl or needle. Various.—Adz. Wedge. Stone ax.

FLINT FLAKING; SKIN DRESSING

Flint roasted in ground. Tanning with marrow; with liver; with wood ashes.

WEAPONS

Bow.—Sinew-back bow with ends recurved. Arrows.—Arrow with foreshaft: 2-pointed for bird; 1 cross stick for gophers. Arrow straightener.—Horn straightener with 1 perforation. Miscellaneous weapons.—Atlatl. Dagger. Sling with clay balls for slingshot.

BASKETRY

Materials.—Devil's claw. Joshua-tree root. Root for yellow. Applied decoration: feathers (whole); white paint. Basket weaving.—Wicker. Grass-bundle coiling foundation. Bead design partially covering. Basket forms.—Circular, twined seed beater. More rounded, twined winnowing basket. Coiled circular tray. Angular tray for parching. Conical carrying basket with coiled bottom; with wicker bottom. Twined water jug: wicker bottom; flat bottom; painted white; painted yellow; handle of human hair. Caterpillar basket. Bottleneck basket. Handles modern.

WEAVING (other than basketry)

Skin blankets.—Loom: 1 horizontal bar and pegs. Warp through hole. Feather blankets:—Other than mud-hen skins used. Skins woven, twisting on string. Vegetable-fiber blankets.—Materials: willow bark; inner cottonwood bark. Plain (checker) weave. Nets.—Material: milkweed; aŋgawana. Shuttle: string around 2 sticks; string ball, no stick.

POTTERY; BURDENS; CRADLES

Pottery. Coolie yoke. Cradle: oval ladder type; bottom tip buckskin covered; board buckskin covered.

[p. 420(a)]

MUTILATIONS

606 Ear lobe bored: several holes; with cactus needle; of most females. Men's and women's ear ornament: feather on stick. Tattooing with burned piñon shells. Head deformation.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces.—Carved horn pendant, fish shaped. Belts.—Of beads. Paint.—Applied with: fingers; brush. Hair dressing.—Women's hair length to neck. Singeing hair. Depilation of eyebrows. Shaving. Headgear.—Women's basketry hat for carrying only. Men's bark hat. Man's fur cap peaked. Hair net for dancing only. Band around head: horse mane. Wooden hairpin. Robes and capes.—Hand muff of fur. Shirts and dresses.—Men's shirt sleeves wrist length. Skirts.—Small front apron worn under dress. Large back apron. Footgear.—2-piece skin moccasin knee height. 1-piece skin moccasin: seam on inner side of foot; toe puckered; knee height. Snowshoe laced radially.

GAMES

Ball race.—Ball: wooden stick. Carrying ball permitted. Football.—Carrying ball permitted. Shinny.—Goal: willow arch; single post and hole; rock pile; sack. Puck or ball: stuffed-skin ball. Carrying ball permitted. Grappling permitted. Men players. Hoop and pole.—Hoop (ring) of tule. Course: willow piles at one end. Women players. Ring and pin.—"Ring" of: rabbit skull; barrel cactus; cane, 1 hole. Hand game.—Two bones, 8 bones. Counters in neutral pile at start. Four-stick dice.—Two dice marked on end. Dice called "little ones." Counters. Many dice.—Dice of wood: square; oval. Men players. 8-stick dice.—Dice: peach stone; 1 side black. Casting: twirling in air; knocking from knee; knocking from hand; end bounced on rock. Ring and dart. Quoits.—Quoit: rounded rock. Scoring: nearest goal counts. Snow snake. Juggling.—Wild gourds juggled. Betting. Jacks.—Betting. Tops.—Betting. Guessing for clay ball in sand.

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

Pipe.—Tubular bowl: of horn or bone; of wood; of pottery. Cigarette.—Cane filled with tobacco. Chewing. Miscellaneous.—Smoking as offering to ghost. Tobacco.—Mixed with: leaf of buhu; Artemisia bark; suguwiuv; arambi. Made into balls.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles.—Cocoon: attached to arm; used dancing, sweat-house singing. Sheephorn rattle on stick.

[p.420(B)]

000 Rabbit's-ear rattle used by women in hand game. Deer's-ear rattle used by women in hand game. Deer's testicle on stick. Gourd. Notched stick: ornamented; on stuffed hide "resonator"; used for amusement. Drum.—Drumstick simple stick. Flute.—Material: willow; bone. End cut diagonally.

MARRIAGE

Bride price as present. Bride service. Fraternal polyandry obligatory. Choice of mates: father's sister's daughter preferred; father's sister's stepdaughter preferred; mother's brother's stepdaughter preferred. Betrothed girl's mother was paid for premarital intercourse with girl.

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances.—Mother-in-law son-in-law address in plural. Mother-in-law daughter-in-law. Brothers-in-law avoid obscenity. Father-in-law daughter-in-law. Father-in-law son-in-law. Joking relations.—Brothers-in-law play jokes.

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

Men: is shaman; social restrictions; regarded disapprovingly. Women: social restrictions; regarded disapprovingly.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political group.—Sovereign body is village. Chiefs.—Special chief for: fishing; hunting generally. Village chief.

BIRTH CUSTOMS

Mole or gopher foot for fertility. Delivery: mother holds to stake; mother is shaken. Midwife in difficult case is man to frighten out baby. Afterbirth is thrown away. Mother, at end of confinement, burns old clothes; leaves old clothes on tree. Infant: stroked with eagle feathers. Umbilical cord: placed in rock cranny; in tree; in deer trail; buried in birth house. Father confined in separate house; in birth house. Father forbidden to drink cold water. Father must run twice daily; east in morning; west in evening; clockwise around camp. Loss of milk teeth.—Call own name as throw teeth over shoulder. Relative flips teeth at child. Teeth

[p.421(A)]

[illegible] buried under sand grass. Teeth bark wrapped, buried in mountains.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

First menstruation.—Confinement in isolated place. Girl lies on heated ground. Girl forbidden to look at people. Girl must veil self when outside; bathe twice daily. Scratching stick of double wood. Menstruation.—Ground warmed in seclusion. Woman forbidden to drink cold water. Woman must use scratching stick 4 days.

DEATH CUSTOMS

Dying abandoned in house before death. Corpse left in house, burned. "Undertaker" purified with clay. Burial: body flexed; head uphill; in family plots; corpse left in house; burial in caves. Cremation of those dying away from home; bones brought home. Cremation in house. Funeral speech by old man, sacrifice of relatives. Destruction of property, cultivated crops in field destroyed. Mourning.—Female relatives throw hair on grave; gash ear lobes; abstain from meat. Male relatives abstain from meat. Mourning terminated at Annual Mourning Ceremony. Annual Mourning Ceremony.

RELIGION

Shaman.—Source of power sought in cave; sought through jimsonweed. Shaman interprets vision. Doctor's equipment: clay. Curing performances.—Doctor sucks through pipe. Patient's soul represented by stick. Miscellaneous.—Unsuccessful shaman killed for many failures. New doctor demonstrates power at general gathering. Offerings when traveling. "Muipö" (possibly jimsonweed).—Used.

DANCES

Circle dance.—Purpose: mourning ceremony. Music: split-stick rattle; drum; special singers. Dancing: in two concentric circles. Occasion for public mourning. Bear or "back-and-forth" dance.—Gourd rattle. Whip to make dance. Dance held at mourning ceremony. "South" or exhibition dance.—Skin rattle. Bundle of thin boards rapped. Two sticks struck together. Pretension of shooting spectators.

MISCELLANEOUS

Petroglyphs.—Made by Sai-düka; known Indians.

[p.421]

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ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE ELEMENT LIST

(K indicates Kuyui-dökadö band; the asterisk may occur in the list under K1 or K2.)

Washo NT20

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). W [224] Wa: Running noose for deer present (Smith, notes).

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N [231] 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 716] 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N [301] 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is N [787] a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

[p.422 ([illegible])]

N 224 [787] luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai döpi ("clay rock"). W [30] Wa: Hunters painted themselves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [136] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, töna'.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N [283] 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi'dögöp°, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls of sagebrush hung down between bushes. N [283 224] A: Rope of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304), Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N [746] 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[P.422 (c)]

N 224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Tö: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [535 776] W [536] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'öm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koip^{o}, female, mutsa'. Koip' also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

N 224 85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 253, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N [756 789] 91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

N [825] Jack rabbit called kamö.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, Tö: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. Kü: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

N 223 117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. W [223] Wa: - (Smith, notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

127. Tö: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. N [825] At: PS pointed out that sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot, etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[p.423(BD)]

223 (Kelly, 89). Tg: In early times one disguised man was killed because another hunter mistook him for real antelope. Since then antelope disguise considered dangerous and so little used.

143. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254, fig. 2, which represents general Paiute "figure 4" type trigger for deadfall trap).

224 150. To: - (LP). At: The only pitfall used was a pit 8 or 10 inches deep dug just at the entrance to ground-hog hole. In the spring when the young rodents first came from their burrow they fell in pit. Being young and weak they could not get out.

Booths and Blinds

223 155. Ki: + (Kelly, 90).

156. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): "blinds resembling wickiups or summer houses."

159. To: - (LP).

160. Ki: + (Kelly 89): near "dance" ground.

165. Ki: Sage hens struck with stick as they "danced"; young geese and mud hens caught by hand (Kelly, 89-90). To: Sometimes disguised head and walked with body submerged until a duck's legs could be seized from under the water.

Decoys and Disguises

Decoy called tüa.

178-191. Wd: Checked with SC and BJ.

180. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255), although Steward cites Simpson's description of their use on Carson (p. 85) and Walker (p. 480) lakes. To: Lowie, 198, fig. 1, shows duck decoy from Fallon. Similar specimen obtained by me is now in U. C. Anthr. Museum. Ki: + from 1 informant, - from others (Kelly, 90). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 49, and pls. 33, 34). Tg: Informant had heard about stuffed-duck decoys and thought that old-time Tagö had used them, but he was not sure and had never seen one although he was about 80 years of age. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

181. Ki: Strings were attached to decoy (Kelly, 90).

183. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

183-187, 189. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Waterfowl Hunting

192. To: Fledglings and flightless adults of certain species hunted by numerous Indians in [501] tule balsas on Carson Lake (Curtis, 15, 73). Paviotso: Lowie, 197, describes 2 types of communal waterfowl hunting; both methods were similarly described by my informants. When mud hens were too fat to fly they were driven on to the land and caught when they tried to hide. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

194b. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255). Ts: Rabbit net was stretched near shore to keep birds from running too far. When net was not used fowl were allowed to hide under brush and

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

203. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso´öp°.

221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding
[177] out of rodents learned from white people. Wd:
(SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of
[134 trout for area we are considering: mountain
trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid
trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were
[133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes.
These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral
springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

226 [133] [136] Both lakes are extremely deep and have rather large rivers emptying into them, so that they are not too salty for fish. Pyramid Lake claims the honor of supplying the world's largest trout; specimens have been caught weighing more than 20 pounds. "Pyramid lake is just reaching a degree of salinity sufficient to prevent human consumption." Pyramid Lake was a third more saline than Walker Lake in 1882 (Loud, 157). Kl: The [825] Kuyui had the best fishing area in Nevada. Trout were designated by seasonal names: spring trout (tama arai), summer trout (tatsa arai), fall trout (uva arai), winter trout (tomo arai). It is to be doubted that these represent different varieties. Arai is sometimes generic term for fish. Ki: Trout caught only in Goose Lake and its tributaries.

[136] 252c. "Kuyui, black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake .... Chamistes cujus" (Loud, 157). Kl: The kuyui is a large sucker-like fish, often weighing more than 15 pounds, which is only caught in the spring and early summer when it enters the streams to spawn. The kuyui (pronounced by local white people kwee-wee) occurred only in Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes and the streams flowing into them, especially the Truckee River. 251 Great quantities of this fish were dried each spring. The meat was stripped from the backbone so that from each fish two almost boneless pieces were prepared. Only about 4 pounds of meat were obtained from a 15-pound fish.

252d. Ki: + (Kelly, 97).

825 252e. Sucker called awagu. "Awago, red sucker .... Catostomus tahoensis (Loud, 156).

252g. Minnows called pak'ui or hopakui. Loud, 156: "tui-pagwI, a minnow or sucker .... Siphoteles obesus or Lencidius pectinifer"; "hu-pagwI, minnow .... Richardsonius egregius."

252i. Red-side salmon called koa'arai, "cold salmon." Silverside salmon called wovi-arai, "wood salmon."

227 255. Paviotso: "The dip-net and gill-net" (Curtis, 15:71). TÜ: Fish net unknown in pre-white times. Only conical basket used. KÜ: When the Küpa were at Nixon they employed the methods of Kuyui. In their own territory, the Küpa had different methods.

256. Ts: The Paiute fish net is similar to that of Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 7).

257. Owens Valley: Fish net same shape as rabbit net (Steward, 257).

258. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

258a. Lovelock Cave: "Ice pick" (Loud, pl. 64,g and p. 107). KÜ: Informant's mother told him that the old-timers tied a sharp rock onto a stick to use to break the ice. He thought it similar to the one from Lovelock Cave. AL denied ever hearing of such an instrument being used. Ice was broken with any big stick. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

227 226 259. At: Minnows caught by cutting hole through ice and dipping them out with a seed beater when they come up for air.

[p.425(A)]

N 226 227 260. To: - (LP). Ki: + (Kelly, 96): A troughed willow dam and trap. Kl: The weir described by DG was a trap as well as a barrier. Willows were stuck in the mud so as to form 2 parallel rows about 2 feet apart and extending completely across the stream. The ends of the willows above the water were bent and tied together to form a trough about a foot deep. The fish trying to leap the barrier were caught in the trough. It is similar to the one described by Kelly.

W [226 227] 261. Ki: Rock dam was only used to get suckers; trout were speared. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

262. Wd: SC denied the use of platforms for fishing for the Wada, but said the Hunipui employed them. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

263. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, reports conical basket used below willow dam. To: -(LP).

W [227] 264. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

269. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

270. Ts: Willow bundle used to drive fish was called tuma'nuŋa. Practice was known by ND but not used by his band, the Tasiget. To: - (LP).

272. To: - (LP).

272-273. Wd: Denied by BJ, who described a single-pronged spear; however, SC claimed the Wada used the harpoon and no spear. I am inclined to think SC correct.

273. Kü: Fish-spear tipped with 18-inch leg-bone of sandhill crane reported seen at Humboldt Lake (Leonard, 161). Remy and Brenchley, 42, saw 1 used on Carson River. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

274. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

275. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251). Paviotso: "The spear, a two-pronged pole with which the fish were pinned to the bottom" (Curtis, 15:71).

W [227] 276. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

276a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

278. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, quotes from Chalfant's MS concerning fishing by aid of a fire on the bank. (See Note 293a.)

280. Kü: Leonard, 166, describes a bipointed hook, which was probably gorget type, seen used on Humboldt Lake. Paviotso: "Hook, made of two crossed bones" (Curtis 15:71). To: - (LP). Wd: Both BJ and SC claimed ignorance of type of hook used in old days, although both thought lines had been used.

281a. Kü: + (Loud, 41, fig. 8). University specimen 1-42988 from the Heizer-Krieger 1936 excavation of Humboldt Cave was carried and shown to informants, but none identified bone-barbed piece of greasewood as a fishhook. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 51, p. 41).

286. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

287. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

293. All informants who knew of drugging fish said toza (Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt. var. multifida Jeps.) root was pounded and soaked in pools, streams, and the like. Steward, 251, re-

[p. 425 (B)]

N
226
227 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. Kl, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N
262
825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

A
[262]
A
[787] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü'iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N
[832] 297k. Kl: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregomus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N
[501
777
832] 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N
[136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. Kl: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu'tsᵘ) hunted near Eaglsville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W
[26] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 426(a)]

Birds Eaten or Used

262 299. Ts: The bird list was obtained by show-
825 ing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and
recording the Paiute names for birds he recog-
[124] nised. Both English and Paiute names were used
in questioning subsequent informants. "Red Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (1931, Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax sinuatis.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

222 337. Tö: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piüga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262 338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with say-
825 ing "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred
114 in Walker lake, ... Pyramid lake, and Soda lake,
near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food,"
222 as well as at Mono Lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Küpa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these Lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. Kl: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). To: Some oldtimers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

[p.426 (B)]

N
262 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe
825 did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake
114 near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö:
Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by
222 trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered
why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur
in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada.
Pa: DW said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in
old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from
Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid
Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At:
W
In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the
[222 sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the
825] same place a green marble-like water plant was
found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A
356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encirc-
[222 ling with fire to drive them together and roast.
251] 358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A
360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver
[262] eaten raw.
W
361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).
[262] 362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

W
365, 366. Wd: - (SC).
[262] 367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).
368. Wd: - (SC).
N
796 369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any
262 game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[p.427(A)]

N
796 Next I went to the creek alone and took a bath.
262 After the ceremony my mother and father and I
ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick."
The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the
birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described
by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only
heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat
his own game until after a special ceremony
which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5
deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother
chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage
and then sucked the boy's joints." He was sup-
A posed never to get tired after that. AE: Game
killed by youth was taboo until after a shoot-
[796 ing ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung
262] up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at.
As soon as he hit the target, but not before,
was the taboo lifted.

373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: − (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in
[783] water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from
dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: − (LP).

N
401. To: − (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd:
796 Had offering ceremonies similar to this one de-
scribed by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the
782 last morning of the big 5-day spring round
dance. Just before dawn a half circle was
formed at the west side of the dance place by
basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each
cup contained but one type of food, such as
seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts,
and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head
man took each cup separately, danced around the
A circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all di-
rections, and prayed for a good season for all
[782] things. AE: See note 25 AE.

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

N
410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade
262 or expedition from California, not important
439 in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + in-
sisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

N
413. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare
415 acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not
make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians,
N or maybe God, made them."

262
434. The use of cactus was denied only in

[p.427(B)]

Achomawi NSS

N
262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere
is it common.

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui
brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to
A trade. I think the distance would prohibit such
[222] a thing before the horse was introduced. AE:
Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W
of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good,
were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: +
N (Steward, 242).

[415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N 467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although
222 among several of the bands there was said to have
423 been family ownership of plots, among none of
these was it true ownership. One family might
claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get
nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or
stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was
recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens
N Valley: + (Steward, 241).

468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).
252 470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made
262 of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and
eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made
the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods.

N 471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at
252 Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as de-
222 scribed by Steward, 245. TO: The seeds of the
262 tövasi were so sweet that sugar was not important.
Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for
cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moc-
N casins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Still-
[431] water (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Hum-
boldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

137 Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were
222 used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and
were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogonum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

N
137 Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc.
222 My informants insisted this was in pre-white
262 days.
483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt.
[278] unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called the same plant sumu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N
484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua
[278] Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N
484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida
W
Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and
[278
chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat,
226]
shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W
484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var.
[262] erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A
485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of
[222] digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N
505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).
[249]
509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N
527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near
[342] Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to
N
have been inhabited during winter months, also
[764] used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N
529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal
[317] use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

N 317 to Alkali Lake near Topaz, California, to get salt. They did not claim this lake, but obtained salt there without payment. No one seems to have owned the lake, although it might have been Washo, MW said. Pa: Salt obtained at Rhodes Salt Marsh south of Mina (Steward, 325). DW said Osavidökadö ("salt eaters") have been considered a separate band only since the building of the railroad through that country; before the railroad the country was used only as a place to get salt. At: Free salt not known before white people. Salt-brush, Atriplex, and sūnū seeds were salty and that is all they used.

530. Sa: + (SL).

533, 534. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

538. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

539. Tg, Wd: "To dry meat faster a sort of sweat house was built and a fire was made inside" (DS). This was primarily only to dry faster; the smoking was incidental.

W 540. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[252] 542, 543. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

546. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

558. Sa, Pa, At: Feet dried with cords and skin were used in case of famine.

561. At: Earth oven used only for crickets.

562. Cooking in the thorax filled with water which was brought to a boil by means of hot stones is described by Kelly, 92.

568. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

N 577. K2: Once during a hard winter a Kuyui-
266 dökadö killed his daughter-in-law and ate her. The rest of the tribe disapproved and chased him away. Kü: "Not so many years ago, just before the white people came, a family lived high in the mountains during a hard winter. The mother couldn't get enough food, so one day the eldest son killed her, cooked her, and offered some of the meat to his younger brother. The younger one refused and the elder brother threatened to eat him next. The boy escaped, ran to Lovelock (saituka tuwiwarai), told his story. The Indians tried to kill the elder brother but he hid, then ran away" (GN). At: "In hard winters when food was gone those Indians who appeared weak, like they would die, were killed and eaten by the stronger ones" (PS).

HOUSES

N
342 Speaking of a Walker Lake lodge pictured in Mooney, Lowie (p. 221) says, "while round in ground plan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like." Informants were unable to give accurate descriptions of houses. When I showed them pictures of dome-shaped houses of the Pomo tule type, informants said that type had been used formerly, but upon seeing plate 3,c, Steward, a conical house, most of them said that type was also used. It is impossible to ascertain if house

[p. 429(b)]

N 342 constructions changed from domed to conical, as Kelly, 104, suggests, or whether both kinds were built at the same time. I believe house forms were not stable but depended upon the available materials and whim of the builder. Inasmuch as the framework was chiefly willow, dome-shaped houses were probably more common.

W [349] 580-581. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

582. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265): Domed willow shade. At: In old days all Paiutes had was willow half dome or willow half circle with end leaning toward center. There were no flat roofs.

583. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265). Ki: + (Kelly, 105, pl. 18,c); however, my informants said only brush enclosure was known formerly.

587. "Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical." "A very thick thatch of dry piñon needles was applied, and this sometimes covered with earth" (Curtis, 15:70, also pl. 78).

589. K: Picture of Pyramid Lake Paviotso dwelling (Lowie, 204, fig. 6). At: In old days some people would, at times, build no permanent winter camp. PS remembers his family wandering all winter much as they usually did only in summer. He did not remember why, yet thought it was to hunt. Although clothing was scant and often N [291] wet, PS did not remember being cold. Nights were spent huddled around a fire with only the shelter afforded by a few sagebrush piled as windbreak. Ki: Dome-shaped winter houses were said to have formerly existed (Kelly, 104).

600. Kū, To, Tō, Sa, Pa, Tg: House was built of tule "mats" which were made by binding masses of tules between 2 or 3 pairs of sticks. The Tagō made also woven mats.

606. Wd: - (SC).

607a. To: - (LP).

613. At: A ring of willows was sometimes placed around fire to keep grass used to sleep on from catching on fire.

615. At: Paiutes used only tripod-type house after white people came. Wd: Tripod-type house used to be covered with buffalo skins. After buffalo left, grass and tules were used.

622. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264). Ki: Conical houses borrowed from north (Kelly, 104, pl. 18,b). Some denied any shelter besides the shade or windbreak for aboriginal times (Kelly, 106).

628. To: - (LP).

629. Ki: + (Kelly, 104).

N [224] 631. Wd: - (BJ). Informant said buffalo had been seen near Saddle Butte, but Wada never hunted them. Ki: Tule mat sewed and twined (Kelly, 104, pl. 19,c).

633. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264).

638. Wd: - (SC).

640. To: + (BS).

643. Wa: Door was of woven willows, that is, of basketry.

653. Owens Valley: + (Steward): Mountain house used in fall and winter had 2 upright poles and ridgepole. [p.430(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 342 678. Tg: Although no special storehouse was built, an elevated cache was prepared and covered with a woven sagebrush-bark mat.

686. Kü: + (AL). Wd: - (SC).

Sweat House

N 343 Sweat house: nasanovi (Atsa); navaduva (Küpa); navagia novi (Tagö).

688. K2: Sweat house is a recent acquisition from northern tribes. Kü: + (AL). GN said old-time Paiutes took hot baths in warm mineral springs, but sweat-house baths were not known. AL denied this and insisted that her grandmother took steam baths and maintained that it was a Paiute institution. GN and AL both were used for some parts of list. Unless their ideas disagree no mention will be made; the reader may assume that all data are from GN or that AL substantiated data, unless a note explains the contrary. To: BS and LP both said that sweat bathing was a recent acquisition but it is now firmly instituted. + (Lowie, 308): "The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory 'naBarinana.'" Pa: - (Curtis, 70). "At Walker lake sudatories were unknown" (Curtis, 169). Tg: Although the sweat house is almost universally used by the Paiute on Owyhee Reservation, DS said the Tagö never had it in old days. The Tagö Paiute learned it from the Warm Springs Indians, the Araitsi, a non-Paiute band. Sweat house first used by Paiute about 60 years ago.

689. Ki: + (Kelly, 202, pl. 19,b).

704. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265, fig. 4). A conical earth-covered semisubterranean sweat house was denied by my informants.

713. Ts: ND had seen a gabled, grass- and earth-covered sweat house at Honey Lake, built against a hillside. W [343] Wa: "The sweat house was an earth-covered, conical hut over a shallow excavation. Three forked posts, set respectively in the center and near the rear of the pit, supported a two-piece ridgepole, against which willow poles and slabs of bark were leaned. Heat was generated directly by fire. The sweat bath, instead of being a regularly recurring event, was employed only to relieve actual physical ills" (Curtis, 94).

727. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).
728. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).
733. To: + (Lowie, 308).
735. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).
744. Ki: Bather prays to sun (Kelly, 203).
745. To: - (LP).
747, 748a. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

750, 751. Ki: "Women never used sweat house" (CW). "Women bathe alone sometimes" (KH). "Women and men sweat together" (BA).

753-759. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

N [344] 763. Kü: GN insisted that Küpa menstrual hut existed in pre-white days. He knew that Kuyui had no menstrual hut.

N 763,b,c. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

346 764. Paviotso: "The dance house a brush en-

[p.430(a)]

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [172] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians."

N [773]

[p. 4-31(N)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

Metate and Muller

N 412 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 239).
830a. Ki: - (Kelly, 138).

N [303] 834. Tö: Paint was ground to a fine powder, mixed with water, shaped into a small brick and dried. Powder was scraped from the brick as the paint was needed.

A [356] 835. AE: Mortars and metates were left out so that the rain would clean them.

N [252] 844. Paviotso: Seeds ground on metate with a forward and backward motion (Lowie, 203, 204, fig. 2), but "a forward and sidewise motion" was also used (p. 215).

845. Most informants demonstrated a back-and-forth motion using both hands on the mano. However, the shape of some of the metates and the condition of their worn surfaces suggest that a rather indefinite rotary motion was used. Some manos were too small to be held in two hands, which would also indicate an irregular movement with one hand, probably rotary. I did not inquire whether one or two hands were habitually employed.

Mush Stirrer

847. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 246). Tg: Spoon of mt.-sheep horn and basketry ladle were used to stir mush. The looped stick used only to "fish meat from hot water." Wd: - (BJ).

Spoons, Dippers, Etc.

852. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b). Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b, g, i).

863a. Tö: "The old-timers never knew coiling. This just started with younger generation." It is possible that this is true for all Northern Paiute.

864. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 169).

N 415 866. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266). Steward, 269, cites Leonard's reference to pottery on Humboldt Lake which I criticized in note 338. Leonard visited Humboldt, Carson, Walker, and Mono lakes and refers to them collectively as "these lakes." Since he visited Mono Lake, and since we know they had pottery there, it would be safer to assume that is where he saw it.

867. Animal-stomach bag only used when other container lacking. Sometimes hunter will have no basket jug and then will use stomach of game.

868. Owens Valley: Steward, 273, translates osa, "water olla." Ki: Kelly, 124 (pl. 21,c), calls o'sa', "water jar." Kü: Loud, 65, (pl. 67), "basket water bottle." Same as 1096.

Knives

N 412 870. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 277).
W [412] 871. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[P-431(D)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 412 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).

W [412] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. Kü: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.

883a. Kü: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).

890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). Kü: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.

906. Tg: DS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.

909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.

N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).

935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).

N [172] [411] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m). AE: Sinew-backed

[P.432(A)]

A 411 bow obtained by trade from "down below" in California. The Achomawi traded sinew for the finished bows, which informant called "hickory." Sinew glued on with fish glue.

N 411 940. Owens Valley: Steward, 259, cites Chalfant's account of (mountain) "mahogany bows with reverse curves at ends."

942, 945. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

946. KH: Sinew was wrapped not glued (AL).

948. Paviotso: "....the powerful recurved bow of mountain-sheep horn was not uncommon" (Curtis, 15:71).

953. To: - (LP).

954. To: - (BS).

960. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Ki: Undecorated (Kelly, 142).

960a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

Arrows

961, 966. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 262).

967. Paviotso: Arrows without foreshafts (Curtis, 15:71). Ts: Shaft usually made of chokecherry; some cane.

968. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, k,l).

969. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, b,c).

970, 970a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47,a).

971. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,a).

972. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,d). Sa: Arrows for ducks not wrapped, as in Owens Valley, but a feather was tied near point to keep arrow from sinking.

973. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,c).

975. None of my informants made arrow points. For the most part their knowledge of types was gained from arrow points they picked up. In private and public collections in the area several types occur. The 2-notch type seems to have been the most usual.

W [411] 976. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 262).

985. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

988. Owens Valley: Used a yellow mineral (Steward, 263). Ki: + (Kelly, 145): spleen, wild parsnip, and rattlesnake poison.

990. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

991. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). K2: Decayed blood was mixed with a yellow berry which gets ripe in September. W [278]

992. Wa: + (Curtis, 92; Smith, notes).

995. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

996. Ts, Pa: Have secondary release, arrow held to string with thumb and index finger but middle and fourth fingers are used to help pull on the bowstring. Wa: Informant recognized that the Washo have same arrow release as Ishi had (University negative 15-5957).

Arrow Straightener

N 413 W [415] 998. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, pl. 4, fig. 1, shows oval straighteners as described by other Paiute). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[p. 432 (b)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 413 [172]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).

1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N 415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).

1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.

1017. Ki: - (BA).

1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W [415] 1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 [172] 1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).

1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. W [411] Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

A [411] 1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tökuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried. N [231]

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

Materials

N 285

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. N [172, 177] Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. To: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172] 1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, N [482] pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

[p.433(N)]

N 215 [448] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [205] 1039a. K2: DM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use.

W [205]

1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [174B]

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

N [177 172]

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Kl: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

[p.433(R)]

N 235 [124] enstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [285] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

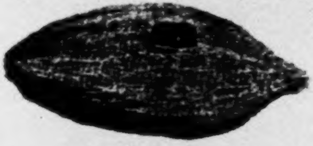
N [172]

Basket Forms

N 235 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idIwa, kawono.

N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)



N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868.) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: − (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.

Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.434(W)]

285 1108. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 273). Wd: -
411 (BJ).

1114. Paviotso: Mush bowl (Lowie, 233-234, fig. 13,b).

1115. When baskets of one type were made by both coiled and twined technique the generic name was used for both, except when they were distinguished by adding adjectival words "tōtsic'kwa," meaning coiled, or "töwic'kwina," meaning twined.

1117. Kl, 2: Field Museum has two pitch-coated coiled food bowls from Pyramid Lake (Steward, 271).

1118. Tg, Wd: Boiling basket pitched on outside then placed in hole so it would not fall over.

1119. Ki: + (Kelly, 123).

1120. See note 1115.

1121. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

WEAVING

Skin Blankets

286 1140a, 1141a, 1142a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud,
[172] 50, 51).

1144. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 228). Steward, 270, describes this type for Death Valley Shoshoni.

1144a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270).

1145. Ki: Kelly, 137, confirms use of vertical loom.

Feather Blankets

[287] 1156, 1160. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50).

1157. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270). Ki: - (Kelly, 136).

Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

1165. Paviotso: "For babies, blankets of sagebrush were made" (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1168a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 56).

Nets

1180, 1180a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 85).

Cordage

288 1184a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pls. 36,h, 73).

1185a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73, pls. 35, 73). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1186-1190. Paviotso: "Used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (toibi) to make rope." "My interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends" (Lowie, 233).

[172] 1189. Lovelock Cave: Rope (tule bark) found in cave had a right or clockwise twist, whereas

[p.434-(B)]

N
283 string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise
[[72]] twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N
323

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

N
[114]

CRADLES

N
854
482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W
[854
482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[304
756]

MUTILATIONS

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

N
304

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kü: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W
[304]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
A 1333. Tö: Bought from California. AE: Only
[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads
on dress. Obtained from California Indians W
of Achomawi.
1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention
to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal
septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung
W to wear were the only bone beads.
[301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl.
[172] 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N
302 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.
N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face
302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
246 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red
[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
A 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,
[135] SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green
[322] and blue.
N 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abun-
[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of
Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John
T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny
powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another
mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-
N rial as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is
[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena,"
which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil
A spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got
[439] from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from
the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2
302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of
otter fur" (Curtis, 61).
1382. Ki: − (Kelly, 115, but she cites De
Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).
1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair
from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before
that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed
W braiding style before white people arrived.
[302] 1387. Wa: − (Smith, notes).
N 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
[172] 1396. Tö: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

N
302 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground piñon nuts.

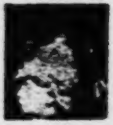
1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

Headgear

N
291

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). Tö: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering piñon nuts.

N
[285
177]



1408a. Tö: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Küpa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)

1416a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: − (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on caps).

1426. Tö: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N
[284]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W
A
[291]

1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). K2: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. Kü: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. Tö: The Tövusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: − (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W
[291]

1461. Wa: − (Smith, notes).

W
[291]

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[P. 436 (A)]

N 291 1481-1483. Paviotso: "The more prosperous wore skirts reaching to the knees" (Curtis, 69).

1488-1497. Paviotso: "Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind" (Curtis, 69).

A [291 287] 1493. AE: A shredded-bark apron was part of shinny costume, its only use.

1503. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 53). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): fiber skirt used by poor people.

W [291] 1508. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Leggings

1516-1517. Paviotso: Men wore fringed buckskin leggings; women wore no leggings (Lowie, 217).

1517. Ki: + (Kelly, 109).

Footgear

N 291 281 294 1527. "Two-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; additional top or tongue might be added to either type (Loud, pl. 21). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 47).

[172] 1538a. Lovelock Cave: Moccasins beaded with Olivella were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 21).

1539. "One-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; tongue, top, or sole may be added. Wd: + (BJ). Ki: Kelly, 110, figures a moccasin in construction, and remarks it is like Wissler's pattern 8.

1540. Wd: - (SC).

1549. Wd: - (SC).

N [172] 1554a. Small moccasins with hair on found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 22,e).

1555. Ki: Kelly, 109 (pl. 27), describes and pictures bark moccasin. (Figured are John T. Reid specimens.)

1556. Wd: - (BJ).

1560. Kü: + (AL); she said badger hide toughest material for soles, and that hair left inside to keep feet warm.

1561. To: + (BS). Wd: - (SC).

N [171] 1562. Sandal a sole with strings or straps to hold it on the foot. Kü: + (AL). Although many sandals were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, pls. 22, 23), GN insisted that "the Paiute didn't wear shoes like Jesus wore. I've seen pictures of Jesus." Paiutes mostly went barefoot in old days and traveled at night to avoid hot ground, GN said. AL said she saw old Indians wearing sandals of tule, grass, and rush. N [48]

[P.436(R)]

N 1564a. Lovelock Cave: About 80 tule-and-rush
291/ sandals were found (Loud, pls. 22, 23, and p.
281/ 55). Paviotso: Sandals worn (Lowie, 218; 207,
294 fig. 5).

1565. Wd: - (SC).

N
524
525

GAMES

Ball Race

1577. Paviotso: Called wu'to'goin (Lowie, 262). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

A
[524] 1580a. AE: Willow arch.

1587a. Pa: Footgear determined by racers, but all wore the same.

1591. Pa: Runners raced in relays; in most bands all runners together.

1593. Sa: - (JM).

Football

1595. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: "Men played a football game (watci'muin)" (Lowie, 262).

Shinny

1596. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): nazi''tsaka.

A
[524] 1621. AE: Referee has to see that sticks are carried properly. While running, sticks must be held vertical.

1623. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

Hoop and Pole

1626. Culin describes the Pyramid Lake and Bannock hoop-and-pole games. At Pyramid the pole was 19 inches long, but the Bannock pole was much longer. At Pyramid the hoop was 2 3/4 inches in diameter (Culin, 495, 499). Hoop and pole called paci (DG) or baici (DM) in southern part of area, and nowikonoi (PS) in the northern. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: Called ipai'ciin. "If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored" (Lowie, 262). Wa, AE: Old-time Washo and Achomawi thought to have played hoop-and-pole game, although none of the Indians of these bands interviewed could tell any details of game.
A
W
[524]

1635. Owens Valley: Course 50 feet long (Steward, 287).

1642. Ts: Pole through hoop wins bets and sometimes gets double pay. Sa, Tg, At, Wd, Ki: After one person has his pole through hoop, others get a throw. Those who do not get poles through hoop forfeit their poles and so cannot play until they get new ones. No bets.

1647. When a player threw his pole through hoop, the others were eliminated if they did not also throw their poles through. Ki: Kelly, 171, reports the hoop-and-pole game as it was described

524 to me, and says, "each one who missed forfeited
525 his pole."

Ring and Pin

524 1665a. GN (Kūpa) described the game which
857 was common in southern part of area. Boys and
525 men bet a certain number of finger thumps on the head between the eyes. If player did not catch the ring on the pin in a given number of trials he submitted to thumping, which was at times repeated until a large bump raised. Girls bet gum, pins, and other things. Men bet cigarettes or "puffs on a pipe." Game was played at gatherings so that everyone joined in fun.

Hand Game

524 1666. PS said the hand game became the gamb-
525 ling game par excellence of native western America. He said Charlie Monday, a Paiute of Owyhee, earned his living and traveled all over the country for years as a professional hand-game player.

1667. Tö: MW said wood, bone, and horn "sticks" have been used only since about 1850; old-time Paiutes played with strings of beads.

[176] 1670. PS explained that finger loops were recent innovations which were supposed to make cheating impossible. Any number of ingenious devices were employed to cheat.

1671. Most informants thought strings of beads were used before "sticks" of bone or wood; however, they thought these materials were also played with before time of white people.

1678, 1679. Guesses were indicated as follows: thumb and little finger extended, other fingers folded, and then hand thrust out meant that wrapped "bone" is in outer hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm vertical and movement up and down meant wrapped "bone" is in inner hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm horizontal and sweeping motion to the right meant the wrapped "bone" is in the left hand of opponents; the same hand position with sweeping motion in the opposite direction meant the wrapped "bones" are in the right hand of opponents.

1680. By observing the reaction of opponents to trial motions or hand signals, the player might get a clue to the position of the "bones." Only when the hand signal or motion is accompanied by a vocalized signal is the guess complete. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 286).

1683. At: In old days there were 14 counters, then 12, and a few years ago the number was reduced to 10. Wd: SC said 20 sticks were used in old days, now 10 are used so that bets will be won (or lost) faster.

1685. Ki: Kelly, 173, confirms division of counters at start, but does not mention their being called "cooked" and "raw." Informants expressed surprised approval when I mentioned the native terms for "cooked" and "raw."

[p.437(B)]

524 525 1686. When the counters are equally divided between the two sides they are called "raw" (sayu); counters which are won are considered "cooked" (kwasup). After one side has lost all its "raw" counters it is given the "raw" ones of the opponents. To win the bet, one must have all the "cooked" counters.

4-Stick Guessing Game

1691. Kl: Played by Pit River Indians; old Paiute at Pyramid Lake did not play it.
1693. Sa: The game wotatzi is played at Winnemucca as it is played elsewhere, except 2 instead of 4 sticks are used.
1706. Wd: 8 or 12 sticks are used.
1710. Tö: Spectators can place a bet on either side they wish.

4-Stick Dice

1714. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called mâ-Boyo`'in.
1725. Sa: The 4-dice game in which dice are struck on ground is similar to navokoi, yet is a separate game.

Many Dice

1734. Kü: - (GN).

8-Stick Dice

1765. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called wo‘-gukoratsa`ñen; 6 cane dice used. Wd: BJ knew this game from Küpa and thought it was known by Wada in old days. SC had never heard of it.
1777. Kü, Tö: When counting points, white was counted everywhere except with Küpa and Tövusi; with these exceptions scoring was about the same.
1778. When only 2 are playing each is allowed 2 moving counters. In such a case, if all red or all white are thrown both counters move 8 places, the same is true if 7 of one color come up. For throws less than 7, only one counter is moved. These rules also hold if 2 partners oppose 2 others. If more than 4 players, each gets the indicated number of moves for only 1 counter (PS).
1788. To: Some games believed to have had 18 spaces. Tö: 20 spaces. At: Some games had 32 spaces.

Archery

524 411 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).
1795, 1796. Paviotso: Lowie, 265, learned of arrows being shot and thrown at target, usually an arrow previously thrown.
1810. Kü: "Bannocks threw long arrows but not these Paiutes" (GN).

[p. 438(A)]

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524] 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).

1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.

1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1856. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).

1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.

A [224 411] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.

1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.

N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.

1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

N [177] 1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).

N [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GW denied any such games.

N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).

1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177 1888. K1, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(b)]

N
436 177 439 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
ute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to
W use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
[439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field
Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.
1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by
some informants that the elbow pipe was aborigi-
nal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe
N on her plate 32,b.
[177 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a re-
cent introduction.
172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).
W 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men
[276 smoked much in old days.
756] 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).
887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).
N 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Moun-
[782] tain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Töt-
sikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and
Old Winnemucca.
N 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering
[756 of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the
782] pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N
249 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{epu}.
824 1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.
1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita,
Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with
Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N
534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians
W when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
[534] (Smith, notes).
N 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).
[172 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only
756] by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a
deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley:
N + (Steward, 278).
[172] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).
1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line
N along a buckskin string; the string is wound
[281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.
1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his
informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on
[178 skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa:
759] Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the
Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that
time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

N 2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439b]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N
606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N
836

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

N
[842
848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N
[841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (KN).

N
[787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N
462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N
621
622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W
[621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W
[622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N
634
535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravinoya, were old-time dance

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mud-hen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^1-nö^{e}ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [522] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." W [226] Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no W [721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries N [423] owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. N 721 173 KH: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

N
721 raided them and drove them out of the country
173 (GS). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave
(LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and
MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined
Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley.
This explains why so many arrow and spear points
have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The
war against Sai is only one about which DW knew.
"The Sai were from around Klamath River and
raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard
that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands
aided in battle. This happened three generations
W
[720] ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger"
was remembered by LR. One person was killed.
Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was
a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The
Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither
wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai
lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed
near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe)
only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in
war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War.
The Indians showed generals how it could be done.
They formed a circle around German trenches (JM).
Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The
Tagö had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm
Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie
Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight
against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Pai-
A
ute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was
[721 generations ago, the other was in historic time
173] and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit
River Indians, ED's grandfather went around and
killed all the girls who had been taken captive
to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble
at home. There were many people killed, "maybe
4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N
778 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered,
832 mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin,
the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm.
753 It is dangerous to possess such a charm because
it might enter one's body through a sore or
something and kill owner. It causes sickness
like blood poisoning. Tö: A mole charm is dan-
N
gerous medicine. One made an Indian boy sick a
[755] little while ago, and he would have died if the
Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was
painted and father was forced to throw away his
mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to
N
be very dangerous.
944 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and
[115] denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement
5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

[p. 441 (A)]

N 844 birth; 4 days separate first, second, third, and fourth bath; the last bath is taken 5 days after the fourth.

2181. Kü: GN said 60 days; AL, 22. Tö: 15 days or until well (MW). Pa: 10 days (DW). Wa: About 10 days (CR). AE: 2-7 days (SF).

W 2182. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 159).

[844] 2184. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2185. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 289). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2187. Ki: + (Kelly, 158): "parturient kneeled" and "the midwife supported her from behind," which seems contradictory to me.

2188. To: + (Lowie, 269).

2190. Tg: Held in case of difficult delivery.

W [844] 2191. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Tg: Belt of weasel fur helps delivery: fast animal, fast delivery.

N [789] 2199b. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2202. Kü: + (GN).

2203. The Hunipui near Canyon City, Oregon, bury the afterbirth with the cord up as though it were growing. Ki: + (Kelly, 158). AE: Afterbirth is buried in delivery house or burned.

A [844]

2205. Tg: Afterbirth is placed on a bush. If it were buried the child would die.

2207, 2249. Paviotso: "After parturition the mother and the child were bathed every 5 days by an elderly woman, and the father received similar treatment from a man" (Curtis, 79). Kl: See note 2181.

2215. Kü: As with Kuyui, Küpa mother bathes 5,4,4,4,5 days apart during 22-day confinement.

2216. Kü: - (GN).

2217. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 79). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2219. Kü: - (GN).

2221. Kü: + (GN). AL said baby bathed at same time as mother, 5 times in 22 days.

2222. AE: Baby is steamed if something is wrong with it.

2224a. Kü: See notes 2221 and 2215.

2225. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2226. To: - (LP). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N 2228. Kü: + (GN).

846 2229. See note 1365.

2229a, 2230, 2231. Kü: [illegible] (AL).

2230. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 2239. The first cradle and those used during

844 the confinement were crude and simply made. (See

846 Kelly, pl. 28.) Paviotso: "Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully wrapped up, and all put into a tree" (Hopkins, 49).

2241. There was no agreement, even within the same band, as to the correct number of permanent cradles (i.e., cradles used longer than 5 days) for a child. Some mothers made 5 different cradles after the ones used during confinement, other women used but 3. The same cradle is used for different children.

2448. Kl: Father bathes after 10 days if girl, after 6 days if boy.

[p. 441 (B)]

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A [846] 2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does. N [774 761]

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be deformed. A deformed child called nayla dököpö ("gopher ate some off"). N [842]

N 836 847 664 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). AE: At first menses girl dances 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard A [881 535 533]

[p.442(A)]

Achomawi N55

N
881 time to dance 5 nights." These dances are still
held by Achomawi.
A
2306. Ki: + (Kelly, 162).
[881 2307. Wa: Confined 4 days.
535] 2309. Kü: Annie Lowry told me a special men-
533] strual hut was always known by Paiute, but she
told Lowie "that even in her mother's day seclu-
N
[343] sion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among
her people" (Lowie, 273). Tg: Even today, nearly
all houses on Owyhee Reservation have special
"moon house" in rear.

2321. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2322. Wa: + (Curtis, 96).

2328, 2330. Kü: - (GN).

2330a. K2: At first menstruation girl is called "moon runner," because she has to run in a large circle, stopping 5 times to make a bed of young sagebrush. She lies on each a moment, then runs and makes new bed. "Moon runner" is accompanied by other adult girls and is followed by an old woman who carries a basket jug of water with which she bathes the girl at the end of the course. At the finish place a fire has been built by anyone. Here the old woman bathes girl and steams her, as she stands over a smudge from green sagebrush. Hot rocks are mixed among the smoking sage so that steam rises when water is poured on. The girl standing straddle of the smudge and rock is bathed in steam. This ceremony takes place at dusk of first day of menstrual flow. At: Girl pulls 6 sagebrush and puts them on other brush before she takes wood home. Wa: Special dance held at first and second menses. Everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During 4-day confinement girl eats nothing. AE: See note 2304.

2331. Paviotso: Girl secluded 25 days, but had to pile 5 piles of wood daily (Hopkins, 48).

2332, 2339. Kü: - (AL).

2340. Kü: - (GN).

2341a. Paviotso: Girl took bath at end of each 5 days of her first menstrual seclusion of 25 days (Hopkins, 48).

2342. Paviotso: Sweatbath taken to cleanse self after 5 days (Lowie, 273).

2345. Ki: + (Kelly, 162): or clothes were traded. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2348, 2351. Kü: - (GN).

N
2354. Ki: + (Kelly, 163): but on page 164
841 she reports that woman did not have to retire
[343] to special hut if red ring was painted on wrist
or circle of red paint made in house; she also
mentioned that this practice of seclusion has
fallen into disuse.

A
2366. AE: If intercourse indulged in during
[881 menses, man will become impotent at early age.
842] 2371, 2377, 2378. Kü: - (GN).

2372a. K2: If a woman and her husband wish
to gamble during her menstruation, they paint
N
a red circle around each wrist. Some think it a
777 luck time.

[p.442(R)]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt. A [764]

N [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Ki: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283).

N 784 2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Ki: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p 443 (A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of nonacceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [756] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

N 756 2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

2495. Kü: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). Tö: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Kü: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

Curing Performances

N 755 2505. Tö: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Kü: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Ki: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. AE: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [755] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Tö: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 756 2549a. To: - (LP).

2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

[p. 443 (R)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 2554. To: See note 2549.

2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

756 683 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [177] 2569. K2, Tö, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

[782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been
757 bled twice: once from the arms when they became
[841] stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate
a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to
relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done
by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was
done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said
755 the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.
N 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö dis-
276 tinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands
I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed,
but several recognized muipö as the name of a
powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it
N could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 di-
[525 rections, it was good luck in gambling, it would
777] strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed,
and he knew prayer was offered before and after
N digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson
782 City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was pow-
erful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its
possessor if kept too long. Pa: DV described
muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon
535 it was held especially during Kuyui fish time,
[226] when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth
[177] Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü
nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from
A Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth
[535] dance which was held in connection with girl's
first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the
Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-nûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (N)]

Ghost Dance

535 668 775 2715. K2: Jack Wilson revived and stimulated the old dance but did not teach any new ones. At: The last Ghost dance at McDermitt was about 1893. The shaman prophesied a hard winter which would kill all the horses so that the dead would have them on which to ride back after the resurrection, to occur the following 4th of July. The people danced, the hard winter came, the horses died, and so the Indians congregated at McDermitt for the arrival of the dead. The old people did not return and so there has been little mention of the Ghost dance since. However, this is not strange because they were told to discuss the secrets and promises of the movements only while still on the dance ground following a dance. Ki: Kelly, 179, after saying "evidence on Ghost Dance is both meager and garbled," gives quotations which indicate that the Kidü were exposed to it, but never adopted the dance seriously.

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

805 822 2720. At: August, "rye-grass-ripe month" (yaia mŏhū); September, "piñon-nut month" (tuva mŏhū); October, "jack-rabbit-digging-roots-month" (tuhiwi mähū); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na mŏhū); December, "buck-deer-stands-for-week-on-south-side-of-canyon-month" (roa mŏhū); January, "tracks-threw-out-on-one-side-month" (tamŭnida'a mŏhū); February, "earliest-plants-push-aside-last-year's-stalks-month" (tokwinai mŏhū); March, "green-grass-growing-fast-month" (puiwaya mŏhū). The other 4 months' names could not be remembered. Seasonal names used for one or two. Sa: January, "jack-rabbit-urine-on-snow-month" (roa mŏha); February, "first-young-jack-rabbit-month" (sötwa'a mŏha); March, "everything-green-month" (puimŏha); April, "buck-berry-leaves-out-month" (kwasinŏ mŏha); May, "flower-month" (totsi mŏha); June, "Indian-potato-month" (yaba mŏha); July, "summer-month" (tatsa mŏha); August, "rye-grass-month" (yaia mŏha); September, "piñon-nut-month" (töva mŏha); October, "autumn-month" (uva mŏha); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na moha); December, "winter-month" (tomomŏha). (SL.) Wd: "First-green-shoots-through-snow-month" (poimaya mŭha); "grass-

Washo NT20

N
805
822 grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha); "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "groundhog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W 2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

[805
822] 2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N
821
789 2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N
751 2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N
787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N
522
773 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

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UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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[446 β]

681 NR13 Northern Paiute

[For sanctions against shamans who fail in curing see also category 756 - Psychotherapists.]

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[Title Page]

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of
a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations
at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the
Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern
131 part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores
of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on
the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
241 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together
621 in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
529 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements
would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic
755 treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement,
was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the old confidence in their powers. 756 182

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves. 756 787

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

> A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer, badger, or coyote skin. [778]

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sickness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the dreams. [753]

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 756 755 787 778

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

756 parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured.
755 If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people,
787 but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a
776 person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an
odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things
from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses
[153] his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

756 Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they
787 have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once
or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso
and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related
the following dream.

> I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness.
> I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all
> the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were
> carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick
> [155] people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew
> which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all
> got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about
> twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they
> laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would
> be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or
birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical
[776] beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies."
They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water
babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

[153] When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of
them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with
power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called
in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to
bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of
sickness.

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a de- 776
ceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative [775]
visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the 787
power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from
the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no
longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a
woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power
from his brother. She gave the following account.

When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do
that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt [751]
him.

Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites.
He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to
get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with [755]
the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat
other sickness as well.

One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the 755
snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right
after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could
do the same thing for people if he wanted to.

Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist 825
next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he
put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me
but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started 756
to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be 787
a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get 776
eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs
that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times
before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about
the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how
to cure sick people in this way.

756 Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several
424 informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about it so I am not a shaman."

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

> If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker
> [775] shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming
> [787] from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then her power tells her to be a shaman.

756 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the
787 parent is still alive.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

Power quest.—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves
[778] where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by
787 Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

> 159 There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this moun-
> [778] tain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams. I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots
of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked
to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and
then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and
forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick.
A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman.
A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hü!" The sick man was getting 755
worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to
weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all
the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight
and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking
ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a
shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell
you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise 775
you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it
and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions."
I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when
this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what
to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then 777
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises.
To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning
means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep
in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what
to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He
has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him
a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a
pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see 777
through anything. That makes him lucky.

787 776 756 While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have supernatural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

756 There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doc- 787 tors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen be- 754 cause he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life.

Interpreters.—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience. 198 The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

755 *Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there 776 all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with

The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snakebite. [823]

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground
at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The
door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his
kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was
the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the
sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions
that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on
each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the
interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise.
"It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe
around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times
he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and
sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue
to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He
spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the
patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and
the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated
by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each
person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman
sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay
him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing,
and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They
should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle
feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour
to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is
very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter,
what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring
about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The
shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

755 he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

[774] When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

[264] About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

756 755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

[775] Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

752 755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then 752
the patient is all right. 755

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the 756
sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five
dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old 465
days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman
asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs 753
harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. 688

About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he
was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected
to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others 577
stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to
give back the fee.

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a 755
sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the 753
relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of
his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition
the shaman will sicken and lose his power.

Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If 841
a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it
at once.

A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any 756
kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good
in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot
wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had
been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were
Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the
wounds made by poisoned arrows.

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said: "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

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Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

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[illegible] *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

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[illegible] *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

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843 The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

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[illegible]
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533 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake. 756 224

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when fired upon with a gun. 756 789 [792] [668]

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that. 756 754 789

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property. 787 756

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

787 756 night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[200] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

756 754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power from the bear. [825]

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient gets well. [755]

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

754 755 683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755
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> There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit
of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

> When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

756 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of
114 the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2]
787 Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise
Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturi-
[171] ty, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers
from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

755 Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary
in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only
171 mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor,
while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently
played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corrobo-
787 rated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise
Valley Paiute.[7]

756 The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back
the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is
[755] confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley
are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in
[224] detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley
Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used
[778] in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco,
beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that
employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens
[171] Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*.; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

Weather shamans and specialists have been described above for the Nevada Paviotso but they were unknown among the Owens Valley Paiute, while little specialization was recognized in Surprise valley.[13] 756

The Paviotso shaman's invulnerability against bullets and arrows was practised among the Owens Valley Paiute, as among the Nevada Paiute, to demonstrate the "doctor's" powers.[14] This practice may be connected with the Ghost dance movements. [789] [668]

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[13] Steward, 311; Kelly, 189.

[14] Steward, 310.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING[1]

Part 1

Erminie Wheeler Voegelin
Indiana University

For several decades two so-called "Snake"[2] groups, the Yahuskin and Walpapi, have been accepted by ethnographers as two Northern Paiute-speaking bands which existed in aboriginal times and were located in definable areas within what is now central Oregon.[3] This acceptance and localization of the Yahuskin and Walpapi[4] has rested on the fact that two treaties were made by the United States in 1864 and 1865,[5] respectively, with the "Ya-hoos-kin Band of Snake Indians" and the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians", and that both "Yahooskins" and "Wollpahpees" are mentioned in Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and correspondence, for several years after the treaties had been negotiated. Analysis of heretofore unused documentary material shows, however, that neither one of these two so-called bands of Snake Indians had any aboriginal validity as definitely localized, organized groups. The treaty-signing Yahuskin of 1864 consisted of a score or so of Great Basin Northern Paiute, deriving at that specific date from the Surprise Valley-Warner Valley region in northeastern California and south-central Oregon. They

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[131]

[Text continues on page 97]

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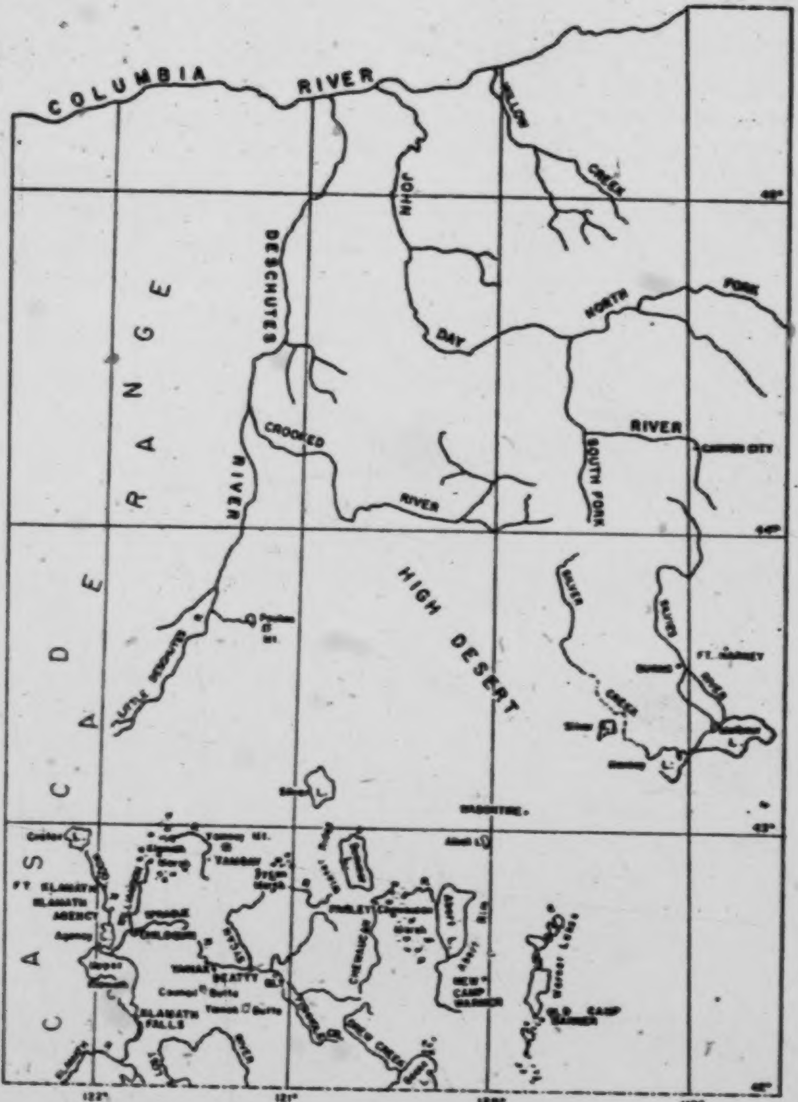
COLUMBIA RIVER
WILLOW CREEK
JOHN DAY
DESCHUTES RIVER
NORTH FORK
DAY
RIVER
CANYON CITY
SOUTH FORK
CROOKED RIVER
RIVER
CASCADE RANGE
HIGH DESERT
LITTLE DESCHUTES
Paulina
SILVER CREEK
SILVIES RIVER
FT. HARNEY
WAGONTIRE
Crater L.
Yamsay Mt.
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
Agency
YAINAX
BEATTY
KLAMATH FALLS
LOST RIVER
CHEWAUCAN
PAISLEY
Abert L.
NEW CAMP WARNER
OLD CAMP WARNER
Warner Lakes
45°
44°
43°
42°
122°
121°
120°
119°

Fig. 1. MAP OF CENTRAL OREGON.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Summer- 101
Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region 648
is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to
them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin
of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small 101
Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, 131
but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline 648
position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper
Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin
Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi
of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin
Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central
Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaîna (vars., Paulina, Pahnine,
Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader.
The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending
from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although
this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation
Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a
hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed
from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the
Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation;
their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the
Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in 101
Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, regarding 114
the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians 648
stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern
Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part
of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated
with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to
meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation
or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material
relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness
of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid
aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

101 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpalpe
114 Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern
648 Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

2. 1. The Treaty Yahooskins. First specific mention of the Yahuskin,
648 as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades
131 to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance be-
648 low the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[*2] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was
648 signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....,"[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

ence or at the treaty negotiations,[16] how many Indians gathered for the treaty-signing,[17] how the twenty-two Snakes present at the signing were persuaded to attend,[18] how long treaty negotiations lasted,[19] who spoke during these proceedings,[20] or the exact day the treaty was signed.[21] Available data being so scanty about the treaty proceedings as a whole, Philleo Nash concluded in 1937 that "It is impossible to learn from the treaty whom the commissioners dealt with as 'Yahooskin Snakes'"[22] in the treaty negotiations. Nash bases this statement on his examination of Klamath Agency correspondence; examination of other fugitive material which Nash did not consult makes the impossible now possible, as follows. 648

On July 17, 1864, almost three months before the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty was signed, Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew of Ft. Klamath encamped with a military expedition of sixty-two men near the head of Goose Lake, at the western base of the "Sierra Nevada Mountains" [Warner Range]. Two Indian scouts attached to Drew's expedition went from this camp "up into the Sierras [Warner Range] to hunt;" these scouts brought back twenty White prospectors they met in the mountains, as well as "three of the principal Snake Indians of that region" (underlining ours) whom, Drew says, "they were anxious we should see. These Indians came into camp on foot and unarmed, having left their horses and their arms, if they had any, some distance back in charge probably of some of their comrades." [231]

Both Indians and prospectors stayed at Drew's camp overnight. The next morning the Indians and four of the White visitors departed, the Whites leaving on the pretext of going hunting, but actually to steal the Indians' horses, which they had seen the day before. A fight over the horses ensued and one prospector was killed. 648 609

As soon as he was told what had happened, Drew sent soldiers out to bring the White men and the Indians back to his camp. Drew was apprehensive that the incident would provoke an Indian attack on the expedition, but his fears proved unfounded. "The Indians seem to have comprehended," he writes, "that the troops were in no way responsible for the outrage that had been perpetrated, and they made no hostile demonstrations toward us. Subsequently these Indians were represented 648

648 in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and expressed a willingness to go upon the Klamath Reservation, when the treaty should be ratified"[23] (underlining ours).

So much for the material in Drew's Official Report. A letter from Drew, written in his camp at Goose Lake on July 18, 1864 to the Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., San Francisco, Calif., gives additional details about this incident and the Indians. The letter reads in part as follows:

> Yesterday the petty chief and two others of the band of Indians of this vicinity came into camp by my direction.... This morning, after gaining what information I could respecting their numbers, etc., I dismissed them and sent them from camp in company with the two Indian messengers who had brought them. Soon after their departure the messengers returned and stated that the other three [the Indian visitors] had been ambushed and fired upon by four of the party of citizens who came yesterday, and they thought all were killed. I immediately dispatched a detachment of ten men in pursuit....The object of the attack upon these Indians was to get possession of two horses, but the unarmed Indians being joined just then by armed comrades, the result is as stated. Both of the horses have been brought in....They are inferior animals and poorly repay the cost of getting them. No Indian depredations are reported to have been committed in this [131] vicinity, though the principal traveled route from Red Bluff and Fort Crook to John Day's River and vicinity passes directly through the country which these Indians occupy..."[24] (all underlining ours).

101 131 That the three Snake Indians brought to Drew's camp were, in 1864, definitely associated with the region in which they were encountered, and that they and their comrades did not constitute one of the roving, predatory Snake groups of the 1860's which were operating under notorious war leaders and plundering pack trains, emigrant parties, and ranchers, [648] seems evident from Drew's letter. A few days before he encamped on Goose Lake, Drew had searched Sprague River Valley for just such marauders.[25]

It also seems clear that the Indians Drew met did not customarily live in Goose Lake Valley, which extends for some 10-15 miles north of

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the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, or that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[26] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[27] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[28]

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That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty-signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[30] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[31] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[32] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[33]

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Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre-

101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[36] Anglicized as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the Octo-
648 ber, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Kla-
114 math treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary
101 range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some
131 of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake
101 Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between
131 the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily 101 used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting 131 in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known 221 as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck [224] Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region [423] west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise — Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern 423 Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver- 648 Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty 131 miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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423 with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improb-
648 able in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus
131 dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band"
[101] living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

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101 2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by eth-
114 nographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1865-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute
Klamath NR10

The Indians occupying and claiming Sprague's River valley, are a small band of Klamaths, having among them a 101 few of the Snake tribe, who border them on the north and east, and having a Snake-Klamath -- Moshun-kosk-kit -- for their chief.[55] They are physically superior to any of the In- [142] dians about the border of the Klamath Lakes, and possess more manhood. They seldom beg and are not known to have 648 ever extorted, or otherwise mistreated any citizens passing through their country. [131] They claim as the boundary of their country the summit of the mountains which surround Sprague's [423] river Valley, the Lost river range being the line between them and the Modocs whose country lies immediately to the southward and extending down to the vicinity of Pitt River. They seem well enough disposed towards a continuance of peace with the United States, but in the event of a general Indian war they would doubtless prove more dangerous and troublesome than any of the other Indians of that region. It 721 was just previous to our arrival among them that the hostile Snake chief Pauline[56] tried to induce them, with the Klamath's 648 generally to join in the murderous operations he was then conducting, and the subject had evidently been warmly discussed; but the chief remained steadfast for peace, and his counsels prevailed.

....the attack upon Richardson and others, made entire- 648 ly beyond the limits of these Sprague's river Indians was nevertheless charged directly upon them [by some of Drew's fellow officers] for the purpose of creating a difficulty that would necessitate the abandonment of the reconnaissance to quiet. No evidence could be adduced against [the Indians], on the contrary all the evidence that could be obtained was decidedly in their favor, as they had proffered kindly offices to Richardson and his party when they were retreating from Pauline across Sprague's river.

To overcome any suspicion however that might honestly exist against these Indians....I took with me the guide, John E. Ross,[57] Mr. Brown and Mr. Taylor, two other employees connected with the command, Mr. Gabb of the State Geological survey of California, and Mr. Richardson, and proceeded to the camps of the Indians to inspect and investigate more fully than had been done through their visit to us. We gave no warning of our intentions, or approach, and though inspecting and scrutinizing the actions of the Indians and everything about their camps as closely as possible, we found nothing whatever indicating that they were in the attack upon Rich-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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> ardson did not identify any of these Indians as having been among those who attacked him, nor could he discover any vestiges or sign of the property he then lost; and further he urged that these Indians should not be in any way held accountable for what transpired beyond their limits on the 24th of June. We returned to camp satisfied of the innocence of these Indians as to the matters charged. I made such changes in the command, and respecting the administration of affairs at Fort Klamath as would prevent the creating of Indian difficulties, and the consequent failure of the reconnaissance.
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> Passing out of Sprague's river valley in a southeasterly direction we crossed the Goose Lake Mountains....[58]

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From sources other than Drew we learn that the mixed group of Indians Drew met in Sprague River Valley were known in Klamath as p'laikni,[59] which derives from Klamath p'lai, above, high up, on an eminence, plus the suffix -kni, those of, people of.[60] In English the group is referred to as the "Sprague River Klamaths"[61] and "the Bly people."[62]

It was this upland mixed group of borderline Klamath-Northern Paiute living in upper Sprague River Valley which, soon after the October, 1864 treaty, became known as the Yahooskin Snakes of government record, and which was carried as such in Klamath Agency population records for a decade thereafter.[63] We arrive at this conclusion as follows.

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For almost a year after the October, 1864 treaty the Klamath Reservation existed only on paper, and had no agent.[64] During July and August, 1865, Huntington made a third visit to the Klamath Lakes region.[65] On August 12, 1865, he concluded a treaty of cession near Yainax Butte (now Council Butte)[66] in Sprague River Valley with "Pah-ni-ne" (Panai'na, the "hostile Snake chief" mentioned by Drew)[67] and ten other "chiefs and headmen" of the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians."[68] Little is known about this treaty; no minutes of the treaty-council are available.[69] We do know, however, that Huntington got into communication with Panai'na through some captive Snake women and some "partially friendly Klamaths" and that he reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the 1865 treaty was "mainly an addendum to the treaty of October, 1864, with the Klamaths and Modocs, bringing the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the same reservation."[70]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley. K 101 648

Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73] K 114 161

In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley,[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78] K N 648

The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum- N [166] K N [177 241]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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Klamath NR 10

K N 648 mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[80]

K N 101 131 648 721 That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K N 648 166 By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

N 648 166 Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

> do....[but] on the succeeding night [Oct. 4, 1866] they left the reservation, taking with them some horses and guns belonging to the Yahooskins and Klamaths, and a [wagon] train sent out by Captain Sprague to convey their property [from Sprague River Valley] to Council Grove returned, and a hostile force was sent out instead [to capture them]....I became convinced that danger [from the Snakes] was imminent. Early in October I commenced the fortification of the agency buildings, which were completed....[83]

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The help they had given Applegate and the military in the summer of 1866, and the abrupt withdrawal of Maj. Rinehart's Snake captives from the Reservation in the fall, made MotcunkasҗkEt and his people apprehensive; consequently they removed temporarily from Sprague River Valley to the vicinity of the Agency, where they spent the winter of 1866-1867.[84] This move brought them in close contact with the Upper Klamath Lake group of Klamath. Friction evidently developed between the leaders of the two groups, for on January 31, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington,

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"There has been considerable excitement occasioned by an attempt on the part of Moshenkosket chief of the Yahooskins [underlining ours] and his followers, to depose High chief LaLakes and become High Chief himself. But the attempt resulted in little more than a great deal of talk and excitement, and the revolution has been stayed."[85] Here we have our first specific instance, in an excellent source, of misapplication of the name Yahooskin to the Sprague River Klamath group. In another monthly report written on May 31, 1867, Applegate makes it clear that the Indians he refers to as "Yahooskins" belonged in Sprague River Valley[86]--and nowhere in his correspondence or reports does he mention any other Indian group as belonging in Sprague River Valley in 1867.

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There is also other evidence, both direct and indirect, indicating that the post-Reservation Yahuskin were Drew's Sprague River Valley Klamath group, to wit:

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a) In 1867 and 1868 the Statistical Tables in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the "tribes" of "Klamath Snakes &c." of Oregon as "Klamath, Modoc, and four bands of Snakes." These "four bands" are Huntington's Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

fusion.[101] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[102]

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f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[103]

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g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[104] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.' "[105] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, " 'No, different altogether.' " Asked a third time " 'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?' " his answer was, " 'No, he says they're not Piutes.' "[106] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute).

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3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they?

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Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of

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648 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in 579 the vicinity of the lakes."[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's 648 Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake 131 brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that [487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two [609] of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now."[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons [224] they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

Eleven years after Work had been at Abert Lake John C. Frémont discovered Summer Lake, which Frémont named. Frémont and his party traveled south along the west shore of Summer Lake, following a well-beaten Indian trail which led to Chewaucan River and Chewaucan Marsh. At the marsh the ground appeared as though it had been ploughed; Frémont concluded that Indians had been digging tubers, but what these were he could not discover.[112] In the vicinity of the marsh Frémont also found "frequent trails, and fresh tracks of Indians," but encountered no natives.[113] From Chewaucan Marsh Frémont went eastward to Abert Lake, which he also named. On the eastern, or Abert Rim side of the lake Frémont found a well beaten Indian trail, which he followed southward,[114] but again he met no Indians. It was not until he was well out of the Summer-Abert lakes region and south of the 42nd parallel that he actually encountered "some Snake Indians"; by accident, members of his party almost rode over two huts of Snakes, in Long or Surprise valleys, early in January, 1844.[115] 131 487 [222]

From 1845 onward the Silver-Summer lakes region may have been visited in its northern half by loosely organized companies of Oregon pioneers in search of the "Blue Bucket Diggings," but of such parties we know little, except that their members were often attacked by "Indians."[116] "Some morning about daylight, twenty or thirty red blanketed men, with hideous yells would attack the sleeping men. Then would result a stampede....The few cool heads would make a stand, while the savages after getting away with the horses, would beat a retreat, leaving the gold hunters to straggle afoot back across the mountains [Cascades] to the [Willamette Valley] settlements."[117] Such attacks, however, seem to have been mostly north of the Silver-Summer lakes region. 648

In 1853 "the lost wagon train of 1853" went south of the lakes (Malheur and Harney lakes, or Silver and Summer lakes?) instead of north of them, trying to reach the Willamette Valley, and had "a very hard time of it."[118] In that same year, as we have already noted, Superintendent Joel Palmer sent Indian Agent J. M. Garrison to visit the Indians between the headwaters of the Willamette and Fort Boise, but Garrison failed in this mission.[119] The next year Capt. Jesse Walker, commanding a company of California volunteer militia, campaigned in Surprise

648 and Warner valleys. From Warner Valley Walker marched his men across the Warner Range westward, to attack an Indian encampment on the west side of the Warners near the head of Goose Lake Valley. The volunteers "killed two Indians and took another prisoner" at the Indian camp; the company then returned to Warner Valley.[120]

From Ogden's time on, west-east travelers across central Oregon had used the Crooked River route north of Silver and Summer Lakes; in 1846 a more southerly road was laid out.[121] Neither of these "great thoroughfares leading to the States"[122] passed through, or even very near the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, however. Hence this latter region, bounded on the west by the 1,000-foot high Winter Ridge,[123] on the north by a wide expanse of barren high desert,[124] on the east by Abert Rim and the Warner Range, and on the south by mountains and Goose Lake Valley, remained until a relatively late date an isolated, unexplored pocket. By 1859, however, there was a north-south road leading from Yreka in northern California to northeastern Oregon and Washington Territory, which passed through the Sprague River Valley-Silver Lake country.[125] After the gold strikes around Canyon City in the Blue Mountains, and also in the Nez Perce Mountains and around Oro Fino, Idaho during the early 1860's,[126] this north-south trail was well traveled, and was popularly referred to as the "Canyon City Road."[127] Indian depredations on supply trains and mining parties using the Canyon City Road were notable in the late 1850's and early 1860's;[128] some of these attacks, as we have already seen, occurred on the Sprague River-Silver Lake section of the road.[129] Such attacks, however, made by mounted Indians [726] under a leader like Panai'na, who in the early 1860's was operating throughout central Oregon, furnish practically no clues as to whether any Indians were actually living in the Summer-Silver-Abert lakes basin 131 at this time. A map dated January 1, 1864 and signed by Huntington, which shows the location of Oregon Indians, does not assign any Indians to the regions north of Summer and Abert lakes, nor to the region east of Abert Lake, between Abert and Harney lakes.[130]

648 In the spring and summer of 1864 one scouting party and three major military expeditions took the field against the Snakes of central and eastern Oregon,[131] but none of these expeditions operated in the

Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which continued to remain isolated 648 and undescribed. However in the late fall, as we have already noted, Huntington obtained by the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin Snake treaty of cession the entire Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, embracing some 5,000 square miles.[132]

Two years after the 1864 Klamath treaty cession, in October, 1866, 648 166 a small military expedition from Ft. Klamath "had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [Abert];" fourteen Indians were killed and many wounded.[133] In September of the next year (1867) Lt. Small, then commanding Ft. Klamath, captured five Snakes at Silver Lake, and fourteen on Chewaucan River, between Summer and Abert lakes.[134] Small took his prisoners, nineteen in all, to Ft. Klamath, arriving at the fort on September 22, 1867.[135] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a council with the Indians on the Reservation, including the newly arrived Snake prisoners.[136] Two days later, on October 1, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington requesting a Snake interpreter; to justify the request he remarked in his letter, "Besides the Ya-hoos-kin Snakes there is a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the Reservation. These last mentioned Snakes are parties to the Snake Treaty and are residing quietly and harmoniously on the Reservation in pursuance to the provisions of the compact."[137] In none of his previous correspondence does Applegate mention that any of the Walpapi had returned to the Reservation; this is the first reference to Walpapi having settled there since Panaiña had decamped in the spring of 1866. Obviously Applegate's "division" of Walpapi consisted of none other than the nineteen prisoners which Lt. Small had brought to the Reservation eight days previously from the Silver-Summer lakes region.

Less than a year after the first small detachment of Silver-Summer lakes Paiute had been brought onto Klamath Reservation the remainder of the Indians from Silver and Summer lakes voluntarily removed to the Reservation.[138] These later arrivals numbered around a hundred souls, and were also immediately referred to, in Agency correspondence and records, as "Wall pah-pe Snakes."[139] The applicability of this name, for Indians deriving in 1867 and 1868 from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which had been ceded on the authority of the "Yahooskins" in 1864, is reserved for discussion in the second half of this paper. 101 166 648

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Notes

121 648 1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Modoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

101 648 2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognised or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

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At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Astekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

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3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

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4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

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5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

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Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

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to the fact that he did not visit Sprague River (ibid., p. 13). His statements on possible aboriginal Klamath settlements on Sprague River are uncertain; he locates, but does not map, hicdiclucluke as a Klamath settlement on middle Sprague River "west of Gearhart mountain" (idem, also p. 16 and fig. 3), and also says that "...there were settlements of some sort on the [Sprague] river near Yainax before the coming of the Whites" (ibid., pp. 14-15) — yet elsewhere he states "...I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague River as Yainax in pre-Reservation times" (ibid., p. 23).

Philleo Nash, whose ethnographic field work among the Klamath post-dates Spier's, recognized the existence of an aboriginal upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group, largely on the examination of Klamath Agency unpublished letters and reports. Nash, however, does not document the existence of this group in his single publication on the Klamath, nor does he describe the group in any detail (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1 and pp. 386, 403).

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7. Panaiña is Gatschet's transcription of the Klamath name for this war leader (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 29); no Northern Paiute transcription is known to me. Paulina is the spelling generally used for the several geographic features in Oregon named for this leader (McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, pp. 410-411).

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8. No Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs or representatives thereof actually visited the various groups of Northern Paiutes of south-central Oregon until late in 1868, when J. W. Perit Huntingon made his long-delayed trip from Salem, Ore., via Warm Springs and Klamath agencies to Yainax and camps Warner and Harney, etc. (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868).

Fifteen years earlier, in June, 1853, Joel Palmer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, had sent Indian Agent Joseph W. Garrison, with presents of trade goods, on a special mission to interview and collect information about the Indians of "Middle Oregon" (RCIA 1853 [CDS #690] pp. 447-448, 451-452; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-112. Palmer to Garrison, Dayton, O. T., June 22, 1853). This expedition was a failure; Garrison returned home in eighteen days, having been told the Cascades were impassible because of heavy snow (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-122. Palmer to Manypenny, Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Aug. 4, 1853). A year later, in 1854, Superintendent Palmer appointed one Nathan Olney of Dalles, Ore., as Special Indian Agent for central Oregon (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dallas, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854) and in 1855 ordered Olney to visit the Indians of central Oregon east of Klamath Lake and to make a full report on them, since "no agent of the

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Government for these Indians has ever visited [them]" (NA, BIA, OS, Letters Received 1855, P-389, Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Olney, Feb. 19, 1855 [enclosure with April 16, 1855 letter]). Olney apparently considered central Oregon too dangerous to venture into without military protection, and failed to carry out Palmer's instructions (NA, BIA, OS, Letters Received 1855, P-384, Olney to Palmer, Dalles, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854; NA, BIA, OSFP, Letter Book "D," Neil McArthur et al, Salmon River, O. T., Dec. 23, 1854; NA, WDC, DP, 1-5-1855, Palmer to Bonneville, Dayton, O. T., Feb. 20, 1855; NA, BIA, OS, Letters Received 1855, P-389, Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; NA, BIA, OS, Letter Received 1855, P-389, Palmer to Manypenny, Dayton, O. T., April 18, 1855; NA, BIA, OS, Letters Received 1855, P-493, Olney to Palmer, Fort Boise, Aug. 31, 1855). There is also a hint, in Palmer's unpublished correspondence, that Olney expressed anti-Indian sentiments unbecoming to an Indian agent at The Dalles in 1854 and that Palmer became disillusioned with him as an envoy to the Indians (Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Manypenny). In 1856 A. F. Hedges succeeded Palmer as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, and for various reasons exploration of south-central Oregon by Indian Office personnel was delayed until 1868. No adequate mapping of the area existed as late as 1867 (Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign). 114 648

9. See especially sections 2. 2 and 3. 2 for examples of such manipulation.

10. Primary published source material heretofore overlooked includes Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew's official report of his Owyhee reconnaissance trip of 1864 which, although rare, has never been unobtainable; two Senate documents, Klamath Boundary Commission, published in 1897, and Protection Afforded by Volunteers of Oregon and Washington, relating to affairs in south-central Oregon in 1854; and Pacific Coast Army reports and correspondence for the years 1861-1865, published in War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, vol. 50, pts. 1 and 2. Drew's Official Report is reproduced in full in the Documents department of this number of ETHNOHISTORY. 114

Much valuable information is also to be found in two fugitive, but published sources: 1) Publication No. E-344, United States Court of Claims, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. The United States. Evidence for Plaintiff, and 2) Indian Claims Commission, Northern Paiute No. 87R, Statements, 1951 (referred to in this paper as the Reno Transcript). A microfilm of the Court of Claims publication is now in the Ellison Collection of Indiana University Library; the Reno Transcript should also be microfilmed, since it is fugitive and contains a wealth of data on Northern Paiute basic subsistence activities, obtained from a score or so of Northern Paiute informants.

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K 114 Two other valuable and fugitive documents, both Mss, are two letterbooks of official letters received, 1869-1872, and letters sent, 1870-1877, from Klamath Agency and Yainax Station; these are now on deposit at Klamath Agency. Nash seems to have been the only ethnologist writing on the Klamath who had consulted these letterbooks prior to 1952 (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1).

N 648 11. See fn. 5. The Indians gathered first at Kowasti, on Agency Lake, but after a few days removed to Council Grove, nearer Ft. Klamath (see fn. 18, below).

12. Huntington was the chief negotiator. He had been instructed to arrange with Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California A. E. Wylie who, since the Modoc lived partly in California, was to serve as the second commissioner, but Wylie was unable to attend. Huntington therefore appointed Warm Springs Indian Agent William Logan, of the Oregon Superintendency, to serve (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270; see also RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 256-259, and NA. NIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H" pp. 743-745, Huntington to Maltby, Salem, Ore., Oct. 28, 1865).

12a. For areas ceded and reserved see Royce, Indian Land Cessions, p. 834, and maps 8 and 51 (California 2, Oregon 1), areas No. 462, 463.

N K 114 131 648 13. According to plaintiff's Amended Petition in Docket No. 100 before the Indian Claims Commission the ceded area contained 13,700,000 acres, of which 1,650,000 acres were set apart for an Indian Reservation (Klamath Reservation). Since neither the Klamath nor Modoc groups had any settlements in the eastern half of the ceded area (Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region), ethnographers have taken for granted that this part of the total area was ceded on the authority of the twenty-two Yahooskin Snakes present at the treaty council — and then have further assumed that the Yahuskin were the aboriginal occupants of the 5,000 sq. mi. Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in aboriginal times (see Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and p. 131).

14. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864. Kelly's letter is dated Oct. 15, 1864.

15. RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 228-229, 256-259; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272; WR pt 2, pp. 991-992.

K 648 16. A. G. Walling says that Lindsay Applegate was an interpreter at the Klamath-Modoc treaty (History of Oregon, p. 523); Huntington states that "Dr. W. C. McKay and Captain Lindsay Applegate...acted as counsellors and interpreters to the Indians" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272). No Klamath and Modoc witnesses in the Court of Claims and Boundary Commission hearings mentioned Applegate or McKay when asked who interpreted at the treaty-signing. Witnesses spoke of

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Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12. K 648

17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says: N K 648 162

"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827). N K 361 484 648

19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged. N K 114

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N 648 21. The treaty is officially dated October 14, 1864, and will be referred to hereafter under that date. Actually however it seems to have been signed October 15; Kelly and Huntington both agree on this latter date (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 270, 651).

22. Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 386.

23. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8-9.

N [131] 24. WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 911. The "main traveled road" Drew mentions ran from Red Bluff, Calif., to Ft. Crook, Calif., thence along the eastern shore of Goose Lake to the head of the lake. From there it turned northeast "via the Malheur" to Ft. Boise, Idaho. See RCIA (CDS #1157) p. 412; Bancroft, Map of Oregon; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; WR vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 1226.

000 25. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

26. Drew, ibid., p. 7.

27. Drew, ibid., p. 28.

28. California Indians, p. 539; Tribes of California, p. 352.

29. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8, 1.

30. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-272; NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

31. Drew, Official Report, p. 8.

32. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

33. Treaty of October 14, 1864 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383); RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-270.

34. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 99.

35. Ibid., pt. 2, p. 71.

36. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23.

K 101 114 37. An example of such metathesis is Power's transcription of aukckni and plaikni, Klamath names for two Klamath groups; Powers transcribes these as Eocskinnes and Blyskinnes (California Indians, p. 539).

N 131 133 38. The Great Basin, habitat of nearly all the Northern Paiute-speaking people, lies directly to the east of Klamath Lakes Basin. At its western edge the Great Basin is some thousand feet lower than the eastern edge of Klamath Lakes Basin.

K 101 39. Spier says: "All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat [by the Klamath]; no distinctions are made" (Klamath Ethnography, p. 4). A Klamath witness in Court of Claims E-344 said much the same thing (p. 232).

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40. Army officials of this period were generally critical of the many unprovoked attacks on Indians by White settlers and miners. Such attacks too often precipitated needless Indian "Wars." Thus Dew, in narrating the clash between the White prospectors and Indians near the head of Goose Lake during his Owyhee Reconnaissance expedition, begins: "During our stay in the [Goose Lake] valley there occurred one of those incidents, that are unfortunately too common on our frontier, and often end in the injury or murder of innocent and unoffending citizens" (Drew, Official Report, pp. 7-8). 648

41. The Northern Paiute respected Army officers, who had a reputation of making few promises, but keeping their word. Col. Elmer Otis underscored the necessity for this sort of behaviour, in a letter written in the 1870's to Special Commissioner I. D. Applegate: "All promises to Indians must be kept faithfully, or they soon lose confidence and when once lost it is hard to regain" (NA. WDC. DC. 0-31-Encl. 4-1870). [609]

42. Thus Frank Lynch, a Sprague River Valley Klamath testifying in Court of Claims E-344 in 1931 on how he happened to attend the treaty council of 1864, said: "The eastern part of the Indians was requested to come to that council and they arrived at the place they called — below the place where they now call Chiloquin; and from that point we moved to this place of council. And I went there because I wanted to learn something and we had been promised to get some stuff from the Covernment, was word sent out. That is how I come to be there" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 827).

43. Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, p. 135; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, pp. 16-18.

44. In fact, Drew indicates in a letter dated July 12, 1864 that he considered the Silver-Summer lakes region as being occupied at that time "by Indians of Ou-a-luck's band who are giving so much trouble near Canyon City" (Drew to Assistant Adjutant General, WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 877, 900). In his official report Drew blames another "Snake chief," Pauline, for an attack on a wagon train near Silver Lake on June 6, 1864 (Official Report, pp. 5). Information about Ou-a-luck or Howlark is fragmentary; after 1865 nothing is certainly known about him (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 89). 131 649

45. Kelly, ibid., p. 67; Omer C. Stewart, idem; Whiting, idem. 000

46. Kelly, ibid., p. 69.

47. Kelly, ibid., p. 70.

48. Frank John, a Surprise Valley Paiute witness at the Reno hearings, who was born in Warner Valley near Adel, Lake Co., Ore., ca. 1885, 115 131

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
181 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan
[223] in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
1 114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p.
212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol.
1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of
Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew,
Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's
detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks
on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs
on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of
Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered
there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15,
24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt.,
1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on
Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute
from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation
see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley
Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race...a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed
to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing,
114 immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342).

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51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129).

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52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

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53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381.

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

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55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431).

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Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen-

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K 551 kaskit, appears fourth on the list of "Klamath chiefs and headmen" who
signed the 1864 treaty (Stats. L. vol. 16, p. 383). In 1896 Motcunka'skEt,
K then about 75-80 years old, testified at Bly, Ore., before the Klamath
648 Boundary Commission that he had been born at Bly and had lived there-
115 abouts all his life, that he had been "head chief of my tribe — the
[622] Sprague River Klamaths —" and had signed "the Huntington treaty" of
1864 (Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 16-18). O. E. Stearns, another
witness before the Commission, also testified that in 1865, when he was
a member of Company 1, First Oregon Infantry, Fort Klamath, the gar-
rison at the fort "always regarded MoghenKaskit and his band as a sort
of guardian of the border. We depended on him for information of the
hostile Snakes, and when the hostile Indians sent envoys to induce the
Klamaths to join them in hostilities, Kaskit and his people held them
until we sent for them and took them prisoners" (ibid., p. 19).

K In 1926 and 1931 Motcunka'skEt's two sons, Harrison and Dick
115 Brown, and three other Klamath, Drummer David, Brick Jim and Frank
622 Lynch, all of whom had been born and raised either at Bly or "in the
Bly district" and whose ages ranged between 60 and 80 years, testified
that Motcunka'skEt had been "head chief of the Bly Klamaths" around
the time of the treaty-signing (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 101, 113-114,
127-129, 145-147, 154-155, 163, 220, 825).

$ Spier mentions "Motcunka'skEt at Yainax" as one of the few chiefs whose names the Klamath remembered (Klamath Ethnography, p. 36).

56. See fn. 7, above.

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114 57. Probably the same Capt. John E. Ross who fought against the Modoc and Rogue River Indians in 1852 and 1853, and was a colonel, 9th Regular Oregon Militia, in the Oregon Indian War of 1855-1856 (Protection Afforded, pp. 39, 32).

58. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

K 59. Gatschet gives p'laikni as the name of "the Indians living along
101 the Sprague River, so called to distinguish them from the Indians living
131 at Upper Klamath Lake, (or its nearest vicinity) on the outlet of William-
114 son River" (Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 269). Elsewhere Gatschet erroneously identifies the P'laikni with a local division of the Modoc (ibid., pt. 1, pp. xxxiv, xxxv); this could only be true for the period after 1870, when a small group of Modoc were removed to Sprague River Valley (see fn. 52, above).

Stephen Powers' "Blyskinnes," which he gives as the name of one of the two Klamath groups, are the p'laikni (see fn. 37, above).

Court of Claims witnesses referred to the "Bly [p'lai] Klamaths" (see fns. 18, 55, above).

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60. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 268; Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23. K 133 103

Upper Klamath Lake has an elevation of 4,000 feet; the upper Sprague River Valley around Bly, Ore., is 350-400 feet higher, and according to one Klamath witness, is called in Klamath "The Country From Where the Water Flows" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 114). The name for the present town of Bly is an Anglicization of Klamath p'lai (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 50); the Klamath name for Sprague River was plai or plaikni koke, literally, upland people river (ibid., p. 486).

61. The term used in 1896 by Motcunka'sket, or his interpreter (Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 16).

62. The English name used in 1926 by Dick Brown, Motcunka'skEt's son (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129). 000

63. See fn. 51 above.

64. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651.

65. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 646, 650.

66. McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566.

67. Official Report, p. 5; see also fn. 7, above.

68. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

69. Extended search has been made for the minutes in the National Archives. N 127

70. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651. Despite Huntington's assertion, legally this was an entirely separate treaty. N 648

71. Huntington's party camped "just east of the canyon or narrows" of Sprague River; "the narrows are about eight to ten miles northwest of Bly" (testimony of O. C. Stearns, Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 19). The present town of Beatty, Ore., is at the west end of the narrows, within the Reservation line; Bly is just outside the Reservation. K 131 648

72. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655.

73. Official Report, p. 5.

74. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H," pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865: "You acted as interpreter at the Council of Aug. 12, held in Sprague River Valley, and are fully informed of the results of that Council, and the stipulations entered into by the Snakes of the Woll-pah-pe tribe." N 648

75. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89.

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K N 10/ 648 76. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89, Lindsay Applegate's first annual report to Huntington, dated Aug. 6, 1866. Applegate's reference to the "deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" may be the first instance of confusion of the Sprague River Klamath with the treaty-signing Yahuskin group. It will be recalled that the garrison at Ft. Klamath, in 1865, regarded "Moghenkaskit and his band ...as a sort of guardian of the border" and "depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes" (see fn. 55, above).

In attempting to make a treaty with Howlark, Applegate was acting on Huntington's orders (NA. BIA. OS. FP. Letter Book "H" pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865).

N 648 77. RCIA (CDS #1284) p. 89. Howlark declared himself for a continuation of the war and attempted to persuade Panaiña to leave the Reservation and join him.

000 78. Idem.

79. Idem.

80. Idem.

81. Idem. See also fn. 84, below.

82. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Sept. 30, 1866.

N K 648 83. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Oct. 31, 1866. By the fall of 1866, Klamath Reservation and Agency was becoming an established fact, although the Reservation had not as yet been surveyed (RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 24).

84. In his October 31, 1866 monthly report Lindsay Applegate informed Huntington: "There are no Snakes proper, on the reservation, but an attack by them or a raid by them for the purpose of stealing and plundering is daily and nightly expected by the Klamaths and Ya-hooskins...Fearing the Snakes the Yahooskins have moved down within a short distance of the Agency where most of the Indians have collected" (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D").

85. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Jan. 31, 1867; see also RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92.

N K 222 648 86. "Fearing the Snakes the Ya-hoos-kins until very lately refrained from going into their own country (Sprague River Valley) [parentheses Applegate's] to collect roots which are now found there in great quantities, but I have lately organized a force of Klamaths and Yahooskins consisting of about fifty men armed and about as many women. This

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force is now in the lower part of Sprague River Valley digging roots..." (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, May 31, 1867).

87. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 395; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 812. 000

88. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-652.

89. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868. "The chief object of the expedition was to visit the Snake Indian tribes, ascertain by personal inspection their precise condition, and take such measures as were in my power to secure a continuance of the peace recently inaugurated." N 648

90. See 2. 3.

91. RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) p. 516.

92. Idem; also RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) p. 715.

93. Idem.

94. "Ocheo's band" (now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute) was brought to Yainax from Camp Warner late in 1869, as the result of a council at Camp Harney in November, 1869 (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 531-532; Meacham, Wigwam, pp. 226ff.; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, Nov. 22, 1869). Part of Ocheo's group wintered on Klamath Reservation at Yainax until 1876-1877 (RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 612; Brimlowe, Bannock Indian War, p. 52), but after 1877 none of the group remained on the Reservation, as census figures for 1878 show.

95. See 2. 3.

96. NA. RCIA. OSFP. Letters Received 915, I. D. Applegate to Odeneal, April 30, 1872.

97. Ocheo's group; see fn. 94, above.

98. RCIA 1875 (CDS #1680) p. 618.

99. RCIA 1876 (CDS #1749) p. 218.

100. RCIA 1877 (CDS #1800) p. 300. This is from the Statistical Tables. The Agent's report of Aug. 22, 1877 reads, "Klamath Indians, 667, Modocs included in treaty, 93; Snakes included in Walpalla, or Yahooskin, 137" (ibid., p. 567). N K 161

101. RCIA 1878 (CDS #1850) p. 788.

102. RCIA 1880 (CDS #1859) p. 202; RCIA 1881 (CDS #2018) pp. 202-203, 343.

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103. Court of Claims E-344, p. 670.

N 115 551 104. Grandson of Winnemucca, the well-known Northern Paiute leader; age ca. 70 years in 1951; born thirty miles north of McDermitt, Nev., and living, in 1951, on the Summit Lake, Nevada, Indian Reservation.

K 101 551 [701] [622] 105. "Chiliquin" is now used locally by Indians and Whites for Klamath-speaking Indians living in the Williamson-Sprague River area (information from Mrs. Charlotte Roberts, Eugene, Ore., March, 1955). Chiloquin was a Klamath war leader who lived on Sprague River and whose name is second in the list of Klamath signers of the October, 1864 treaty as "Chili-que-nas" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). He evidently had connections with the Sprague River Klamath group; Dick Brown, Motcunka'sket's son, testified in 1926 that his father was "head chief of the Bly [Klamath]," that Le-lu (another treaty-signer) was Motchunka'sket's "chief sub-chief," and that Chiloquin was his "next sub-chief" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129, also p. 952). K [103] The present town of Chiloquin on lower Sprague River is named for this leader, but his home was farther up Sprague River (Court of Claims E-344, p. 767; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 113).

106. Reno Transcript, pp. 68-69.

N 103 107. Elliott, Journals, vol. 11, pp. 218-220. The Warner Lakes are southeast of the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region. We identify "Salt Lake" as Abert Lake because Salt Lake is the name used for Abert Lake by John Work, Ogden's successor, in Work's journal of his 1832 expedition (Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 11).

108. Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 10.

109. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

110. Ibid., p. 11.

111. Ibid., p. 12.

K ./103 /137 222 112. Chewaucan Marsh takes its name from Klamath tchua, wild potato, plus keni, meaning locality or place. The wild potato is generally known in Oregon and Washington as the wapato, arrowhead or sagittaria (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 112). Possibly it was this the Indians had been digging.

113. Frémont, Report, pp. 208-209.

114. Ibid., p. 209.

115. Ibid., p. 212.

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116. Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 27-29; Kennedy, Pioneer Campfire, pp. 116-118; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 173-176; Lockley, Capt. Sol Tetheroe, pp. 8-9. 000

117. Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 29.

118. Budlong, Memories, pp. 5-6.

119. See fn. 8 above.

120. Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14.

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121. The Crooked River route led eastward to the Snake River via the South Fork of John Day's River and Burnt River; a branch led to Harney Lake via Silvies River. This trail and its branch had been used since Ogden's time (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-352) and was the route H. D. Wallen followed to Harney Lake in 1859 (Affairs in Oregon) and which Enoch Steen took in 1860 (RCIA 1860 [CDS #1087] pp. 398-400). The Southern Oregon Emigrant Road, or Old South Road, was laid out in 1846 by a company of Oregon pioneers, among them Jesse and Lindsay Applegate. This road led westward from the Humboldt River region in Nevada to the Willamette Valley settlements in Oregon via Black Rock Desert, Surprise Valley, Lassen Pass, Goose Lake, Tule Lake, Lower Klamath Lake, and Rogue River Valley. Feeder roads diverged from it to Red Bluff and Redding, Calif., to Yreka, Calif., to Jacksonville, Ore., and to Ft. Klamath, Ore. For accounts and maps of this important east-west immigrant road into Oregon see Stone, Southern Route; Lindsay Applegate, Notes; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; RCIA 1861 (CDS #1117); p. 778; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 132-143; Winther, Development of Transportation in Oregon, pp. 231-232; Old Oregon Country, pp. 116-117; Camp, James Clyman, p. 56; Drew, Official Report, p. 9; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 90; Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. 1, p. 549.

122. RCIA 1857 (CDS #919) p. 207. 000

123. Which Frémont had so named in 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 207).

124. For an early description of this high desert region see WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

125. NA. BIA. Geary to Greenwood, Portland, Ore., Dec. 15, 1859; RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412.

126. Diagram of Public Surveys (1863); Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 29-30, 33.

127. See fn. 53, above.

128. Idem.

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000 129. RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412; RCIA 1863 (CDS #1182) p. 177; Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 24, 30.

K 130. Huntington, Diagram of the Reservations.

N 648 131. The earliest operation was a preliminary scout in March and April through the Crooked River-Harney Lake-Steens Mountain area by Lt. Waymire (WR, pt. 1, pp. 309-311, 320; pt. 2, pp. 808, 810-811, 826, 830; Miller, Unwritten History, p. 342; Oregon Statesman, May 2, 1864, p. 3, col. 2; Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 62). The three major expeditions which set out in May and June were commanded by Capt. John M. Drake, Capt. George B. Currey, and Lt. Col. C. S. Drew. Drake's and Currey's forces spent the summer and fall pursuing and fighting Indians in central and eastern Oregon; Drew's expedition served as an escort for several large wagon trains and was mainly a reconnaissance. For notices and reports of all three expeditions see WR, pt. 1, pp. 309-353; pt. 2, pp. 804-805; Oregon Statesman, Feb. 22, 1864, p. 1, col. 4; RCIA 1864 (CDS #1220) p. 258; WR, pt. 2, pp. 900-901, 911; Drew, Official Report, pp. 1-29; Report of the Adjutant-General, pp. 11-78.

132. See 2.1.

K 114 648 133. RSW 1866 (CDS #1285) p. 51; RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100. For a Klamath scout's account of this expedition see Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-32.

N K 648 134. Morning Oregonian, Nov. 4, 1867, p. 1, col. 5; Oregon Sentinel, Sept. 28, 1867; Daily Alta Californian, Sept. 28, 1867; Yreka Union, Oct. 5, 1867; NA. Records, Oregon Superintendency Indian Affairs. Letters Received. Unregistered diary, 1867, anonymous. Crook also reports Small's scout in the "Silver Lake country," and says 24 Indians were killed, 19 women and children captured, and two camps destroyed (RSW 1868, pt. 1 [CDS #1367] p. 69; see also Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign).

000 135. Morning Oregonian, Nov. 4, 1867, p. 1, col. 5.

136. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Unregistered letter, Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

137. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Vol. E, no. 169, Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Klamath Agency, Oct. 1, 1867.

138. See 3.2.

139. Idem.

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin

Indiana University

3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty—that of August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-zhe, Che-em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142] 648 [622] [551]

The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties—the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145] [621] [131]

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648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[146] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panaiʼna (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through
166 references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale
101 and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151]

We hear of Panaiʼna earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panaiʼna's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panaiʼna engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

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until early in the spring of 1864, when he and his forces burned a ranch house east of Warm Springs on John Day River, about a mile below the mouth of Bridge Creek. White settlers and prospectors pursued the raiders, and on the west branch of Trout Creek a mile or so above the forks met some Wasco Indians from Warm Springs Reservation.[156] These Indians had suffered a galling humiliation from Panai'na the day before,[157] and therefore joined the party of Whites in pursuit of Panai'na. Near the head of McKay Creek, a tributary of Crooked River, the party found and attacked Panai'na's camp, but did not kill Panai'na.[158]

By May 17, Capt. John M. Drake's command[159] discovered another of Panai'na's camps "at one of the crossings of Crooked River four or five miles below the forks of the river and 12-14 miles northeast of Camp Maury," where Drake then had his field headquarters.[160] Drake thought at first that this camp of Panai'na's was temporary and consisted of a small group, so he attacked it the next day, but was repulsed. Three of his men, including 2nd Lt. Stephen Watson, were killed, and five wounded. After being reinforced Drake again attacked and Panai'na and his people fled eastward into the mountains between Crooked River and the Canyon City Road. After Panai'na decamped a small group of Snake "night prowlers" hovered around Camp Maury for twenty days, before they could be driven across the Blue Mountains.[161]

Aside from the small group of night prowlers, Drake reports that "the only other Indians around the headwaters of Crooked River [were] Polini's band." The size of Panai'na's forces astonished him, and led him to believe that he had underrated the number of Snakes living in the Crooked River region. According to Drake's own Indians Panai'na had occupied the fortified camp for three or four years; Drake himself thought that "the camp bears every evidence of this fact." Elsewhere he remarks that the upper part of Crooked River Valley had been the home of Panai'na's group "for many years."[162]

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Panai'na's band, Drake concluded at the end of his campaign, probably numbered "fifty or sixty fighting men and some women and children—it would be impossible to say how many—and is composed in part of Snake Indians proper, who have united themselves under able leadership[163] for the purposes of plunder, and in part of renegades from other tribes actuated by a like motive" (underlining ours).[164]

In June, 1864, Panai'na's group committed several robberies on the northern section of the Canyon City Road;[165] by June 24 Panai'na was farther south on the same road, attacking Richardson's train near Silver Lake.[166] From Silver Lake he visited Sprague River Valley, in an attempt to persuade Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath "and the Klamaths generally" to join him in a war against the Whites.[167]

Two and a half weeks later Panai'na was back in the Crooked River country where, on July 12, 1864, he encountered Capt. George Currey's command. Currey forced Panai'na to flee southeast, to the south side of the desert region of central Oregon.[168] Six days later Capt. Currey's expressman from Camp Alvord[169] saw and was chased by five or six Indians of "Po-li-ni's band" in the mountains twenty miles south of Lake Harney.[170] A little later in July Panai'na was again heading west; Capt. Currey was told that the Snake leader "had joined 23 wickiups at a small lake 30 miles west of Camp Alvord."[171]

Still later in July, 1864, Panai'na moved north again to the ever-lucrative Canyon City road. In the High Desert region some distance north of Goose Lake he attacked Tower and Company's train, killing two men and taking 350 head of cattle, which he drove to Warner Mountain, "the Sebastapol of the Snake Indians." On Warner Mountain Panai'na and his group feasted on the cattle and kept a watch on Drew's expedition for twelve days in early August, as Drew moved east of the Warners. Twice Panai'na prepared to attack the expedition, but decided it would not be safe to do so. When Drew explored Warner Mountain on August 8-12 he found

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Panaiʼna's camp "of about sixty new and deserted lodges, evidently left not more than three days before, and in and around them fragments of beeves that their occupants had feasted upon. The tracks of American horses, ponies, mules and cattle, all coming in from the northward, were numerous and but recently made."[172]

In September, 1864, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the military to locate Panaiʼna before he went into winter quarters.[173]

Panaiʼna did not attend either the pre-treaty conference Huntington held at Ft. Klamath late in August, 1864, or the treaty proceedings of October 9-15,[174] although apparently he had been invited to do so.[175] Immediately after the 1864 treaty-signing, however, Huntington sent LaLakes, so-called Klamath "high chief," to Panaiʼna with a peace message. LaLakes delivered the message, obtained a reply from Panaiʼna, and left him to return to Ft. Klamath. That same day Huntington and his party, consisting of Indian Agent William Logan, a military escort, and several Warm Springs Indian scouts, while on the trail north from Ft. Klamath to Dalles, Ore., captured one or two Snakes belonging to Panaiʼna's band, at the mouth of Mill-ke-ke Creek at the Crossing of the Deschutes River. A search was made for the Snakes' camp, and it was found, about fifteen miles east of the mouth of the creek. At the camp, which was a small one, three Snake men, three women and one or two children were captured. One of the captured women was Panaiʼna's wife, and one of the children his child. Four of the captured men were killed, but one managed to flee to Panaiʼna. Three of the women and the two children, including Panaiʼna's wife and child, were taken north by Huntington and put in the custody of Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord at Ft. Vancouver, W. T., for the winter.[176]

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Panaiʼna protested this killing and capturing of his people, through a messenger, "Sky-ti-at-titk, a Snake Indian,"[177] whom he sent to Ft. Klamath on Nov. 1, 1864.[178] Ten days later Panaiʼna himself came to the Fort to tell Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, that he was tired of war with the Whites, that he

648 728 wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

[161] From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads [131] to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was [622] the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

ly with the whites" and to make arrangements with Huntington for 648
peace, as soon as the snow was off the ground. He also sent word 728
that he himself would come to Ft. Klamath after the snow was off the mountains, and would wait at the Fort until his wife was returned to him. Motcunka'skEt informed Kelly that "the Snakes were [731]
suffering from Starvation."[186]

Huntington planned to meet Panai'na in the spring when the trail from the Dalles to Ft. Klamath would be open.[187] By July, consequently, Huntington was at Warm Springs Agency, having with him under guard "two of the women and one of the children captured in [October, 1864]...the other woman and child being left, too sick to travel, at Warm Springs." Later, at Klamath, through the two captive women and "the partially friendly Klamaths"[188] Huntington "got into communication with Pau-li-ne or Pah-ni-nes, chief of the Woll-pah-pe Snakes" and on Aug. 12, 1865 Panai'na and ten other Northern Paiute signed a treaty at Council Bluffs in Sprague River Valley.[189]

3.2. The Post-Treaty Walpapi. Two months after the treaty-signing Panai'na reported to Capt. W. V. Rinehart at Ft. Klamath that "all the Indians of his tribe who stipulated to come in" were 7
in "MoshenKosk-ka's Country"[190] and that he wished to talk either to Huntington or to Lindsay Applegate, newly appointed Klamath Indian Sub-agent.[191] When Applegate came from Ashland Mills to Klamath as a result of this request, he first of all tried, during the middle of October, 1865, and using LaLakes, Motcunka'skEt and Panai'na as intermediaries, to persuade the hostile Snake chief Howlark, then reported to be in "Blie" or "Moshenkosket's country,"[192] to come in and make peace. This attempt failed. Toward the end of October Panai'na and "two other principal men of his tribe, 'Enkaltoik' and 'Chat-chat-chuck'[193] returned to the Fort with 'LaLakes'" and Applegate had a talk with the Snakes, explaining to them the boundaries of the Reservation and telling Panai'na that he and his people must stay within these boundaries. At that time Panai'na was located in Sprague River Valley; "His

648 people," he told Applegate, "were not all upon the reservation,
728 but he would bring them within its limits immediately."[194]

Two months later, at the end of December, 1865, Lindsay Applegate met Panai'na again at Ft. Klamath. This time Panai'na had with him four men, and eighteen women and children, all of whom had been wintering in "Moshenkosket's Country." The Snake leader told Applegate that this group comprised all of his people who "were with him on the Reservation....the greater part of his people in opposition to his wishes had gone to pass the winter in that part of the country where his wife was taken prisoner in 1864, and that they had promised to join him on the Reservation early in the spring."[195]

648 After Applegate left Ft. Klamath Panai'na and his group re-
166 turned to upper Sprague River Valley, where they stayed until April 22, 1866. On that date Panai'na, Tchatchaktchaksh, and the other Walpapi suddenly ran off without telling either Motcunka'skEt[196] or LaLakes that they intended to leave the Reservation. A messenger from Motcunka'skEt to Maj. Rinehart reported, a few days after the fact, that the Snakes had left as the result of a summons to war from the Snake chief Howlark. Two Indians were sent out by Motcunka'skEt to find where Panai'na had gone. Rinehart later reported to Huntington that these scouts "went to Summer Lake then to Silver Lake and found no Indians but saw one fire far northward towards Dechutes river. They seem to think from tracks and signs that he has gone to the vicinity on Dechutes where you captured his family and killed those Indians. The Klamath chiefs agree unanimously that he has broken the treaty and deceived them and that he has gone not to return."[197]

At first Huntington was inclined to be hopeful that Panai'na had merely returned to spend the summer "in the region between Crooked River on the north, Harney Lake on the east, Summer and Upper Klamath Lakes [Klamath Marsh] on the south, and Mt.
[137] Paulinee and Queah Valley on the west. This tract of country included in these bounds... affords fine grass. This band of Indians

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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have inhabited it heretofore and, in my opinion, have done so this past summer."[198] This however was a vain hope. Panai'ha never returned to Klamath Reservation although, as we shall see, various other Northern Paiute associated with him did return.

While he was on the Reservation Panai'ha and his people did not receive any benefits under the 1865 Walpapi treaty.[199] On July 5, 1866, the Walpapi treaty was ratified, and proclaimed July 10; therefore benefits under it were scheduled to begin in the fiscal year 1867-1868. At the time of ratification the only Walpapi Snakes on the Reservation were two captives the Klamath had taken, who claimed to have signed the Walpapi treaty, and whom the Klamath had turned over to Maj. Rinehart. Rinehart states: "One of the prisoners is named 'Gil-te-wa'[200] and is blind in one eye. The name of the other is unknown to me--but he says he signed the treaty." With the Walpapi treaty ratified, Rinehart was anxious to capture as many Snakes as possible, and states that all of the Klamath chiefs had promised him aid in doing so except Motcunka'skEt, who would therefore be closely watched.[201]

The Klamath brought several other Snake prisoners to Ft. Klamath during the summer of 1866. On July 8 they captured "another Snake named 'La-pa-k-u-git' and reported that three other Snakes were lurking in Sprague River Valley." Maj. Rinehart sent ten soldiers, ten Indians under Blow, a Klamath treaty signer, and the Snake Indian Giltewa as a guide, to capture these Snakes.[202] This party succeeded in taking four Snake men, two women and five children. The men were taken to Ft. Klamath, the women and children being left "at Moshenkaskit's on Sprague River."[203]

Near the end of July, 186[illegible], Lindsay Applegate was able to report to Huntington that

> Major W. V. Rinehart... has captured altogether and brought to Fort Klamath...up to the 20th Inst. about 16 Snake prisoners. They have been captured usually on the headwaters of Sprague River. Two have escaped from custody and one was killed attempting to escape. Thirteen women and Thirty children are on the Reser-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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> vation with Moshunkosket's people having been left there by the capturing parties of soldiers and Klamath Indians. These women and children are those who belong to the prisoners at the Fort.

Applegate attributed the Army's success to "the war [against the Snakes] farther North," which probably drove them to take refuge in the Summer-Silver lakes-upper Sprague River country.[204]

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In the meantime, little is heard of Panai'na after he left the Reservation. On Aug. 10, 1866 Capt. Walker[205] with a party of infantry pursued Panai'na "and a large band of warriors. They attacked them, but were driven back, Captain Walker having had a horse killed under him in the fight."[206] Some time in October, as we have already noted, Lts. Oatman and Small, of Ft. Klamath, engaged Indians near Lake Abert; possibly Panai'na was among them.[207]

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By October, 1866, sixty "Snakes proper–16 men and 44 women and children" had been captured and brought onto Klamath Reservation. Among these were Shas'-took, We-ah'-shau, Ske'-zhe, Sah-too-too'-we and Now-weep-a-cow'-ich, all signers of the 1865 Walpapi treaty, as well as Enkail'toak and Wail-a'-cho-ak. These two last-named, with Shastook, met Indian Sub-agent Lindsay Applegate at Klamath Agency for a talk on Oct. 3, and promised that all sixty Snakes would immediately move down from Sprague River Valley to Council Grove, near the Agency, where Applegate and the Army could keep watch on them. Applegate assured them that if they did as told, and remained faithful "they might yet receive the benefits of the [1865] treaty now ratified and made good." Although he does not specifically refer at this time to these captives as "Walpapi Snakes" he clearly (and with reason) accepted them as such.

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True to form, the Walpapi quickly did the unexpected. The night of their talk with Applegate,

> the head men eluding the vigilance of Moshunkosket and his men[208] escaped to Sprague River Valley, and in the absence of that chief and his men, took two of his

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-ni-ne's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panaiʼna and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panaiʼna was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

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After Panaiʼna's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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N 648 which these Snakes were present.[215] From them he learned "that En-kal'to-ak a Snake Chief[216] is disposed to be friendly, that he has been so disposed ever since the Snake Treaty, but has been kept away by hostile parties. A plan has been laid to have word sent to him to come in and also to insure protection to him while coming."[217]

Three days later Applegate requested a Snake interpreter, "in accordance with Article 8 of the Snake Treaty," because, as he said, a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe was then on the Reservation.[218] In none of his previous correspondence for 1867, nor in the Army's, is there any intimation that any Snakes had been captured near the Reservation that summer, prior to Lt. Small's much-noticed scout in the Silver-Chewaucan Marsh region in September. After that, there were Snakes on the Klamath Reservation who could legitimately be designated as Walpapi, and for whom an interpreter could be requested from a $2,000 a year annuity fund which had already been appropriated.[219]

K M [648] In November, 1867, the first annuity goods to be distributed under the Klamath-Modoc treaty of October, 1864, were brought down to Klamath Agency by Huntington and Applegate,[220] and nothing seems to have been done immediately about bringing Enkaltoak and his group onto the Reservation. In his third Annual Report, dated July 31, 1868, Applegate again refers to "a part of the Wolt-pah-pe [sic] Snakes treated with on August 12, 1865" as being on the Reservation.[221] No population figures for Klamath Reservation are given for 1868, either in Huntington's or Applegate's Annual Reports or in the Statistical Tables for that year,[222] but there is nothing to indicate that the Walpapi Applegate refers to, are any other Indians than the ones Lt. Small brought in as captives in September, 1867.

After despatching his Annual Report for 1867-1868 Lindsay Applegate, with an escort of several Agency employees "and fifteen Yahooskin and Wollpahpe Snakes," set out from Klamath Agency on Aug. 1, 1868, for Council Bluffs, in Sprague River Valley, "where the treaty with Wollpahpe Snakes was made on August 12, 1865." 648 Applegate's purpose in making this trip was two-fold; to commence farming operations in that section of the Reservation and "to attempt to Secure an interview with the wild Snakes."[223] In 166 both operations he was successful; he started what was soon to 648 become Yainax Station,[224] and several of his Indians met ten Snake Indians on Silver Lake, and persuaded two of the latter to come to Applegate's camp at Council Bluffs. These two Snakes promised Applegate they would collect their people at Silver Lake and immediately come onto the Reservation.[225] By August 28 Applegate was able to report to Huntington that in pursuance of their promise the Snakes had come onto the Reservation, and that "Their chiefs Chock-toot and Enkaltoick, the former of whom was reported killed by troops from Fort Klamath last Summer,[226] are with them.... They say they have long had a desire to get onto the Reservation, but fear of the troops prevented them..."[227]

A letter from Capt. Thomas McGregor gives additional details on how the Walpapi, or as they are often referred to, "Chocktote's Band from Silver Lake" settled on Klamath:

> I have the honor to report..., that about two weeks ago, during my absence on scout, the small band of Snake Indians infesting the Country about Summer and Silver Lake came on to the Klamath reservation, and are now camped on Sprague River, with part of the Klamath Indians,[228] gathering food for Winter. — Two of these Indians were first brought in by some of the Klamaths, when William McKay (Physician at the Agency) started out and had an interview with the band, and brought them all in peaceabley. Mr. Wm. McKay informs me that there are no other Indians in the vicinity of either Summer or Silver Lakes. These Indians have had an interview with the Indian Agent, who made arrangements with them to remain on the reservation. One of the Chiefs who came in reported that he had lately been to Camp Harney.[229]

648 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under
131 Tchaktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation,
in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868,
Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted
[161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as regards
[511] food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing....
[262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and
seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had
ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231]
reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax
creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reservation[232]
[161] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who
show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire
to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from
Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin
Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes"
or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver
and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when
[166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve
Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children
came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly
pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring
in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number
of their people."[235]

648 For several years after they settled on the Reservation,
726 hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not
unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M.
Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer
Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according
to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds.
belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two
head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the
Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands
to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K N 622 648 In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239] N [177] [241]

N [161] 648 In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245] K N 226 251 N [161]

N 101 [361] Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panaiʹha still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit
another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specif-
ically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to
being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living
at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may
have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James
McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End
of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins"
and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of
White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day North-
ern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five
N [622] days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band
[of Northern Paiute] is known as the Goʔyʼatikad^{u}, Freshwater
crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period.
N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and
Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyati-
N 115 kad^{ü}, or Deer eaters."[249] Kelly obtained some folk tales and one
historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] al-
so some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wəta, a former Northern
Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent
E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are notice-
ably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc
parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

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141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received). N 648 N [511] [291]

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868). N 649 726

143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5. K N

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102). 101 222

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon I."). N 648

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

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148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-
648 pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. In-
622 deed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all
their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be
followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern
California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142],
and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS
#1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name
103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Des-
101 chutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habita-
tions, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and o-
bliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

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In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131 also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden 101 came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). [231] In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411] ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had [648] been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. [262] Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; [291] they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; [231] they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411] bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648 in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721 being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181] friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, [177] thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

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648 N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military
721 clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm
Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it
was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes
[726] with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into
the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such
conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid.,
Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver,
W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid
"retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T.,
Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison,
had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm
Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes
579 changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for
726 that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had
648 "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake
Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly
opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des
Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time,
for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly
[Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been
fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed....
The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses
and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to
burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the
Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S.
Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property"
(RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report
on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panaiʼna start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously;
there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N.
S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs
in Oregon.

191 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington,
649 states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive
177 at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and
some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

154. Warm Springs Agent John Smith notes Snake raids on the Agency from 1859 through 1863; in 1859 the Snakes ran off 700 head of horses and took over the Agency buildings for a time; in 1863 they stole 200 horses. No raids are noted for 1864-1866, but in the latter year Weawewa wintered on the Deschutes River and raided Scott's ranch on Trout Creek, twelve miles east of the Warm Springs Agency (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. John Smith to J. W. Perit Huntington, Warm Springs Agency, Ore., April 11, 1866; NA. WDC. DC. R-35-1866, clipping from Daily Mountaineer, April 19, 1866 enclosed with Smith's letter). The next year (1867) Weawewa raided Warm Springs and killed Past-am-ine, "one of the most intelligents Indians" (RCIA 1868 [CDS #1399] p. 579). In 1868, before Gen. George Crook's peace at Camp Harney was concluded on June 30, 1868 (see fn. 223), there were minor raids on Warm Springs, with a total of thirty to forty horses stolen (idem). 648 726 579

155. In 1862 and 1863, according to Capt. John M. Drake, Panai'na raided Warm Springs and also extended his activities eastward to the Canyon City road (WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 334). This road from Silver Lake to Canyon City, Ore., was then being used by heavily loaded supply trains and drovers, and was a new and lucrative field of operation for Panai'na. Gold had been discovered at Canyon City in 1862, and "work commenced in 1863 ... although the miners often suffered severely from the depredations of the Snakes." Canyon City was then "considered as good a mining camp as any in Oregon or Northern California" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Ore., Dec. 22, 1868).

Fear of attack from Panai'na and his warriors in the Warm Springs region persisted until 1867; in October of that year Huntington, apparently still skeptical of reports that Panai'na had been killed (see below), requested a military escort for the first annuity goods he was taking from Dalles, Ore., to Klamath Agency. He specifically asked for this escort "after leaving Trout Creek (which is about twenty miles North East of Warm Springs Agency and forty miles North of Crooked River)" because "Beyond Trout Creek is the country of Pauline and his band, the most dangerous of any on the route. I shall be very reluctant to go into it without escort" (NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73).

156. For location of Trout Creek see fn. 155. The Trout Creek region at this time was supposedly "neutral ground" between the Snakes and the Warm Springs Indians, and was used by the latter for hunting (Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 53). 648 423

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648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panaiʼna's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panaiʼna for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 158. A superstition generally current among many of the
789 Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panaiʼna —
namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For
the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-
N 1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner,
[756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced to-
day that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or in-
jure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party
N of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his
[776] Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all
bullets fired at him.

N "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted a-
[171] mong Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it origi-
[174] nated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

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648 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panaiʼna later confirmed Drake's
726 report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath
that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the
N summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed,
[712] and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N 163. Panaiʼna's abilities impressed both military and Indian
701 Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most
159 celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panaiʼna was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

167. Drew, ibid., p. 5.

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343. 133

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord. 103

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. 1, p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ni-ne, war chief of a band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864). 648 720

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panai'na's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144. [114]

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panai'na very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panai'na.

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179. This is about where Panai'na's people were found by Huntington. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

180. Idem.

181. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to Mr. Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

182. Idem. The reference is to Drew's Owyhee expedition. Roughly, Panai'na's "country" included almost the entire eastern half of Oregon, according to Panai'na's own statement. If he had any home base, however, the 1864 material seems to indicate that it was in the Deschutes-Crooked River region.

183. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

184. WR, pt. 2, p. 1072.

185. Ibid., pp. 1114-1115.

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186. Nurse also sent Huntington much the same information in a letter written about the same time. Nurse says Panai'na intended to "fetch as many off his Indians as posible in this somer if ther was any way to treet with him and make a permanent Treaty" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

187. WR, pt. 2, pp. 1114-1115.

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188. Undoubtedly Motcunka'skEt and his people; for once Huntington refers to them correctly as Klamath, not Yahuskins. Motchunka'skEt often served as a go-between for Snake hostiles and Huntington, Lindsay Applegate, and the military at Ft. Klamath (see fn. 55, and fn. 186 and text) but his loyalty to the Whites was at this period somewhat questionable (fn. 201 and text. Cp. pp. 106-107).

189. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-651; Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

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190. I. e., in Sprague River Valley, probably in the upper part. This valley is often referred to, both by the military and Indian Office personnel of this period as "Moshenkoskut's country," "the Yahooskins' own country," "Blie or Moshenkoshut's country," and "Blie or Sprague River Valley." See fn. 86; also NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore , Oct. 31, 1865.

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191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatcháktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 121

Despite Panai'na's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'na] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'na in 1865. N 361/131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

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N 551 200. "Giltewa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baer" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865). N [224]

K 648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'skEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'skEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable. N K [101]

202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

N 648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

K 648 208. Motcunka'skEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

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209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above.

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to McKay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account). [114]

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatcháktchaksh; see fn. 193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tcháktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatcháktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties. 114 648

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tcháktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329; L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below). 551 622 621

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

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218. P. 115, fn. 137.

649 219. Indian Bureau records show that the first of the five annual $2,000 payments provided for in the Walpapi treaty was appropriated for the fiscal year 1867-1868, and for each fiscal year thereafter, through 1871-1872 (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1320] p. 376; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 810 RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] p. 973; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] p. 823; RCIA 1871 [CDS #1505] p. 1067. After 1872 ten annual payments of $1,200 were still due (idem). These were earmarked at Klamath Agency for "the Wal-pah-pe" or "Chocktote's band of Snakes" (Record, pp. 130-133, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 21, 1873; Record, pp. 220-222, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Klamath Agency, Ore., Sept. 5, 1874).

000 220. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 3, 1867; NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 18, 1867; ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 30, 1867; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

221. RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

222. Ibid., p. 812. Perhaps purposely?

648 [201] 223. Applegate was led to make this attempt because, after many of the Oregon Snakes surrendered to Gen. Crook at Camp Harney on June 30, 1868, "signal fires had been seen on the mountains surrounding Silver Lake, conveying an idea that the Snakes inhabiting that part of the country desired a conference with the Snakes on the Reservation." For Crook's peace council see, among other references, NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC 30-C-1868, George Crook to A. A. General DC, Camp Warner, Ore., July 6, 1868; NA. WDC. DC. 1868-1869. General Orders No. 24, Hdqtrs. DC, July 11, 1868; Crook, Autobiography, p. 159.

224. Applegate broke ground for farming and began building two log houses at his campsite, which was probably near the site where the Indians were used to gather each autumn. Later that same year his son, Ivan D. Applegate, was appointed by Huntington as Commissary for Subsistence for the Snake Indians and, since some of the Walpapi Snakes were in Sprague River Valley

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then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above.

N 648 [103]

225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's avoidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group.

K [648] [101]

229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had probably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223.

N [551] [648]

230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19.

N [103]

At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was considered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had

K 361
N K 226

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N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N [103] Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishweawax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N K [166] Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, within the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L.S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

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plegate to A. B. Meacham, Klamath Agency, Oct. 18, 1870). In 1871 Tcháktot was sent with Dr. William C. McKay, Klamath Agency physician, by Meacham's order, "to collect Snake Captives now with Indian tribes in Eastern Oregon;" about twenty miles from the Umatilla Council Ground, so McKay wrote to Ivan D. Applegate, "Old Choctoot, Skaidot and the Young Man gave me the slip ... they must have taken a straight shoot across the Blue Mountains and into the Silver Lake Region... Little Bob told Donald McKay, that... he herd Choctoot telling the other two that he was not going to attend the Umatilla Council, as he was afraid to meet old We-Yawewa and his band: also many other Indian's bands who are to assemble there... they went off well rigged each on a Govt. mule saddle, blankets bridles, and well cloathed." Evidently the deserters returned to Sprague River Valley, because at the end of October Ivan D. Applegate reported to Meacham that "Chock-toosh," and "Skidat" were at Yainax, "doing all they can in forwarding operations" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yainax, Ore., July 31, 1871; Official Letters Received, W. C. McKay to I. D. Applegate, Salem, Ore., Aug. 28, 1871; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871. In April, 1872, Ivan Applegate notes the presence of "Chief Chock-toot and Kilo-to-ik at Yainax (see fn. 239). In 1873, as already mentioned, three men of Tcháktot's band were killed at Summer Lake, and Tcháktot went with Dyar to Summer Lake to investigate. On July 25 six of his Indians visited Camp Warner (see fn. 235a; WD. DC. 1726-DC-1873. A. Josslyn to A.A. General, DC. Camp Warner, Ore., July 25, 1873).

238. Possibly synonymous with Lindsay Applegate's "En-kal'to-ak" or "En-kal'to-ik"? Ivan Applegate's "Kilo-to-ik" is not noted as being the "Kile-to-ak" who in 1864 signed the Klamath treaty as a Yahooskin Snake; it seems dubious that he was. [551]

239. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to T. B. Odeneal, Yainax, Ore., April 30, 1872.

240. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC. 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A.G., DC, Camp Warner, Ore., Nov. 23, 1869.

241. RCIA 1872 (CDS #1560) pp. 781-782.

242. NA. Record Group No. 98. U. S. Army Commands. DP. Elmer Otis to A.A.G., Camp Harney, Ore., April 15, 1872.

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101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath In-
dians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under
Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tchåktot's Wal-
101 papi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did
621 not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B.
Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot
115 Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp.
361 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina
who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims
E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have
114 been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-
166 Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 3, Conclusions

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

4. Conclusions. In the introductory section of this study the specific results of ethnohistorical research on two so-called aboriginal Northern Paiute "bands" were briefly summarized. We do not propose, in the final section, to enlarge on these specific findings, but instead wish to discuss some of the broader implications that a detailed ethnohistorical study such as this one holds. 121

The majority of ethnological reports on North American Indian cultures that were written by American-trained ethnologists during the period 1910-1940 were couched in the "ethnographic present" (tense), and purported to describe the "aboriginal" cultures of various Indian groups. Yet few if any of the ethnologists who authored these reports had gone into the field to study a tribe, equipped with any except the most rudimentary knowledge of that tribe's early post-White contact background. Lacking command of this ethnohistorical data, it is small wonder that the monographs which these ethnologists produced, although written in the ethnographic present, are curiously divorced from reality. 114 121

By 1945 the possibility of doing "memory ethnographies" of so-called aboriginal North American Indian cultures was generally recognized as a thing of the past. Even ethnographers concerned with western North American Indian tribes perforcedly had to admit this. Interest among North American ethnologists then began to shift to Central and South American "primitive (?) peoples,"

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and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethnol ogists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures —has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions about North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs within the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

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had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the [114]
peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Cen- [121]
tral Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites,
for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and
other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work [648]
their farms, and the need of miners in southern Idaho and north-
eastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of ef-
fect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and cus-
toms of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for in- 177
stance, the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes 167
in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and
their absence in this region before the middle of the same century,
or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distrib-
uted, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in
relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and
the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our 114
example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, 115
in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to 121
those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's,
what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when
they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else
informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradi-
tion. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of ac-
curacies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reason-
ing after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then
used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe
the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern
California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in 114
our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 177
many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years,
at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply
trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

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114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
177 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volunteer
[648] forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning
their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive
as possible, during this period. These were only some of the
direct influences operating on their mode of living and political
organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching
influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the
emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley,
beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make
114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of
121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal
culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could
ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been
quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that
North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general
to a period coincident with the early years of the informants
who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based.
Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example,
we note that the field work which this study is based on was done
in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants
used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's
material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in
parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley
Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a
predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were
on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr
was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the
Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political
organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictu
of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th
Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times

However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnographies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology. 114 121

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PAIUTE SORCERY

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INTRODUCTION

THIS monograph was written with three purposes in mind: first, to present 121 a descriptive analysis of the way in which social control operates among the Harney Valley Paiutes; second, on the basis of this intensive analysis, to formulate hypotheses concerning correlations between certain conditions and types of social control; and third, to test these hypotheses cross-culturally.

The concept of social control, as used in this paper, includes all mechanisms which regulate the interpersonal relationships of individuals within the Paiute families and bands. Most anthropologists assume that behavior between individuals is defined by custom; that each society dictates the behavior which is acceptable and that which is unacceptable; that customs are transmitted from generation to generation and are relatively stable. Anthropologists, however, have given less consideration to the problems of why people obey custom, how they learn the customs, and what happens to those individuals who fail to comply with the social regulations, than they have to the description of the customs themselves. It is these problems of obedience, learning, and punishment which in this paper are grouped under the concept of social control.

In considering the problem of social control I have assumed that: (1) In any society individuals must co-operate in order to survive. They must live peacefully with other persons. (2) An individual cannot act according to the dictates of his basic drives alone and live in peaceful relations with other persons. His desires may conflict with the desires of other individuals and therefore necessitate a compromise. (3) He must learn to co-operate and, since he must give up certain satisfactions which conflict with the interests of other members of the society, he must be forced to learn;[1] further, there must be continuous pressure which forces him to maintain these learned habits. (4) In any reasonably stable society there is a tendency for customs to be set up in such a way that a minimum of conflict exists between the drives of individuals and the needs of the group. (5) In any society, individual asocial wishes will break through custom, will cause friction, and will have to be punished.

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[1] These three assumptions are embodied in William Graham Sumner's theory of antagonistic co-operation as stated in *Folkways* (New York, 1906), pp. 16-17. Malinowski has also pointed out that an individual, civilized or savage, does not submit to custom automatically. It is "contrary to human nature to accept any constraint to human nature as a matter of course"—and—man does not "ever carry out unpleasant, burdensome, cruel regulations and taboos without being compelled to." Cf. B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932), p. 10.

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Until recently American anthropologists have thought of customs as habits which are learned by imitation or some other mechanism and which then continue to be performed without any external pressure. These theories assume that habits are autonomous and that imitation is automatic. The first of these assumptions has been invalidated by the followers of Pavlov, the stimulus-response psychologists. Furthermore, imitation has been shown by Miller and Dollard to be a learned response.[2] It is the basic assumption of these psychologists that all habits must be learned and subsequently maintained by rewards and punishments. Furthermore, they have found that the more a habit conflicts with the basic drives of an individual, the more difficult it is to teach and maintain. If one accepts these findings and the five basic assumptions presented above, it is obvious that in any society there must be mechanisms of social control to teach and maintain customs which, although they may conflict with an individual's drives, are essential to the welfare of the group.

Sumner recognized this problem in his concept of the mores. He saw customs as growing out of the needs of the group. Some of these customs were pleasurable to the individuals; others, though painful, were found to be necessary for the welfare of the group. These customs he called *mores* as contrasted with *folkways*.[3] He recognized that all custom had to be sanctioned but that the degree of sanction varied with the importance of the interest.[4]

Within societies there are usually sub-groups. The more closely knit and interdependent these groups are, the more essential that peaceful relations between the members be maintained. It is my hypothesis that in such a group customs essential to the avoidance of strife will be taught early in childhood and that control of asocial behavior will be more strongly internalized than in a larger and less closely integrated group. The threat of loss of support and help from the group will be a constant deterrent to behavior which is contrary to custom. There will be less need for direct punishment or specialized agencies of social control.

A similar contrast may be made between the type of social control found in different societies. The more interdependent the individuals of a society and the greater the need for cooperation, the more internalized will be the forces of social control. The size of the group and the economic relations between the members will also be essential determinants in the type of control which will be most efficient. The larger and more complex the interrelationship between individuals, the greater will be the need for formalized social control.[5]

[2] N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

[3] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (New York, 1906), p. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[5] Linton makes a point similar to this in his discussion of the local group. "Moreover, the extremely close relations existing between all the band's members make it possible to deal with offenders effectively yet at the same time informally." Cf. Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 222.

Cross-cultural analysis indicates that there are six main types of mechanisms of social control.[6] Some are found in all societies and some are found only where the social, economic, and political organization is complex.

One of the most basic and universal mechanisms of social control is the superego or conscience. As Freud has pointed out, this internalized mechanism which controls the individual is developed in early childhood as a result of parental discipline and example, and the identification of the child with the parents. However, even this deeply internalized mechanism must be constantly backed up by other social control agencies, particularly as the individual grows up and is less dependent on his parents.

Another type of social control mechanism which functions in all societies is public opinion. Linton[7] and Lips[8] speak of the fear of ridicule as a strong deterrent to asocial behavior. In my analysis, however, this fear of ridicule is successful only if it implies a threat of loss of help or the threat of ostracism or mob action.[9] Public disapproval as a mechanism of social control varies in effectiveness with the strength of the threat implied. However, if the fear of disapproval is strongly internalized, it may be effective in controlling behavior even if the punishment implied in the threat is never executed. In a similar way public approval is an incentive to social behavior; its strength as a motivator varies with the type of reward implied.

Reciprocity is a third important type of social control and one which has been elucidated by Malinowski and his students.[10] These anthropologists conceive social relations to be composed of a series of give-and-take obligations. Each partner in these reciprocal agreements guards his rights and threatens to break the relationship if the bargain is not fulfilled.[11] An individual's work is rewarded by the repayment he receives from his reciprocating partner. Inasmuch as the fulfillment of both sides of the bargain is essential to the well-being of the individuals, positive and negative sanctions are constantly functioning.

The fourth type of sanction, and one which is found in varying degree in every society, is the religious or supernatural sanction. Sumner has called this type

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[6] The most complete analysis of social control is that presented in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*, prepared by the Cross-Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, 1938, category 42.

[7] Ralph Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

[8] Julius Lips, "Government," *General Anthropology*, edited by Franz Boas (New York, 1938), p. 496.

[9] Lips says that "the individual cannot escape unfavorable public opinion, for he cannot leave the local group and join another community." *Ibid.*

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932). H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934). P. M. Kaberry, "Law and Political Organization of the Abelam Tribe, Sepik District, New Guinea" (*Oceania*, vol. XII, no. 1).

[11] The concept of breaking relationship is an elaboration of the theory of reciprocity developed by Whiting. See J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 97-98.

121 of pressure toward social conformity "ghost fear."[12] Whiting, in an analysis of supernatural beliefs among the Kwoma, has discussed the problem of the inculcation of these fears and the way in which they function in social control. He has shown that the teaching of these beliefs takes place in early childhood primarily through the mechanism of warning and that the feared supernatural agents resemble realistic agents, and therefore a child's fear of real dangers generalizes to the unreal dangers postulated by the culture. He also points out that these supernatural fears, although they are taught early in life, must be maintained by other sanctions, and that both direct and chance punishments serve this purpose.[13] The analysis of supernatural sanctions in Paiute society indicates that most of the customs which are controlled in this way are taught early in life and that the fear of punishment is internalized and becomes part of the conscience. It also confirms Whiting's hypothesis that other types of sanction are applied to maintain the supernatural sanctions. The analysis of Paiute society also suggests that this type of social control works best where there are small numbers of people living together and where the social and economic organization is simple.

The fifth type of sanction is retaliation. The basic idea of an eye for an eye seems to be present in some form in every culture. Individual or kin retaliation are the simplest forms. If a man is murdered, it is the duty of one of his relatives to see that the murderer or one of the murderer's relatives is killed in revenge. Retaliation, however, must be controlled. Were there no way of stopping feuds the situation would be similar to the legend of the Martins and the Coys, who continued revenge killings until only two representatives of the clans were left. This aspect has been overlooked by many ethnologists in their descriptions of social control.

The substitution of payment in goods or currency for blood revenge is one of the most usual checks on retaliation. However, to insure the acceptance of such settlements other types of social control forces must operate. There must be some pressure which forces the wronged party to accept the payment as full recompense.

Retaliation may also be indirect or symbolic. In societies where there is a belief that an individual may kill or bring illness to somebody by using supernatural power, retaliation may be in the form of sorcery. In this case it is the fear of supernatural powers rather than direct revenge which keeps an individual from committing an offense. However, as in the case of other supernatural sanctions, there must be a real threat implied or the fear will be extinguished.[14]

The sixth type of sanction includes the institutionalized types of social control. These include all agencies to whom authority is delegated to make laws, settle disputes, and execute punishments.

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[12] W. G. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[13] J. W. M. Whiting, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII.

[14] For definition of principle of extinction see N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-42.

Of these six types of social control all but the last may be said to have functioned among the Paiute. Within the family the conscience, developed by direct punishment, identification and the fear of loss of support and help, was the strongest force for social control. The fear of being accused of sorcery and punished accordingly maintained the strength of the conscience. Within the band, the most important mechanisms of social control were retaliation and the fear of sorcery and accusations of sorcery. In analysis, these fears represent a combination of public opinion and supernatural sanction with an implied threat of retaliation and mob action. The concept of reciprocity was found to be basic to all the types of social control in so far as the need for support and help from others motivated individuals to maintain peaceful relations with their neighbors. 121 [681 754]

The literature on social control in primitive societies is not extensive. Ethnographers are apt merely to describe the political organization of a tribe. The political organization, however, may or may not include agencies for social control. The function of the governmental bodies may be executive, advisory, administrative, fiscal, military, or religious as well as legislative and judicial. The danger of this confusion of social control and political organization may be seen particularly in societies such as those found in the Great Basin, which have no formalized government, lacking even chiefs and rudimentary councils.

Failure to recognize the functioning of social control in primitive communities is also due in part to the fact that anthropologists have looked for legal systems similar to those found in Western civilization. Finding neither legal codes nor court systems, they have assumed that there is no social control at all. It is stated that the members of the community are so bound by tradition and custom that laws are not necessary. Malinowski has pointed out the fallacies of these assumptions,[15] and in his studies has defined primitive law as any rule which is sanctioned by a duly constituted authority. From this point of view, law exists in all societies whether or not they have a legal system similar to that found in our own society.

Social control in the broadest sense is any pressure exerted upon an individual which makes him behave in relation to other individuals in a socially approved way. In this paper, however, it is used particularly to cover the control of any offense which causes friction in the community. Consequently, simple breaches of manners or etiquette are ignored, unless such breaches carry further and more serious connotations. If, for example, failure to speak politely to people is interpreted as an indication of sorcery power, the custom is considered as being more than etiquette. In this work I have stressed the conformity to customs which are considered essential to the welfare of the group. The method of teaching and maintaining economic techniques and minor rules and regulations has not been considered.

The most common sources of friction in primitive tribes stem from aggression and from competition in attempting to satisfy basic needs. Offenses against

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[15] B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*

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life and person and some offenses against property fall in the first category, whereas sexual offenses and some types of property offenses, such as theft of food, fall in the second category. Indolence and non-fulfillment of obligations are two other important causes of friction.[16]

The field work on which this dissertation is based was done during the summers of 1936, '37, and '38, among the Harney Valley Paiute in Burns, Oregon. During the first year the purpose was to acquire historical material, and most of the time in the field was spent with old informants who were questioned primarily on material culture and folklore. The second summer was devoted to an analysis of the social organization, which had been described in the literature as "amorphous" and "unformalized." I felt that although the organization was seemingly without form there must be definite rules which regulated the composition of groups and the interpersonal relationships of the members of the band. On the subject of social organization and also on the subject of religion I found that I could use younger informants and that in these fields much of the old culture survived in spite of the drastic changes which had occurred in the life of the people, particularly in their economic life. The material on social organization checked closely with the findings reported by Julian H. Steward in his monograph on *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, published in 1938.[17] During the last weeks of this second stay among the Paiutes I began to get more detailed material on religion and the concept of good and bad power.

The third summer my husband, John Whiting, accompanied me to the field. He had just returned from New Guinea, where he had been particularly interested in the problem of social control. Influenced by him, I devoted most of this summer to the subjects of social control and sorcery. I spent less time using the question and answer technique and more time recording gossip and observing the interrelationship of the members of the community. I devoted considerable time to gathering what Hoebel and Llewelyn have called "trouble cases."[18] For example, besides questioning informants about murder and recording their theoretical statements I asked them to describe actual murders and the circumstances preceding and following the incidents. I gathered as many of these cases as possible.

In analyzing the material on social control I used a modification of the system used by C. S. Ford in his analysis of "rules" presented in an article on "Society, Culture, and the Human Organism."[19] All cases of conflict were recorded in terms of the type of sanction, the customs sanctioned, and the sanctioning agent. This analysis indicated the importance of supernatural sanctions, particularly the strength of the fear of sorcery as an agent of social control. This fear was found to be important in controlling aggression within the family and in supplementing and checking retaliation within the band. 121

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[16] *Outline of Cultural Materials*, Cross-Cultural Survey, New Haven, 1938, categories 423, 426.

[17] See Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120.

[18] E. A. Hoebel and K. N. Llewelyn, *Cheyenne Way* (Norman, 1941), *passim*.

[19] *The Journal of General Psychology*, 20 (1939), p. 151.

In presenting the description and analysis of Paiute social control I have started with a detailed discussion of the religious beliefs and the theories of sickness and therapy because these beliefs and theories are essential to an understanding of the analysis of sorcery as a method of social control. In conclusion I have summarized the types of social control found in Harney Valley and have stated some of the conditions which seems to be correlated with the presence of sorcery as a method of control. Finally, I have attempted to test the validity of these correlations by a study of a sample of other societies. The material to test these correlations was taken from the files of the Cross-Cultural Survey. [125]

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [177] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not
[423 621] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

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[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jack-
rabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

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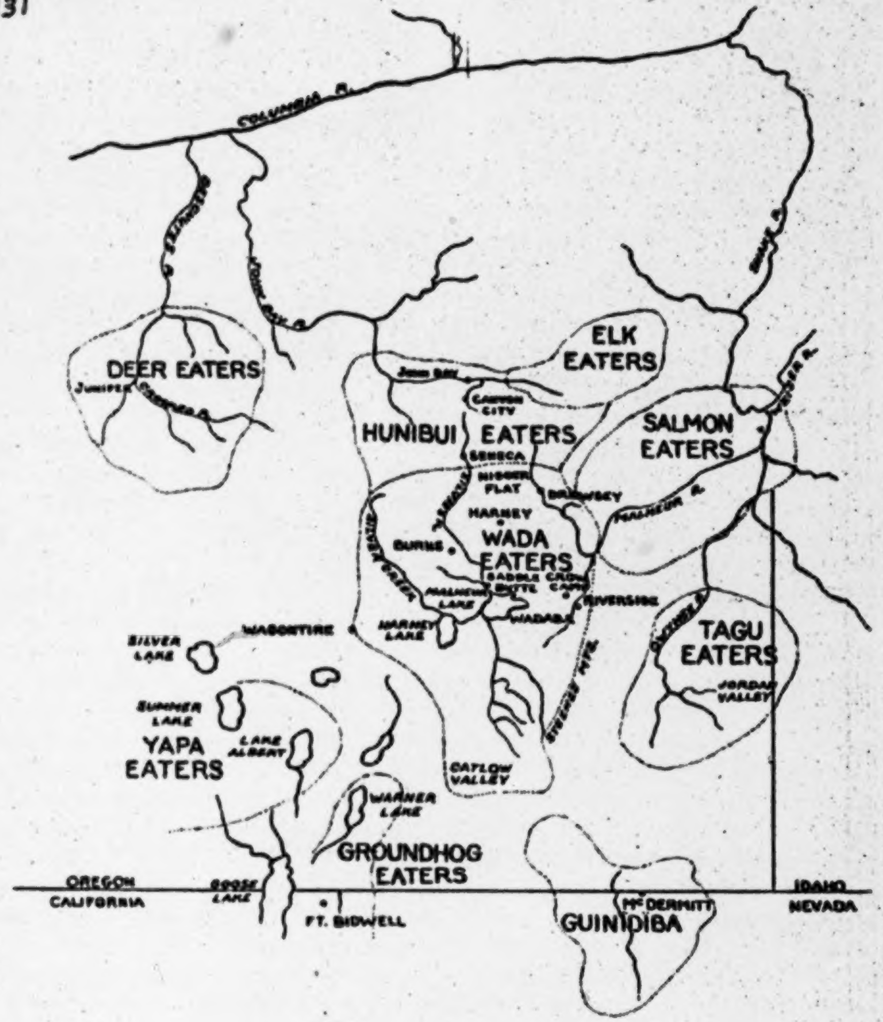
COLUMBIA R.
DESCHUTES R.
JOHN DAY R.
DEER EATERS
Juniper
Crooked R.
John Day
ELK EATERS
CANYON CITY
HUNIBUI EATERS
SENECA
SALMON EATERS
SNAKE R.
WEISER R.
HIGHER FLAT
DREWSEY
MALHEUR R.
HARNEY
BURNS
WADA EATERS
SILVIES R.
SILVER CREEK
SADDLE BUTTE
CROW CAMP
MALHEUR LAKE
RIVERSIDE
WADABA
HARNEY LAKE
WAGONTIRE
SILVER LAKE
OWYHEE R.
TAGU EATERS
JORDAN VALLEY
STEENS MTS.
SUMMER LAKE
YAPA EATERS
LAKE ALBERT
CATLOW VALLEY
WARNER LAKE
GROUNDHOG EATERS
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
GOOSE LAKE
FT. BIDWELL
McDERMITT
GUINIDIBA
IDAHO
NEVADA

THE HARNEY VALLEY REGION

early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 221 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[6]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium),
and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel
of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[6] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at
Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and
his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house
(Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him
(Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man
and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus
it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers
and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes
families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close
by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies
ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved
over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When
there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers
and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in
the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several
men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by
themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence.
This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with
other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and
the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative
enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits,
they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food.
Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals
to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered
at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food
supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if
many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season
at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [648
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles- 574]
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [583]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[7] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[7] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

177 657 648 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan, Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and [756] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8] Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt), and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In 1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants. In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 648 [579] From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas, made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and 648 657 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

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[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648

Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled
and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three
hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south
into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca.
Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721]
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympathizers
when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers
kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Hunibui
Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined
in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reserva- 727
tion in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were trans- 648
ferred to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around
McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reservation
but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group
of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and [425]
bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those
who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

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[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.

[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups."
[186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most
of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They
[464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some
273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing
industry of the town[16] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as
they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying
and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In
1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to
[511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased.
As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up
to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built
and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an
attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white
residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma,
tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest
against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school
was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per
house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct
descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong
[162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters.
Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at
Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm
Springs.

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[16] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons. In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very re- [165]
cently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

177 [648-657] There is still no efficient government, and the conflict between the native methods of social control and the white laws and court system is confusing to the people. The attempt to put Indian policemen in charge of the camp under the agent has not worked efficiently. The local Burns police force attempts to keep order, but in general, through lack of understanding and because of a strong contempt for the Indians, their actions are considered unfair and illogical by the Paiutes.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba*, doctoring power; *malaiya*, [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba*, sorcery power. All of these are thought to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ba*, are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [504
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224]
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411 726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

[161 162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

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[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

the memory of informants, are believed to have bestowed power on people: 776
waterbaby,[4] chicken hawk, robin, eagle, *kadi* (unidentified bird), antelope, otter, 756
weasel, mountain sheep, rain, fire, earth, whirlwind, cloud, lightning, thunder, rock,
ghost, *patibui* (unidentified berry), red beads, and gun.[5]

It is not always possible to deduce the kind of spirit helper a person has from the type of power he possesses. Some types of power, however, seem to come from one kind of spirit only. For example, the men who lead antelope drives always have the antelope as a helper, and people derive snake power from a particular variety of snake. Power to run fast comes from some animal that is swift moving, usually the antelope. In the old days, bullet proof men most frequently had power directly from rain, clouds, rainbow, or wind, or had a spirit helper who gave them control over these phenomena.

Sometimes the same kind of spirit gives different powers to different individuals. Waterbaby, for example, sometimes gives power to cure and sometimes power to ward off bullets; it may tell the person whom it befriends how to use the rain and the clouds to stop bullets or to diagnose disease. One man was both a doctor and bullet proof and had but the one helper. Of the five doctors who had the waterbaby as one of their helpers, several also had eagle and antelope, and there were many other spirits capable of bestowing the same type of power. In the majority of cases, however, only the doctors had more than one spirit helper, and one informant claimed that even they, if really successful, would have but one.

Snakes might give good or bad power. One sorcerer was befriended by a snake, another by a sea gull, and a third by black lizards.

The spirit appears to the individual in recurrent dreams and bestows power upon him. The dreams are thought to come unsolicited. In them the person meets his spirit helper, e.g., a chicken hawk, waterbaby, or gun, and is instructed in the nature of the power he is to have. The spirit usually tells him to carry some object at all times and to bathe on certain occasions. He teaches him a song and, if he is to be a doctor, some dances. The dream recurs until the individual becomes familiar with the instructions. Thereafter unless he carries them out in every detail, he will either lose his power or sicken and perhaps die.

The fact that these dreams are unsolicited is stressed and there are only a few 776
examples of behavior which might be considered comparable to the vision quest of 756
the Plateau. On the northern part of the Malheur Reservation there is a hill 787
known as Castle Rock. It is said that several men became bullet proof as a result
of sleeping there for several nights. At the base of the rock there is a stream in
which the neophyte bathed before ascending. During the night while he slept on

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[4] Waterbabies are mythical dwarfs who dwell in caves near water holes.

[5] This list is similar to that given in W. Z. Park, "Shamanism in Western North America" (*Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences*, II, 1938), p. 18.

776 the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he
756 did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also
787 said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In
general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and
while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to
follow.

756 Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above
787 theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of
power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice
and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and tech-
[869] niques. The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him
that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to
remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger
of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental
pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the
community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or
special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his
power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the
case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting.
[755] Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she
was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was
the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her
sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started
to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services
free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however,
began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise
had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm.
781 She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream
787 and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned
[755] Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill.
From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give
her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

756 A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community
787 is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and
unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant
behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick,
the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the
child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage
the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret
them in terms of power.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot [554]
resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand, get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

869 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although
756 they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disad-
577] vantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[771] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

The Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who [754]
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own [776]
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated
murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's [787]
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. [756]
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish [755]
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake [787]
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagnosis.
[755] Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter
again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on
him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sickness
[776] one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have
seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to
Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she
worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own
power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew
thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an
unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a
result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times
because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were
forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a
result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and
when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of
the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to
Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[1] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It [761]
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally
broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[2] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made
Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by
sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well
which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to
capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the day-
time or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[1] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[2] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

753 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts.
775 In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards
with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became
stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her
breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
[761] was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A
woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse.
While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his
mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts
of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died.
He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had
looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he
was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came
to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
[755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie
Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased
and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt
the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden
bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an
attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will
not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attributed
[761] many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

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[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.

[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 753 775
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood
gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old
blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the
blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but some- 757]
times he calls in a doctor.[8]

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very
ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is
responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the
fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the
family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although
he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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[8] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases.
Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists.
In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient
and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending
[757] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological
treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied
externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may
782 pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he
776 splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the
sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting,
757 paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the
operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if
new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or
protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's
immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and,
if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected
and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after
sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on
which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or
with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The
relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor
756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to
work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of
[753] becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a
755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the
756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a
pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays,
when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

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[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

paid in silver which is placed in a cup of water until the doctoring is completed. 755
If a woman is ill, it is customary for some woman relative to take the money to the 756
doctor; if a man, a male relative. Occasionally when a doctor is on some case, he will treat the minor or chronic ills of other persons for a reduced rate, charging only one dollar for such service.

The choice of doctors is limited. In the old days, when the camp groups were scattered, it was usually necessary to send someone in search of a doctor and there was little opportunity for choice if the matter was pressing. Today, when the community is localized and there are two doctors, the family will choose the one they trust most—the one who has been most successful in treating the family. If the disease is unusual, however, and one in which the other doctor is reputed to be particularly versed, they may summon him instead of the family doctor. For example, some doctors have a reputation for being particularly adept at working on unconscious people. If the symptoms have lingered for a long time and doctorings have not been successful, the family may postpone further treatment until they can get some visiting doctor from another locality or band.

The doctor, after he has been summoned and paid according to his specifications, sets a time and a place for the doctoring. In the old days, it seems to have been customary to construct a special house for the ceremony. If the weather was clement, a sagebrush enclosure sufficed; when this was impractical, a thule or cloth house was set up. Nowadays, the doctorings are held in the ordinary wooden dwellings, usually the home of the patient. A stove replaces the old fireplace which was located in the center of the dwelling. Formerly, the patient was placed on one side of the door and the spectators sat in a circle inside and close to the walls of the house, leaving the central space around the fireplace clear. In so far as it is possible, the same arrangement is attempted in the frame house, although the position of the stove usually necessitates a slightly different organization.

Doctorings usually take place soon after sundown and last late into the night, sometimes until dawn. There were a few exceptions to this recorded. In one instance the doctoring took place in the day time because the patients were drunk in the evening when the doctor had said he would work, and, since he was leaving Burns the following evening, he agreed to work in the morning.

It is considered important to have a large company present for each doctoring. [841
All adults, except pregnant or menstruating women, are permitted to attend. It is 843]
claimed that such women cause the patient to sweat, and, when they attend the meetings despite the taboo, they are thought to cause some doctors to become hoarse and have difficulty in speaking. Children are not allowed. In the old days when the camp groups were small, every one in the community who was able usually attended; but now, when the community is much larger, the people who participate seem to be limited to the members of the patient's family and clique.

In the old days, the doctor had no distinctive costume. He wore a breechclout [292]

755 and moccasins and occasionally a skin shirt. Nowadays the doctors wear American
756 clothes. For some reason, however, American shoes are not allowed, and further-
[292] more, doctors do not permit anyone to enter a house where a curing is in progress
unless he wears moccasins.

The doctor usually carries a pipe with special tobacco and a feather from the
[293] tail of an eagle or sagehen. Individual doctors may have other types of parapher-
nalia but the majority have only these items.

755 The procedure differs somewhat from doctor to doctor but the underlying
782 pattern is always the same. The doctor appeals to his spirit helpers by singing and
praying and asks them to aid him in diagnosing and curing the disease. The men
and women of the audience join in the songs after they become familiar with
them. It is thought that they help influence the doctor's powers. A man, who is
[533] known as the repeater, leads the spectators in the singing and interprets the doctor's
orders concerning procedure.

Sometimes the doctor asks his power to show itself in some way, so that he and the spectators may know of its presence. For example, a doctor with power in clouds might ask them to make known their presence by sending rain, or another might ask the lightning and thunder to come. Some doctors perform tricks to demonstrate the presence of their power. One doctor walked on live coals. Another was reported to have cooled a red hot stove with his body. As he danced around the stove, occasionally leaning his body against it, he told the people that if the stove cooled it was a sign that his power would cure the sick man.

The appeal to the power is always accompanied by vigorous dancing. While singing and between songs the doctor dances around the fire, pausing now and then to rest and smoke his pipe, which is passed among the spectators at other times. A few doctors have assistants who dance with them.

755 Water is often sprinkled around the room at some time during the ceremony. I do not know the explanation for this except that water is recognized as a purifying agent and is spoken of as being like the human breath.

Sucking is part of nearly every ceremony. The doctor often sucks out some foreign object and thus effects a cure. He spits the object out of his mouth and shows it to the people. He then mixes it with dirt in his hands, rubs his hands together, and the object disappears. Sometimes he vomits the object into a pan of earth to make it disappear. In the case of the bullfrogs, the doctor sucks them from the patient's body and then drives them out of the house.

This is the basic pattern which varies according to the special rituals of the doctor and the nature of the disease which is being treated. It is difficult to say just which part of the ceremony is for the purpose of diagnosis and which for curing. As in other aspects of the culture, the Paiutes did not make general statements and I was forced to deduce the theories from an analysis of the reports of the treatment of concrete cases. For example, sucking is sometimes for the purpose

of diagnosis, sometimes part of the cure, and sometimes for both. In one instance, 755
Dr. Damin sucked at the top of Dick Jonas' head when he sought to discover his
ailment. Dick was unconscious at the time and Dr. Damin diagnosed the case as
"loss of breath." In another case, Dr. Thomas sucked a snake out of Ellen and
stated that a ghost was responsible for the illness. On the other hand, in several
cases when the patient had a localized pain, the doctor cured the illness by sucking
out some foreign object.

Sometimes the "laying on of hands" or the touching of the patient's body with a feather seems to be directly related to diagnosis, at other times to curing. Although the singing and appeal to the power seem to be most often solely for diagnosis, in one case it was stated that the doctor's songs drew the bad power from the patient's body.

It is possible to deduce several generalizations concerning the method of
curing certain diseases. When the doctor decides that an illness is caused by sorcery, [754]
he does one of three things. He may discover the identity of the sorcerer, and
persuade him to repent and to call off his power by bathing and praying to the
sun; or he may suck the diseased object sent by the sorcerer out of the patient's
body and cure him without the aid of the sorcerer; or he may exorcise the bad
power by song alone without sucking, or by both singing and sucking.

When the disease is found to be caused by the patient's own power several [753]
things may be done. The doctor may take the power away from the patient either
by sucking it out or in some other way, thus permanently removing the power; or
he may take the power out, "fix it up" and restore it to the patient. If the doctor
finds that the patient has failed to obey the power, he determines the unheeded
orders and instructs the patient to carry them out in the future. If it is found that
the patient is suffering because of the loss of his power through theft, the doctor
can discover the thief and see that the power is returned. Lastly, if the patient is
suffering because he has lost part of his paraphernalia, the doctor can, with the
aid of his own power, find the lost object, or he can make a copy of it for the
patient.

When the diagnosis is ghost sickness, as a general rule the doctor does not [775
suck. He identifies the ghost who is trying to steal the patient's breath and attempts 753]
to drive it away with his power songs, or he prescribes rituals, such as sprinkling
ashes around the house or putting bunches of wild rose by the door, to keep the
ghost away in the future. If the ghost has already made off with the patient's
breath, the doctor can cure him only by pursuing the breath. A doctor who special- [774]
izes in breath-catching has a formalized procedure. He dances until his breath
begins to leave him, then he either falls or lies down beside the patient. Often
he has his assistants cover both him and the patient with the same blanket. Accord-
ing to native theory, the doctor is like a dead man when his breath goes up the
Milky Way after the patient's breath. His voice travels with his breath and reports

755 his experiences as he wanders around searching, and the audience can hear him talking to the patient's breath when he finally finds it. Then the two breaths return [774] to earth and to the bodies which have been lying rigid. Often the assistants have to lift the bodies to aid them back to life.

When the ghost sickness is caused by bad dreams, cures are sometimes effected by finding out the content of the patient's dream. In some cases when the patient has fainted or is "out of his mind," the doctor sprinkles water on him. One informant explained that a doctor did this only when he caught the ghost sickness before it was "in the blood."

The procedure described above is the Paiute theory and ritual of diagnosis and cure. To understand how the doctor actually decides which type of disease is causing the sickness it is necessary to probe deeper. Such an analysis will reveal the significance of the concepts of power and the theories of disease in the social life of the Paiutes.

THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS

AS has been shown, there are four major causes of illness recognized by the 755
Paiutes and diagnosed by the doctors. It is formally stated that the doctor [753]
decides with the help of his power which type of disease is responsible for
the condition of a patient. When asked, informants said that there was no way of
diagnosing from symptoms and that no layman could predict what a doctor's power
would tell him. They refused to recognize the fact that often the relatives and the
community as a whole have definite ideas as to the nature of the disease before
they ever summon a doctor. They refused to recognize that doctors do not choose
at random from the possible explanations, and that their choice is usually in accord
with, and influenced by, public opinion.

I have attempted to discover the unformalized criteria which both the laymen [121]
and doctors use in diagnosing disease. Cases which were complete enough to give
an analyzable segment of the social events preceding the sickness were selected for
study and it was found that there were similarities in the life events, in the ages,
and in the circumstances surrounding the onset of sickness of people who were said
to suffer from the same diseases.

A study of the cases where the patient's own power was given as the cause of 753
illness suggests that this diagnosis is given when some of the following conditions [755]
are present: when the patient is young; when one of the patient's parents or close
relatives has power; when the patient is known or rumored to have power or when
he can remember recurrent dreams; when the patient has special talents which he
does or does not use; or when some major affliction, such as blindness, occurs when
the patient is still young.

Helen's illness at the time of the birth of her only son, Bill, is an example of a
case of sickness caused by one's own power. Helen's father died when she was
a year and a half old, and her mother was held responsible for his death by her in-
laws. According to Helen he fell from a wild horse which he attempted to ride [752]
when drunk. In any case, his family made it so unpleasant for Helen's mother that
she set out all alone on one of her husband's horses for Fort Bidwell. There she
married J. Smith, a cousin of her deceased husband. The children were brought
up by their grandparents and Helen did not see her mother until six years later
when she and her two youngest brothers were sent to the Indian boarding school
at Fort Bidwell.

Helen was the youngest child in school and does not seem to have been very happy except during vacations when she stayed with her mother. She was fond

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her
mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she
[584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood
playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on
[578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and
Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant
again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have
[754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many
enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's
mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly
torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the
birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa
755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had
[753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she
had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her. Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she
had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even
hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor
578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself.
Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that
he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [754]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however,
that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day,
two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation,
Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out
with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began
to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream
which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream
only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When
an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

755
753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his
[787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.
781] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that
probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his
devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild
[164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his
blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind
and his daughter is blind.

753 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience
755 with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power
at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on
top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According
to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and
gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick
could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the
accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I
met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry
worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred
[756] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by
having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he
was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry
[777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he
went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south
of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some
sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have
been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experience [754]
which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been
mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated
that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had
treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she
sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long
illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own
power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness.
Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests
itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is unconscious 753
or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath.
This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged
patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their
company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think
of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the
doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly
if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my
stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her
daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273]
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity,
which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and
particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the
most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who
seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired
by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased
husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

[55 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a
scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States
Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not
become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry
[622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor
of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by
the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

[787] Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her
former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed
755 her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she
753 diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the
ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person
578 who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one
of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone
or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly
indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved,
is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is
accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A
further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden
death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to
[753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger
on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in
old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was
diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, 754
in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his 578
arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet
seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would
have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a
relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when
he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As [657
the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. 177]
Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He
warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be
blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving
him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral 754
of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the
Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier
by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had [657
felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in 693]
the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were
satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This
latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more
conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

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[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

754 the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp, [755] worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery. He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T. Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery. Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis. She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr. M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly, although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances. [155] He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived in Burns.

[578] The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly. On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning. Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs. M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them, but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling [787] he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This
time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not
name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was
obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter
family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the
sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the
family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to
get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They
said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to
each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and
Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [753]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her
by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according
to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated
by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters
felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better
educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men.
Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter
because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was
probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey.
Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed
her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused
of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the
family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M.
girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public
opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [572]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and
no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had
relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of
the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has
had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

578 758 157 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated [684] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

[554] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[3]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie 758 157 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and was seldom seen about the camp.

[754] During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen, Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

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[3] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing
her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that
she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal
motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power
which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling,
but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally
known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments,
and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was
feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to
have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power,
some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have
some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established
fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease
which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized
irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would
have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want
her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the
living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence
would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her
breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that
it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [684]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to
her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that
by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried
to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being
punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding
his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass
a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members
of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

755 power, the censure is on the patient's own action; in ghost sickness, the blame may
681 be laid on the deceased's relatives or on the patient for thinking of them. In the case of sorcery, the blame is placed on someone else. These facts begin to shed light on the importance of the concept of power and the theory of disease and therapy and suggest how these beliefs function in social control.

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood,
is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its possessor 756
employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punishment. 578
For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having
made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

754 [578] him, the safest thing to do may be to admit guilt, repent, and bathe so that the victim will recover. If a person is so terrified by the accusation that he flees from the band or stays away from all the relatives of the sick person, his action is taken as proof of his guilt.

It will be remembered that a person who has bad power is believed to be able to make others sick by thinking evil thoughts about them. He may use his power intentionally or unintentionally. If he uses it intentionally he may do it in one of the following ways: he may think aggressive thoughts about the victim; he may tell his victim to expect sickness and death; he may throw his power into his victim by hitting him with a stick or stone; or he may put his power in his victim's food, either directly or by biting something which the victim is going to eat. Any one of these things may be done to one of the victim's relatives, rather than to the victim himself. It is believed that the latter procedure will hurt the intended victim even more than injuring him directly.

When a sorcerer is angry, he may unintentionally kill someone in one of the following ways: he may think bad thoughts about the individual without being aware of his thoughts; in a fit of temper, he may express aggressive wishes about an individual without the intention of injuring him; or he may dream bad dreams about an individual. In the latter case, the victim may have dreams in which the sorcerer's power appears.

[114] It is very hard for an ethnographer to get a list of the sorcerers in a community. It was seen in an earlier chapter that as many as seven per cent of the community were accused of sorcery at one time or another. An even larger percentage were rumored to be "mean thinkers." It is also hard to determine the attributes of such persons, but an analysis of actual cases will give a better understanding of these attributes.

Of the eight people accused of sorcery on whom I have adequate material, three were recognized by all informants as being sorcerers. There was no unanimity of opinion on the other five.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter have already been mentioned; the former in connection with the accidental death of his young son, and the death of Polly, the latter in connection with the death of Mr. M.

Mrs. Porter's mother, father, sister, and brother were all said to have been mean, bad people who had power. Her father had beaver power. He wore beaver [301] claws in his ears and it was said that when his power was working on someone, the victim could feel the claws around his neck. I have no specific evidence as to what kind of power Mrs. Porter's mother had or how she used it, but she was evidently domineering and selfish as she prevented one of her daughters from marrying. Mrs. Porter's sister had power, and her brother had power in snakes and was blamed for several deaths. In short, all of Mrs. Porter's family were said to be bad and her husband had also come to be known as a sorcerer. There is no evidence that

such power ran in his family, and it seems as if he shared the reputation because 754 he was married to Mrs. Porter. He was said to have power in sea gulls. In the account of the death of Polly, reported in the previous chapter, it is interesting that some accused him of the act, and some accused his wife, but everyone agreed that one or the other was guilty. Mrs. Porter's power was in snakes and it was said that all the victims of her power saw snakes or felt them on their bodies. It was also stated by the community that all the Porter children would probably be just like their parents, mean, bad, and dangerous.

In determining how Mrs. Porter got the reputation for sorcery, the first fact which seems important is that her family were already marked as mean people. [157] Although none of them seem to have been in such an uncomfortable position as Mrs. Porter, they certainly were not popular. The two types of behavior attributed to her father and remembered with disapproval were winning at games too frequently, which was attributed to using his power to cheat, and spitting in other people's food. This latter behavior was attributed to jealousy and the wish to have the food for himself.

Seven different people were said to have been killed by Mrs. Porter. I have 754 reconstructed the chronological order of these cases as accurately as possible as it 761 seems important in determining how a reputation is built up. One of the first sicknesses blamed on her was that of a young child. It is stated that during the doctoring of this child, which Mrs. Porter attended, she could not sit still and the doctor stated that her power was responsible for the child's condition. Evidently Mrs. Porter was very nervous and did not challenge the accusation as the doctor is said to have worked on her and with her consent taken away her power. One would surmise that she was in a bad position or she would not have accepted the blame. It may also be that she was young at the time and more sensitive to criticism than she became in later life.

Three other accusations were leveled against her which date from about this period. She is said to have killed her own uncle, a man who specialized in helping women who had trouble in childbirth; and she is also reputed to have killed her own niece. The evidence against her in this latter case was quite damaging as several people are said to have seen a snake crawling around the young girl's neck; one man tried to pull it off but did not succeed until the girl was already dead. The third offense was explained as revenge for theft. Sophie is said to have stolen Mrs. Porter's' beads. Sophie's mother died soon after this episode and Mrs. Porter was held responsible for her death.

About 1930, when the Porters were living in Fort Bidwell, the accidental death [626] of their son precipitated the accusation of sorcery already discussed in the previous chapter. This accusation was backed by the entire community. The circumstantial evidence was damning. The Porter's had publicly blamed the Simms for the death of the Porter boy and in their uncontrolled anger had theatened the family. Soon

754 761 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen [753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 684 761 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 761 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 208] In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion. It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his person- [754]
ality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, [762]
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-
five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation center- [657]
ing around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

155 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives.
157 According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of
578 James Howard's young son, Gale.[a] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive
when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which
[574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace
White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite sud-
[753 denly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent
761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group
who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his
death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case
[755] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom,
and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him.
It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[a] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754
in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578
It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689]
around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828]
the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579]
drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684
population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276]
was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[584] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself,
828] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
754 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
[832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
837] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

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band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonor- 164]
rhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [756]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[579] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on 754 155 family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying 828 degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more [578] remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost [674] all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has [756 been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person 681] by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts 754 the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and 681 either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community, he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover. The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays, when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

754 would appear that in the old days in many cases the accused was killed by the com-
681 munity before he could flee.

Lastly, once a person has a reputation for sorcery he becomes a scapegoat and
626 is likely to be blamed for offenses when no one knows who committed them.

681 In broad outline, then, we can see how the concept of sorcery works in social
578 control. The important threat is that of ostracism or mob action. This punishment comes when the majority of the community and a doctor agree that a person is guilty of sorcery. The majority of the community will only agree to this if the individual has frequently behaved in such a way as to antagonize them. The behavior which annoys them may range from minor aggressive acts, such as speaking impolitely, to more serious offenses such as threatening others, adultery, destroying property, etc. Thus the fear of being accused of sorcery acts as a check on a great variety of anti-social behavior.

THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the 626
manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within
the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon
authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion.

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it 592
is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social
organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy
and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and
size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren.
There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young [591]
couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first
few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with
them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near
either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The
only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses
to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister
and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law
is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close
by the parental household.

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many [595]
households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the
same man.

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and
daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, [586]
he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or
one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children
with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband
she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him.

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered
together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The
women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. [462]
The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men
pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer
months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut

592 [462] and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 [462] Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they collected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 562 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days, except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 593 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for economic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 861 867 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for being aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865
when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should 861
love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867
with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any
bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867
which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery
and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children
and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754]
and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents
reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152]
afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are
admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They
are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They
hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756
people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 758]
The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with
reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having
bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of
course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power,
but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more
specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive
thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty.
Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual
which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence
of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783
rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and
prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back."
Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the
water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152
him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and
dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead. [751]

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses. As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
595 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately, thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

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three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every in- 152
stance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Con- 762
cerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remem-
bered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

762 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive
154 act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been
578 caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not
[784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their
[681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women.
578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

573 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest
[867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her
[584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[8] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that
the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with
good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns
to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586]
his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters.
Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their
aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to
their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602]
his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never
heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes
to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let
her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s
son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This
relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his
mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835]
fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten
years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the
strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem
on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing
to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the
young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by
sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this
may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law
and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent
sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[8] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607]
under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

762 154 578 155 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 867] In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 593
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to
what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within
the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476]
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It
was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by
themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggregations [221]
of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall
when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July
when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another.
Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of
families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and
water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope
and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food
would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so
great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders 657]
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for
their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692]
681]

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 578 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in interfamily relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] [754] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 837] Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels [157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception [423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. [422] They also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief [579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. [525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626
to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
crimes.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. [681
Any offense against a member of a family by a nonrelative is liable to be revenged 627]
by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye.
If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's [682]
brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family.
Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead, the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of
retaliation. In one case a man left the community to avoid revenge. He had paid for [686]
a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

Murder by sorcery is also punished by retaliation but differs in that there is 754
no possibility of financial settlement.[2] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not 627
only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim, especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

Adultery and theft are also liable to kin retaliation. A man is liable to be 684
physically attacked and even killed by the husband of the woman with whom he 627
philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and [685]
their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

To kill a rival for adultery, however, is considered too severe, and when this

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[2] The murder of a sorcerer is now prohibited by the government. Ostracism has replaced it as a method of retaliation.

684 occurs blood money is paid to the family of the murdered man. One woman shot
627 her rival with her father's gun, and the girl's father paid two horses to the parents of the murdered girl.

627 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another
685 person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked. A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions. Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical
[858] violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said that a child does not lie about such things.

686 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation.
627 It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses. Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and
627 kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [754]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this
report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act [182]
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 593 627 681 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the bystanders witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive violence. 208

121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

754 The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

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[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

person's group; hence, by the principle of anticipation,[2] a person learns to expect punishment as soon as he has wronged another, and, by the same principle, he also fears punishment as soon as he wishes to wrong another. Now since, because of the conflict of interests between the members of a society, any person at times will wish to wrong others, it follows that he will at these times fear retaliation.[3] Most primitive societies have no adequate realistic theories of disease. Sickness and punishment both cause the individual pain, and, by the principle of generalization,[4] sickness is viewed as similar to punishment. Hence, if a person is sick and at the same time fears retaliation, he will assume that the sickness is caused by an enemy. It should follow, therefore, that in societies where the fear of retaliation is great, the fear of sorcery should also be great.

In attempting to test this hypothesis, the author first went through the Cross-Cultural Survey files, recording the presence or absence of sorcery and of coordinate control. This proved unsuccessful because, of the fifty tribes sampled, only two completely lacked the concept of sorcery. Since it was obvious, however, that sorcery is far more important in some societies than in others, the files were rechecked in order to determine its importance in each society. The following criteria were used and the data entered:

SORCERY

A. As an explanation of sickness:
   1. Only
   2. Important
   3. Unimportant
   4. Absent

B. Personnel
   1. Anyone
   2. Specialists—hiring
   3. Specialists—no hiring
   4. None

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[2] According to the principle of anticipation, responses near the end of a series which terminates in a reward tend to occur earlier in the series. Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 49-53, and C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena" (*Psychological Review*, 38, 1931), pp. 487-506.

[3] These basic assumptions are all embodied in Freud's theory of projection. For a discussion of the role of projection in sorcery see Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), pp. 303-309. Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, "Fear and Anxiety as Cultural and Individual Variables in a Primitive Society" (*Journal of Social Psychology*, 9, no. 1, 1938), pp. 25-47.

[4] According to the principle of generalization, similar situations tend to evoke the same response in individuals. Cf. C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory" (*Psychological Review*, 46, 1939), pp. 19-30, and N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 44-45.

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C. Punishment of sorcery
1. Killing or ostracism
2. Fining and other minor punishments
3. Neither

Most societies have more than one explanation for disease, many having as many as four or five. The most common causes are: natural causes, ghosts, gods, spirits, sorcerers, and the infringement of taboos. Most ethnographers give some indication of the relative importance of these explanations and, if sorcery is one of them, often comment on the extent of the fear of sorcerers. If the ethnographer did not make such a statement, information as to the number and severity of cases attributed to sorcery as compared to other explanations was used as a criterion of its relative importance as an explanation for sickness.

The personnel of sorcery was recorded on the assumption that sorcery is more important in societies where anyone is a potential sorcerer or where anyone can hire a sorcerer to kill an enemy, the assumption being that there should be less fear of sorcery if only a few individuals are dangerous.

The information as to the punishment of sorcery was gathered on the assumption that an individual fears accusations of sorcery more if the punishment is death or ostracism, than if the punishment is a fine or some other minor penalty.

When it came to making the analysis, it was found that only criterion A could be used. In many societies where anyone could be a sorcerer and the punishment was death or ostracism, the author specifically stated that there were very few sorcerers. For example, in Lepcha society, specialists could be hired, yet Mr. Gorer found that only two cases of sorcery were remembered by living informants. Similarly, in several of the Polynesian societies, anyone could be a sorcerer but few cases of sorcery were reported. In some societies, on the other hand, the author stated that sorcery was important but could be practiced only by specialists who could not be hired. This seems to be particularly true of South American tribes, for example the Tupinamba. Therefore, sorcery was listed as important if it was an important explanation for sickness.

The type of social control in the various societies was determined by analyzing the treatment of serious offenses. The seriousness of an offense was judged wherever possible by the reaction of the members of the society as reported by the ethnographer. In general, murder, sorcery, theft, and adultery belonged in this category, and were used in determining the type of control if the ethnographer did not make a statement as to the relative seriousness of offenses. The treatment of murder proved the best criterion. It was found that in societies where murder cases are settled by a delegated authority, cases of adultery are often left to individual retaliation, and cases of theft are often settled out of court. Sorcery is considered a religious offense in some societies and is treated differently from other crimes. Hence, societies in which murder was settled by retaliation were classified as coordinate, and those in which murder cases were referred to a delegated authority as superordinate.

Using the above criteria the author made a tetrachoric correlation between the importance or unimportance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness and the presence or absence of coordinate control. The correlation between the importance of sorcery and coordinate control was significant (see Table I), but it was obvious that Africa was strikingly aberrant, all but three of the nine tribes sampled having sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and not coordinate but superordinate control.

TABLE I

24 (48%)	11 (22%)
1 (2%)	14 (28%)

R = .85 (reliable at .60)

	No superordinate justice (coordinate control)			Superordinate justice	
Sorcery important	Arunta Buka Dieri Dobu Kiwai Kwoma Lesu Murngin Orokaiva Trobriands	Apache Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Ifugao Kutchin Mala Maori Paiute Yurok Zuni	Barama Caribs Delaware Jivaro Witoto	Ashanti Azande Chagga Fiji Kamilaroi Tiv Venda	Hill Maria Gonds Kwakiutl Lamba Sanpoil
Sorcery unimportant	Lango			Bali Japan Kazak Lepcha Masai Ontong Java Riff Tanala	Cayapa Cheyenne Crow Samoa Tikopia Tonga

The material on Africa was then analyzed in more detail to see if some other variables could be discovered. The author concentrated on Evans-Prichard's account of the Azande,[8] which had the best material on both sorcery and social control.

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[8] *Cf.* E. E. Evans-Prichard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (London, 1937), for most complete account of sorcery.

When a major offense, for example injury by sorcery, is committed, the relatives of the injured person consult an oracle and if the oracle confirms their suspicion that sorcery has been practiced by a certain individual, they send a message to the chief's court and ask for a hearing. The case is presented before the chief's oracle, which acts as the judge in the case. If the oracle confirms the accusation, the chief gives the relatives permission to retaliate. The actual retaliation, however, is executed by the relatives and not by the chief or the members of his court. Adultery is treated in a similar way, and these are the two most common and serious offenses. In other words, there is an authority delegated to decide cases but there is no group with power to execute punishments. This was also found to be the case among the Tiv and Chagga.

The author decided to reclassify all the tribes, distinguishing between superordinate justice and superordinate punishment. If the members of a group avenged the murder of one of its members without securing permission from an individual or group of individuals, the society was listed as having coordinate control; if the group secured permission before it took action, the society was listed as having superordinate justice but no superordinate punishment; if the group presented its case to a chief or court and depended on them to punish the murderer, the society was listed as having both superordinate justice and punishment. In some societies there was an individual or group of individuals who settled cases, but it was stated that the complainants did not always abide by the decision. In cases of this kind the author attempted to evaluate the number of cases which were settled by the delegated authority, and, if they seemed to be in the majority, the society was listed as having superordinate justice. It was found that there were no societies which had superordinate punishment that did not also have superordinate justice. On the other hand, only seventeen of the twenty-five tribes which had superordinate justice had superordinate punishment as well.

Two tetrachoric correlations were then made, the first between the presence or absence of sorcery as an explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice (see Table I), and the second between the presence or absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment (see Table II). The tetrachoric correlation was used on the advice of Professor Carl Hovland, who recommended it for similar cross-cultural correlations made by Ford and Whiting.[6] The table of reliability computed by Hovland was also used.[7] Both correlations were found to be significant; r equals .85 in the first case (reliable for fifty tribes at .60); r equals .85+ in the second case (reliable for fifty tribes at .57). These correlations indicate that in the selected sample there is less than one chance in a hundred that the correlation between sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and coordinate control is due to chance.

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[6] C. S. Ford and J. W. M. Whiting used this correlation in their cross-cultural analysis of identification. Cf. ms. of paper presented at the Monday Night Group, Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, 1942.

[7] The computing diagrams drawn up by L. Chesire, M. Saffir and L. L. Thurstone were used. Cf. *Computing Diagrams for Tetrachoric Correlation Coefficient* (Chicago, 1933).

Several criticisms of the above correlations can be made. There is the problem of the reliability of the judgment of the author as to the importance of sorcery in each society and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment. Ideally several people should make independent judgements and a test of the reliability should be made. This was not feasible at the time the study was made. It was possible, however, to test the reliability of the author's judgements of the importance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness with the ratings made by the two judges for Whiting and Child in their cross-cultural study of the relation of theories of disease to child training practices.[8] The percent of agreement between the two sets of judgments in the thirty-three overlapping cases was eighty-one which is generally accepted as reliable.

TABLE II

30 (60%)   5 (10%)
3 (6%)   12 (24%)
R = .85 (reliable at .57)

	No superordinate punishment			Superordinate punishment	
Sorcery important	Arunta Buka Dieri Dobu Kamilaroi Kiwai Kwoma Lesu Mala Maori Murngin Orokaiva	Apache Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Delaware Ifugao Kutchin Kwakiutl Paiute Trobriands Yurok Zuni	Azande Barama Caribs Chagga Hill Maria Gonds Jivaro Tiv Witoto	Ashanti Fiji Lamba Sanpoil Venda	
Sorcery unimportant	Kazak Lango Masai			Bali Japan Lepcha Ontong Java Riff Samoa Tanala	Cayapa Cheyenne Crow Tikopia Tonga

A second major criticism of the above correlations can be made on the grounds that in selecting the tribes used in the correlation no allowance has been made for historical connections and diffusion. The question might be raised as to whether the connections between sorcery and coordinate control are not in many cases historical rather than functional.[9] From this point of view, including the Dieri, Arunta, Murngin, and Kamilaroi in the sample might be said to be counting as four cases what is really just one case. These tribes are all Australian and belong in an area that shares many cultural traits because of common origin and diffusion. Perhaps all these groups were originally members of the same tribe which had both sorcery and coordinate control or perhaps either, or both of these traits originated in one tribe and spread by diffusion to the others.[10] Similarly it could be argued that the New Guinea tribes—the Kwoma, Orokaiva, and Kiwai—or the Polynesian Tongans and Samoans should have been counted as one case.

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[8] See John Whiting and Irvin Child—unpublished manuscript.

The problem of factoring out historical connections is a difficult one. Unfortunately world ethnology has not reached the point where one can be sure of historical connections. Furthermore, with the exception of North America, the mapping of culture areas is only in its early stages. It would seem that the best possible precaution is to avoid counting two tribes from an area which is generally recognized as having cultural unity.

A selection of tribes was made on the basis of the above criteria and it was found that, of the fifty tribes, twenty-six could be said to belong to distinct culture areas. Although this is a very small sample, correlations were made and were also found to be significant (see Tables III and IV).

A study of the contrast between cultural areas within larger geographic areas gives additional evidence of the presence of a functional relation between sorcery and coordinate control. The general picture in Oceania is that of increasing superordinate control as one progresses from Australia into Polynesia. In Australia and New Guinea sorcery is the only, or an important, explanation for sickness and, with the exception of the Kamilaroi, who have a council of head men who sometimes decide cases, there is no superordinate justice. In Polynesia, on the other hand, the majority of the societies have superordinate justice and punishment, and sickness is usually attributed to punishment by the gods or the breaking of taboos rather than to sorcery. Melanesia and the islands on the western and southwestern fringes of Polynesia are transitional. In general, sorcery is important. Unlike Australia and New Guinea, however, there are chiefs. These chiefs, however, do not have the same type of power as the Polynesian chiefs. Their duties are primarily ceremonial and do not concern social control except when the offense is ceremonial or concerns them directly. Fiji is peculiar in that sorcery is important and the social control system is similar to Tonga and Samoa.

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[9] For a discussion of historical and functional factors in cultural correlations see Clyde Kluckhohn, "On Certain Recent Applications of Association Coefficients to Ethnographic Data" (*American Anthropologist*, 41, no. 3), pp. 359-366. See also G. P. Murdock, "Correlations of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Institutions" (*Studies in the Science of Society*, New Haven, 1937), pp. 450-453.

[10] Even if one accepts the hypothesis of diffusion, however, the question can be raised as to whether sorcery would diffuse to a society that has superordinate control or conversely whether a superordinate type of social control would diffuse to a society with a strong sorcery complex. Furthermore, if one of these traits did diffuse, one might assume that if the connection is a functional one a readjustment would take place in the culture. For example, if superordinate control was introduced, sorcery should eventually become unimportant.

TABLE III

12 (46%)	4 (15%)
0 (0%)	10 (39%)

R = .95 (reliable at .82)

	No superordinate justice		Superordinate justice	
Sorcery important	Arunta Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Delaware Ifugao Paiute Zuni	Barama Caribs Kwoma Trobriands Tupinamba* Witoto	Ashanti Azandi Hill Maria Gonds Kwakiutl	
Sorcery unimportant			Cheyenne Japan Lepcha Masai Riff Tanala	Bali Cayapa Kazak Samoa

* The information on the Tupinamba is scanty and for this reason the tribe was not used in the first sample.

Similar contrasts can be made between culture areas in North America. The Eskimo, Mackenzie-Yukon, Great Basin, and northern Californian tribes, and probably most of the northeastern tribes, have coordinate control and sorcery. In the southwestern pueblos and probably in some of the tribes of the southeast the sorcery complex is similar and, although the chiefs are more important, their duties are ceremonial and not directly concerned with social control.[11] In the Plains, on the other hand, there is superordinate control at least during part of the year—the season for hunting buffalo—and sorcery is unimportant. During the hunting season the warriors and chiefs have the authority to decide cases and to punish crime; during the other seasons of the year the control may be coordinate, although in

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[11] The Natchez were an exception. They had rulers with superordinate judiciary and executive powers. Cf. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), p. 383.

121 some tribes groups who have authority during the buffalo drives tend to keep their authority in the other season. The Northwest Coast and parts of the Plateau have both sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and superordinate justice and sometimes punishment. It has been suggested, however, that the importance of the chiefs is of relatively recent origin.

TABLE IV

15 (57%) 1 (4%)
2 (8%) 8 (31%)
R = .92 (reliable at .87)

	No superordinate punishment		Superordinate punishment	
Sorcery important	Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Delaware Hill Maria Gonds Kwakiutl Paiute Zuni	Arunta Azande Barama Carib Ifugao Kwoma Trobrianda Tupinamba Witoto	Ashanti	
Sorcery unimportant	Masai Kazak		Cheyenne Japan Lepcha Riff Tanala	Bali Cayapa Samoa

At the time this study was made, there was not enough material on South America to give a clear impression of the distribution of either sorcery or types of social control.

The analysis of the culture areas of Africa[17] does not reveal any striking differences between areas. Of the two tribes in which sorcery is not important, the Riff are in the northern coastal area and the Lango in the transitional area between the semi-desert and the forest country.[18] However, since I have no other tribes in either of these areas, I cannot say whether or not this is typical. In the other areas included in the sample, sorcery is important and there is some type of superordinate control. There is some indication, however, that superordinate control was introduced at the time of the development of the large kingdoms and that many types of offenses are still left to the small community groups to control in a coordinate manner. Neither Hambly's culture area mapping for Africa nor the sample of tribes used in the study is sufficiently adequate to make any further statement.

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[17] Culture areas used are those mapped by W. D. Hambly, "Source Book for Anthropology" (*Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, 26, Part 1), pp. 135-136.

[18] The author's rating of the importance of sorcery among the Riff was not in accord with the ratings made by the judges in the Whiting-Child study.

The sample of tribes in Asia is too small to make any general statements.

The above survey of societies suggests several other hypotheses which should be tested cross-culturally; one is that the belief that sickness is caused by the gods is correlated with superordinate control, as is seen to be the case in Polynesia. Whiting and Child, in their cross-cultural study of the relation of childhood training practices to theories of disease, made ratings of the importance of various explanations of sickness in eighty-five societies. Of the eighty-five tribes only thirty-three overlapped with the author's sample. Taking the judges' ratings on the importance of spirits in human forms or ancestors as an explanation of sickness and correlating it with the presence or absence of superordinate justice, it was found that the correlation, though not significant, was in the opposite direction from the prediction, more tribes having both the absence of superordinate justice and the presence of spirits in human forms and ancestors as an explanation for sickness. In as much as Whiting and Child in their ratings distinguished only between spirits of animal and human form and did not attempt to evaluate the status of the spirits, it might still be worth attempting to test the hypothesis with the latter type of rating.

A second hypothesis suggested by the survey is that superordinate control and the absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness is correlated with the size of the population of the community, small communities tending to have coordinate control.[17] A preliminary test of this hypothesis was run using population figures collected by Murdock and Goodenough on the average population of the community of forty-two tribes.[18] Unfortunately there were only twenty of these tribes which were also in the author's sample. The mean population for the eleven tribes who had no superordinate justice was 114, for the nine tribes with superordinate justice 323. Applying a T test, the difference between these means is significant at the five percent level. In other words, the hypothesis that superordinate control is correlated with the larger group is substantiated.

[17] This hypothesis is similar to Redfield's. See "The Folk Society" (*American Journal of Sociology*, 1947, vol. LII), pp. 292-308.

[18] Unpublished notes G. P. Murdock and Ward Goodenough.

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

MATERIAL CULTURE

THE material culture of the Harney Valley Paiute is similar to that of the Surprise 105 Valley Paiute. In the following description emphasis has been placed on those artifacts which are different either in manufacture or use to those described by Isabel Kelly (University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Volume 31, No. 3), pp. 67-210.

HOUSES

1. Tule Mat House. Most usual type of winter house in the memory of old in- 342 formants.

Frame. Four willow, poplar or young pine poles about 15-20 feet long were lashed together with a deer-skin thong or sagebrush twine. The poles varied in the amount that they extended beyond the lashing but probably averaged about one foot. They were spread out in a circle about ten to twelve feet in diameter and sunk in the ground about four to six inches. The two main poles at the front were close together and formed the door. Additional poles, usually eight, were leaned between the main poles—two in each space, and sunk about two inches in the ground. Two horizontal willows were lashed around the outside of the poles (one informant claimed they were lashed on the inside), one about four feet from the ground and the other about eight feet. It usually took two willows to extend around the circumference. (One informant stated three rows of horizontal willows were used.) The men cut the poles and the women helped drag them to the camp site.

Covering. The frame was covered with tule mats. The mats were about five feet 285 high and varied from four to six feet in length. Four or five sections went around the 342 base. The mats were made by sewing the tule together with a rye grass or sagebrush bark thread and a willow, greasewood or thorn bush needle. A willow stick was attached at each end of the mat; a hole was made in the top of one willow and the thread was knotted, and then the mats were sewn across back and forth about every six inches, and the thread looped around the willows at each side. At the bottom, the tule was bent under and held in place by two rows of twining. (Some informants stated there were also two rows of twining at the top.) The mats were attached at each end to one of the poles and tied to the horizontal willows about a foot from the top in order to make an overlap of three to eight inches. The sections of mats were connected by tying the end willows together. The top mat was not lashed to the frame but to two additional poles, consequently it was adjustable and the smoke hole could be completely closed. One informant stated that this was a relatively recent innovation and that in the old days the smoke hole was not adjustable. Extra layers of mats were sometimes added in cold weather. The

[p. 92 is blank]

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior.* The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows [354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some [351] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] *2. Grass House.* The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. Bark House (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. Cave House. Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. Cloth House. The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks. These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[343 841] *7. Shades.* These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. Winter Menstrual Hut. This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[343] *9. Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343 844 *10. Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

343
layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with rye grass and tule mats. 844

CLOTHING

1. Sagebrush Clothing (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings. 291

2. Badger Skin Aprons. These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin. [281]

3. Women's Skin Dress (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress. 291 281 [301] [171]

4. Men's Clothing.

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried. [301 602]

291 *Belt.* A buckskin strip about one inch wide tied in front held up both the breechclout and leggings.

Breechclout. Was made of fawn skin. Hetty said some men used to wear a double apron of badger or deer skin.

Leggings. Thigh length Plains type never decorated, or short type which was knee length and wrapped around, tied in two places, and sometimes sewed to the moccasins. The latter type was sometimes of badger with the hair left on and worn in very cold weather with the fur side in. A third type of legging came just above the knee and was sewn along the side, slipped on like a stocking and held in place by a separate piece of buckskin worn as a garter. A puttee type legging was also mentioned.

Moccasins. Similar to Surprise Valley Paiute (pp. 109-113). No "tule shoes" reported.

HAIRDRESS

302 Long hair was admired in both men and women. Women parted their hair in the middle and wore it loose or braided, and tied in back. (Dick Jonas alone said only men tied their braids back.) The ends of the braids were sometimes wrapped with buckskin. Men parted their hair on the side, let the hair hang loose, braided a little on each side, or in two or three big braids. Men sometimes had bangs and pompadours. Only one informant mentioned women with bangs. Both sexes greased their hair.

The porcupine tail brush and rye grass root comb were similar to those described by Isabel Kelly (p. 113). A willow comb, made of two inch pieces of willow twined together by three rows of sinew, was also reported.

FACE PAINTING

Red, yellow, white and black face paint were mentioned as used by both men and women on a grease base—usually bear fat. The forehead was most frequently painted, usually with long stripes and marking along the hair line, less commonly with dots and circles. A red circle on the forehead and chin, and two dots on each cheek was reported as a common design. Older boys often drew lines down the nose, put three or four horizontal stripes on the cheeks, and painted the chin red. Women often made three lines of white or yellow dots on either side of the nose. Painting the entire face red and then marking with white was mentioned. The part was sometimes painted, and hand prints made on the hair. Men sometimes painted their bangs.

TATTOOING

304 Jenny thought tattooing was not practiced in the old days. The technique was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly (p. 116). There were no specialists. Red tattooing was mentioned.

DEPILATION

302 Men removed facial hair with their fingers. Both men and women sometimes plucked their eyebrows, particularly during courtship.

EAR PIERCING

The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix. 304

BLANKETS

1. Rabbit skin blankets. The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off. 281

Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders. [291]

2. Other Blankets. Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

SKIN DRESSING

Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers reported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire. [412]

BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

1. Baskets. Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but 415 285 [412]

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with 412 [411] sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver.

5. Special Knife-like Saw. A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was 372 usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported.

WEAPONS

1. Bow and Arrow. The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to 411 those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply [322] sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows.

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt [321] through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used.

2. Round Shields. Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika [281] using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika.

3. Slat Armor. Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

4. Tunic Armor. Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

5. Clubs. Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

Scarface Charlie reported elk horn clubs made from the end of the antler. Holes were drilled in the small end and a thong tied through and worn over the wrist. This was also used as a horsewhip. Dick Jonas said that only the Hunibuidika used these.

Scarface Charlie and Dick Jonas reported mahogany clubs which also had thongs tied through a hole in the end so that they could be worn on the arm.

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584
parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man, and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well, usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered con- [585]
sumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431]
food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends, wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534]
flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the [308]
menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [585]
mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848]
refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586
the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684]
person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives, or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784 A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The
525] only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version 844 of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with [343] coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose. A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A 846 mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives, who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She [784] uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready [854 to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red 302] paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life. Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a [784] scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is 854 wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[3] which has been previously constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

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[3] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[a] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and [372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The [603] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grandparents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 862 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

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[a] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride
horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants
claimed that masturbation did not exist.[4]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of
five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten
sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little.
When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are
afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come
and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in
the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths
and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some
parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean
people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently
tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels.
In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often
taking their younger siblings.

DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's
hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth
drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways
in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship
terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead
are never mentioned.

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[4] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

868 At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when
881 he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

868 When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.[5]
881 The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and
841 menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or
grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have
long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. Girls
[343] are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch
themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

DEATH

763 When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss
the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The
764 wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the
upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

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[343] [5] Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764
eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry.
The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites
show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other
than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The
body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horse-
back from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried
in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the
body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no
marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he
customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some
informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with
the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around
the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177]
try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a
house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some
informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768]
the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite
horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated
that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the
grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and
is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765
mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the
amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726
Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766]
in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768
dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775
of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

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PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
114 southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
595 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished
171 field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and
Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.

584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
595

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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.

[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

more than two brothers. In one of these marriages, the union was first arranged [584]
between a woman and an older brother. Some time later the younger brother took 595
up residence with the couple and the girl's parents, and was then considered a co-husband. [591]
The three slept in the same house and apparently lived together without
any noticeable friction. When a child was born to the wife, both men claimed [861]
fatherhood and were so regarded by public opinion. It was not possible to learn
whether or not the child addressed both by the term for father.

Another polyandrous marriage was arranged between the parents of a girl and
two brothers. The brothers visited the girl's parents and talked over the matter. [584
The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591]
by the woman, came to live in the house of the parents-in-law. A preliminary discussion
involving the consent of the parents and the girl is the usual practice in
arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary 584
for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had
selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed.
Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a
word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months,
until the girl's parents indicated by addressing him pleasantly and by offering him
food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay
down with the girl and, if she did not get up and move her bed, they had intercourse
and were then looked upon as married. Thereafter the husband lived with his wife's
parents. This courtship, frequently a long drawn out affair, does not seem to have
been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

There is no evidence to indicate that these were considered temporary unions 595
for either of the brothers. In the first instance mentioned, the two husbands lived
with the woman until her death. Public opinion seems to have regarded these
marriages as permanent, as much so as any other marital arrangements. In this
connection it may also be noted that informants were almost unanimous in holding [586]
that marriages in the old days were not frequently dissolved. Although the number
of instances of polyandry was small, this permanency seems also to be characteristic
of such marriages.

As in other marital unions, polyandrous marriages were not marked by ceremony
or exchange of gifts. A marriage is thought of as established when a man and a [585]
woman have had sexual relations. When a man and woman, one man and several
women, or two men and a woman are known to be living together and having sexual
relations, they are regarded by public opinion as married without further formalities.

In the matter of residence polyandrous marriages conformed to the usual [591]
Paviotso practice. The husbands in all known cases went to live in the house of the
wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the [592]
economic support of the household.

There is no evidence that one husband was always absent from the home. In 592
fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

592
595 two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

595 Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

182 It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connec-
595 tion with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women
in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as im-
[428] portant as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property
to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such
property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3]
595 Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso,
587 unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although
[582] Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the
development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso
the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving
as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of
available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of
brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then
becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice
of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring
Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted
greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

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NORTHERN PAIUTE POLYANDRY

[114] In his article *Shoshoni Polyandry*,[1] Dr Julian H. Steward said, "It is reasonably
595 certain that it [polyandry] was not practiced by the Shoshoni of southern Nevada
nor by the adjoining Northern Paiute." During the summer of 1936, while making
a culture element survey of the Northern Paiute for the University of California,
101 I recorded the presence of polyandry among five of the eleven Northern Paiute
595 bands visited. The bands admitting polyandry are now located at Burns in Oregon;

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[2] Pages 563, 564.

[3] Page 562.

[4] Page 561.

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

[Pg. 368]

and at Pyramid Lake (Nixon), McDermitt, Winnemucca, and Owyhee in Nevada. 101
The bands at Winnemucca and Owyhee are on the border between Paiute and 595
Shoshoni peoples and probably were influenced by the Shoshoni in regard to marriage, as we know they were influenced in regard to other traits.

The informants at Winnemucca gave no details concerning polyandry, but at 595
Owyhee I obtained a fair account of a present-day case which involved both Shoshoni and Paiute. At this reservation a Shoshoni woman was married for a long time to a Shoshoni man. A few years ago a young Paiute man started living with them; all three slept in the same bed. However, as the first husband was quite senile, sexual relations were only between the woman and her second husband. I should state that at the present time both Paiute and Shoshoni live on the Owyhee Reservation. However, my informant assured me that polyandry was known among the Paiute when they lived in Oregon about a hundred miles to the northwest.

At Burns, Oregon, the strongly Catholic informants gave no information beyond [795]
the admission that "old time Paiute women sometimes had two husbands at once." While at McDermitt, I was told that "right now a woman here has two husbands who are not brothers." But the informant went on to say that polyandry would not have been allowed in the old days. Although a hundred and twenty-five difficult miles separate the two, the McDermitt Indians have had much contact with the Shoshoni since the establishment of the Owyhee Reservation in 1877.

The most detailed evidence of Northern Paiute polyandry was obtained at Pyramid Lake, which is located in about the center of this area. On this reservation is a woman who has lived with two men for many years. The men are not brothers, and, my informants said, they share equally sexual privileges and economic burdens. The children call both men father, and together the men work their land. Unfortunately, no details could be had concerning any pre-contact cases at Pyramid Lake, although both informants had heard that in the old days women sometimes had more than one husband at a time.

However, polyandry was not a common feature in Northern Paiute social life, and it was not institutionalized. Dr Steward's explanation of Shoshoni polyandry as a result of the relative lack of male jealousy and the "extraordinary simplicity of social structure which made the relationship of both sexes to plural marriage almost identical" could also apply to Northern Paiute polyandry.

OMER C. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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BY MARGARET M. WHEAT
Associate in Ethnology, Nevada State Museum

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PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 504 valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137 the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating [illegible] waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas. They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians [illegible] made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to [illegible] group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occasionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward, while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of [illegible] reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swimmer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsos of northern [illegible] Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical [illegible] houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule [illegible] balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater, Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P. 5]
[P.4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author 396 arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy [182] (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Stillwater marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs [482] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes 283 of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would [521 223] make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and 825 that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

[P.6]

When the two tule bundles were tied together and trimmed, Jimmie laid a bunch of cattails across the bow and with a twisted cattail rope tied it to the front of the boat. With more cattail rope he tied similar bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat, this time fastening them with knots instead of by twisting as he had done before. Another small bunch of cattails was laid across the stern of the boat and tied down. Finally the tips of the cattail bunches were tied to the boat along the sides. These bunches were tied along the sides of the boat to make a rim which was used to keep the harvest of duck eggs, ducks, mudhens, etc., from rolling off the boat. Wezzie said that cattails were used for the rim instead of tules because they are much stronger. Then Jimmie stepped into the center of the boat to make a deeper hollow. 396

The completed boat was eight and one-half feet long and so light that it could easily be lifted by one hand. Jimmie demonstrated how the boat was used in the water. It held his weight without trouble. He said that the boats were always poled and never paddled. Most of the time it was used as a raft to carry the game and the gun and was pushed ahead while the hunter waded. It was not pulled, he said. When the boat was taken from the water it was quite heavy from absorption and would have to be dried out before it could be used again. A boat would last for only one year. Only one person could ride on these rafts and they were used more to carry the waterfowl the hunter had bagged or the eggs which had been collected than for transporting people. Formerly each hunter made his own boat. 501

MAKING A CATTAIL HOUSE

The Nevada Artists Association requested the All American Unit of the A. W. V. S. to display an exhibit of Paiute Indian arts and crafts at the California Building in Reno, Nevada, on April 19 and 20, 1958. The exhibit included a cattail house. In the old days such houses were built near the source of the material and were, therefore, common in the valleys near marshy areas. On April 17, 1958, Jimmie and Wezzie George of Stillwater, Daisy Aster, Lily Shaw and Dora John of Wadsworth, Nevada, all Paviotsos, made the house at Wadsworth after which it was transported to Reno. Jimmie and Wezzie George and Daisy Aster had made cattail houses before. Lily Shaw had lived in one but had never seen one made, while Dora John had never seen one before, but had heard of them. 114 342

The material for the house, which had been gathered prior to building, consisted of eleven willow poles which were over ten feet long, many smaller willow sticks about five feet long, and a large quantity of dried cattails. Pieces of worn blue denim were available to be torn into strips for ties. In the old days dried cattails were used instead of the cloth for tying the elements of the house together. 342

Lily and Daisy dug small holes in the ground in a circle, loosening the dirt with sticks and knives. In these holes the willow poles for the house framework were set and the dirt packed around them. Lily then trimmed the poles. Daisy and Jimmie tore the pieces of denim into strips for tying the willow frame. Jimmie started tying willow sticks horizontally around the standing poles. This horizontal brace was about two and one-fourth feet above the ground. He used the torn denim strips for ties. While he tied on the reinforcing willows, Daisy steadied the uprights and Lily tore more rags and hung them across the brace where they were handy. Wezzie trimmed the sticks. On the east side they left an opening for a door. Lily said the door was toward the rising sun. When all the cross pieces were secure, a

[P.7]

342 second circle of willows was put into place. Although this circle was only about face high it crossed the door opening. The second horizontal brace drew the house in slightly. When the third row of reinforcing willows was added, the top of the house frame was pulled in abruptly. The frame was very sturdy now. No attempt was made to close the top, as this was left for a chimney or smoke hole.

When the frame was completed, three willow sticks about five feet long were laid on the ground. Cattails were spread evenly over these and three more willows laid on top. Using strips of cloth, the bottom willows were tied to the top willows, care being taken to include some of the cattails in the loop. This was done to leave the holes in the mat as small as possible where the ties were made. When the mat was finished, it was laid against the frame of the house and tied into place. More and more mats were made in the same manner. When each was finished, it was tied onto the frame. The first row of mats was placed around the house at the bottom. The second row overlapped it on the outside for good drainage. An extra mat was made to cover the doorway. Nine mats in all were used.

A house of this size, Wezzie said, would be used for a sweat house or a play house or perhaps for one person. The larger houses, which were built for families to live in, would last five years or more. In the fall new mats would be made to add an extra layer and cover the holes caused by weather and wear. A fire for [764 768] cooking and warmth would be built in the center. In the old days when someone died in these houses they were burned.

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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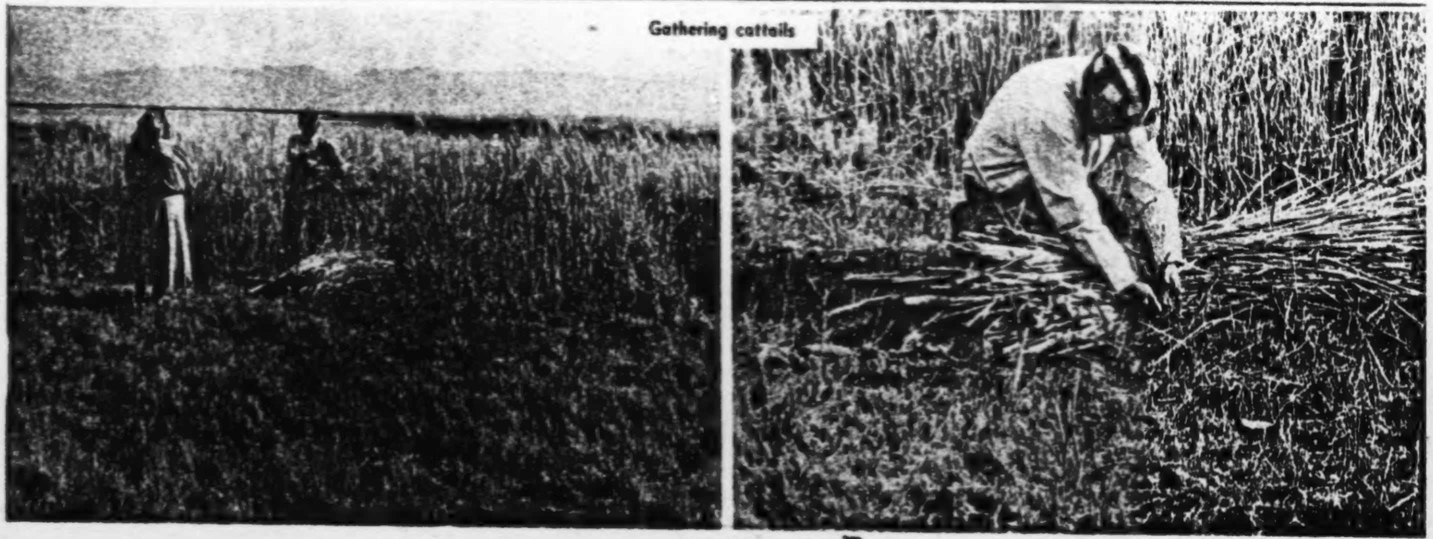
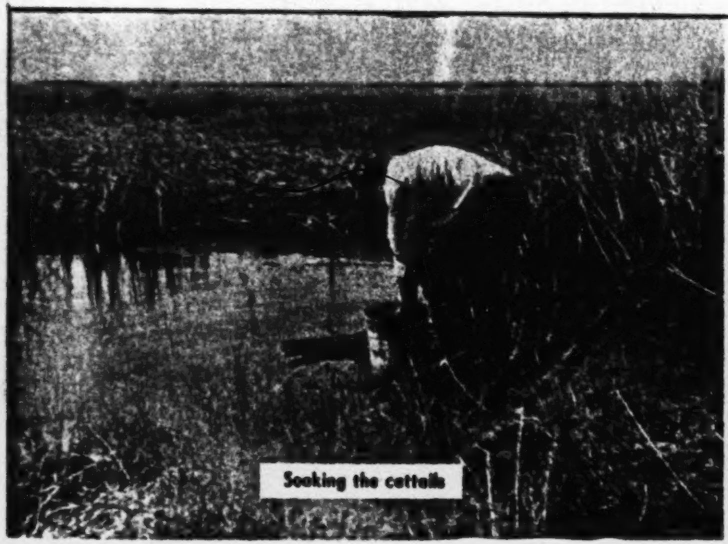
Carrying the tule bundles

[End Plate 1A]

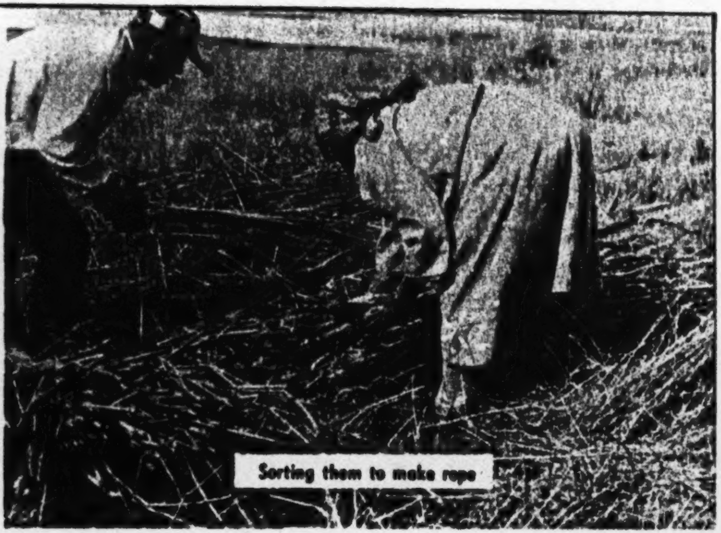


Gathering cattails

[End Plate 1 B]



Soaking the cattails



Sorting them to make rope

[End Plate 2A]

[415]

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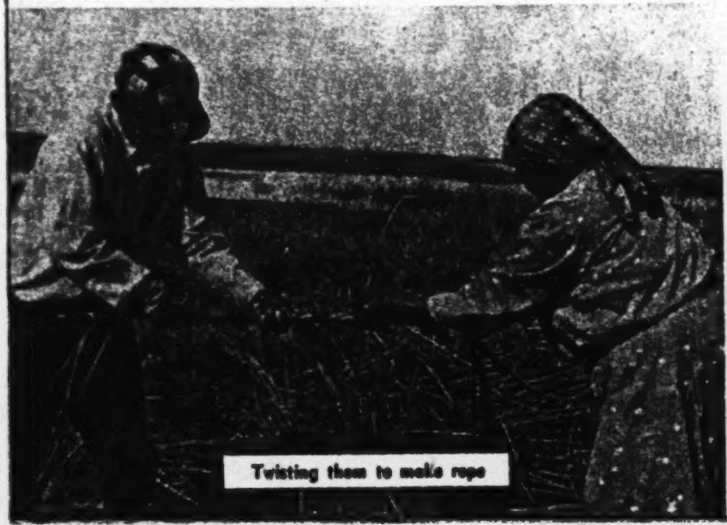
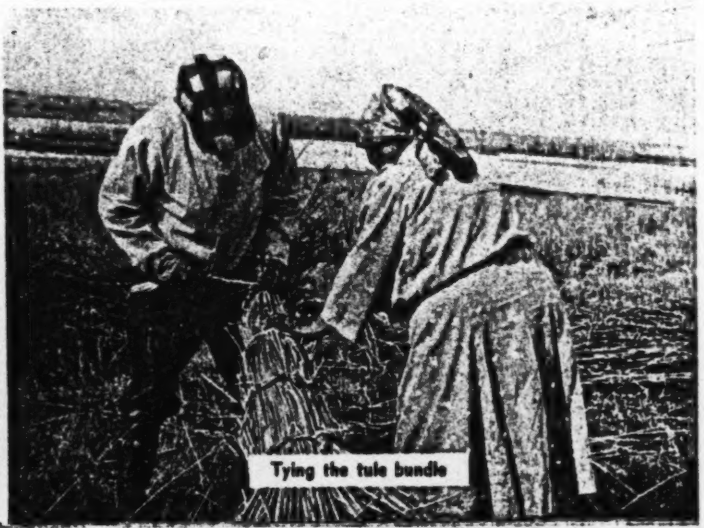


Twisting them to make rope



Tying the tule bundle

[End Plate 2B]

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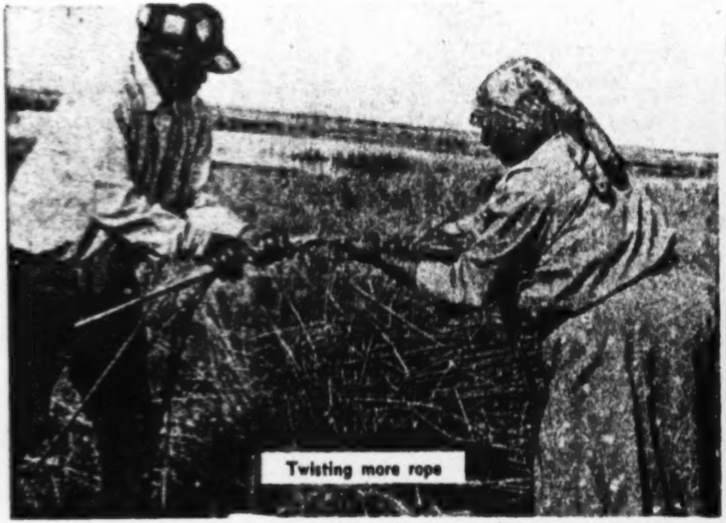
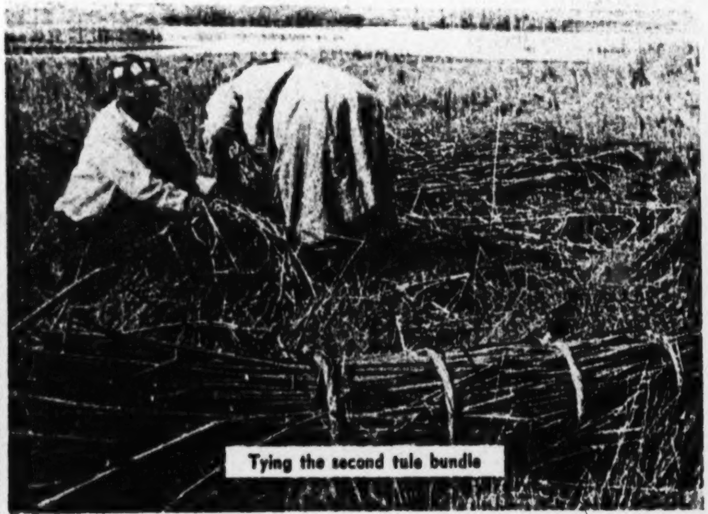
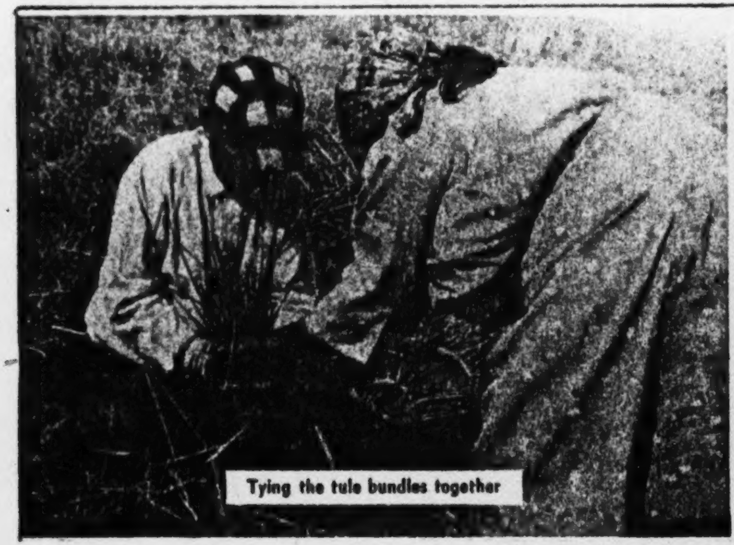
10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

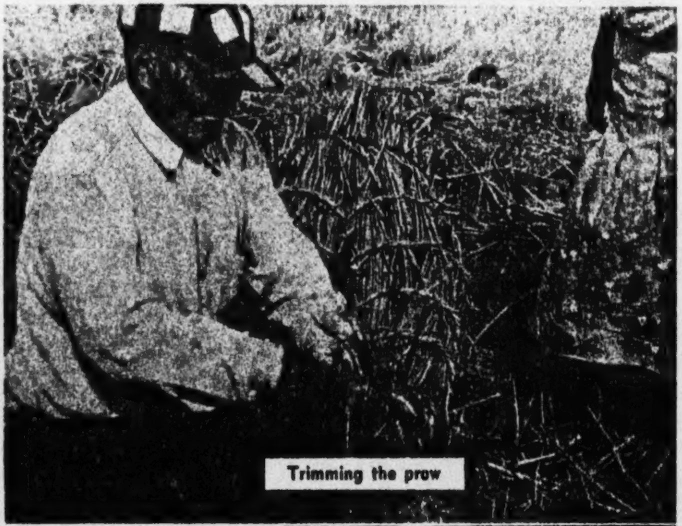

Twisting more rope


Tying the second tule bundle

[End Plate 3A]

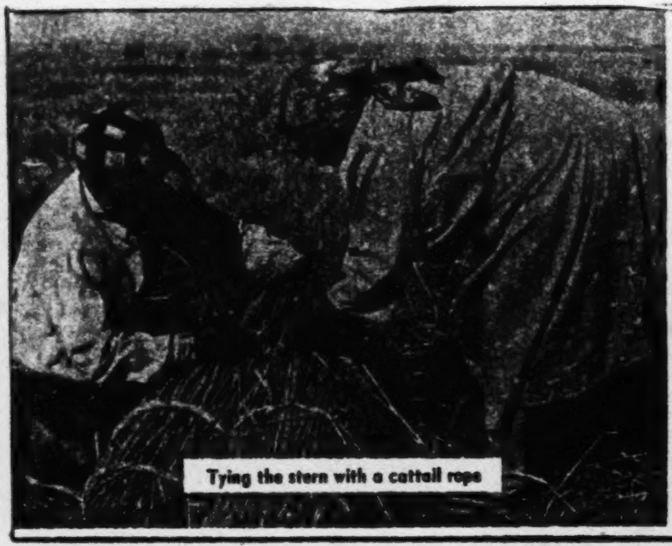


Tying the tule bundles together

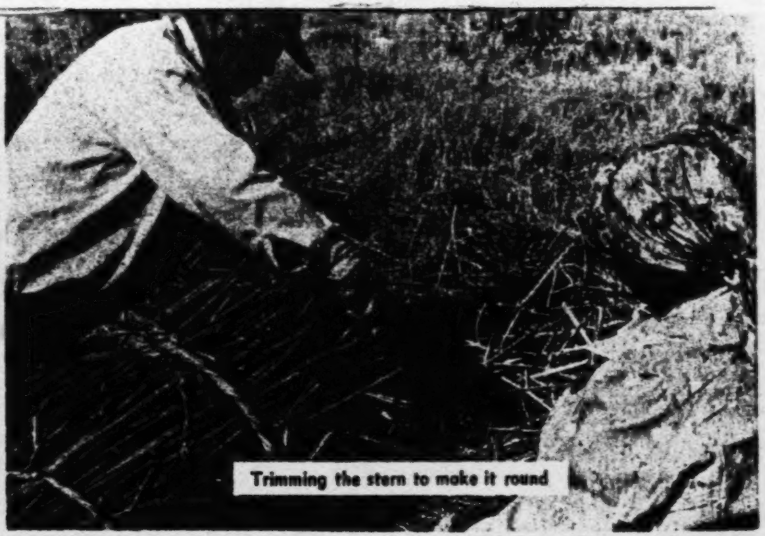


Trimming the prow

[End Plate 3B]



Tying the stern with a cattail rope



Trimming the stern to make it round

[End Plate 4 A]

Tying bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat to make a rim

[End plate 4B]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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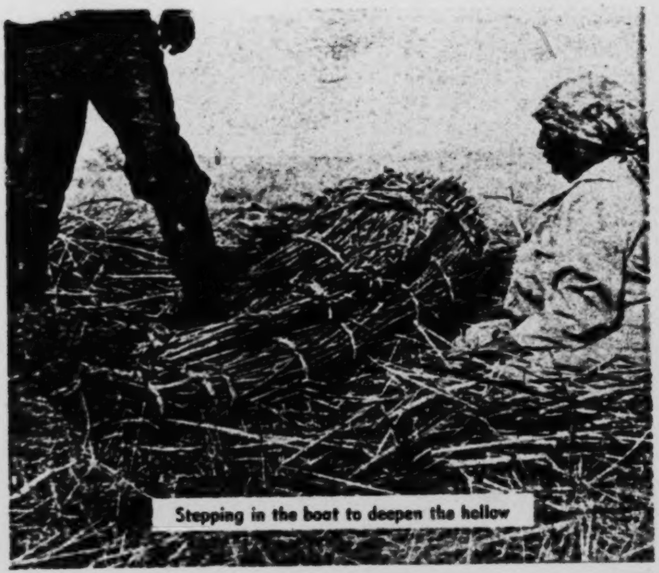

Stepping in the boat to deepen the hollow

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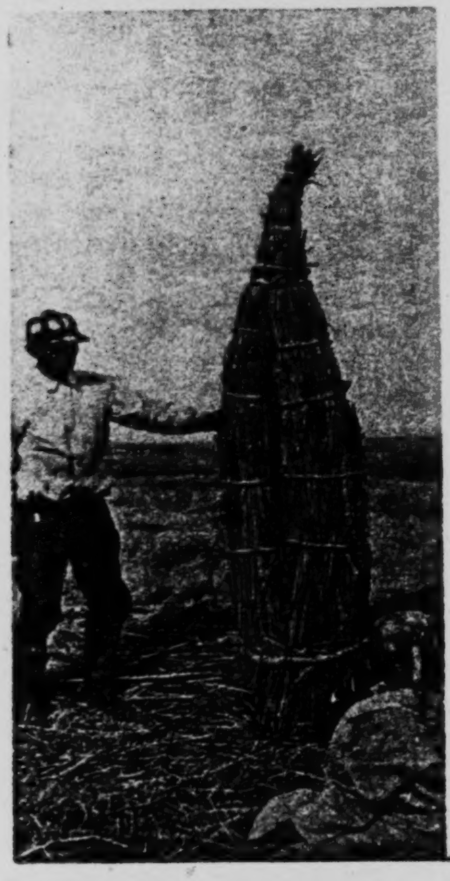

[End Plate 5A]

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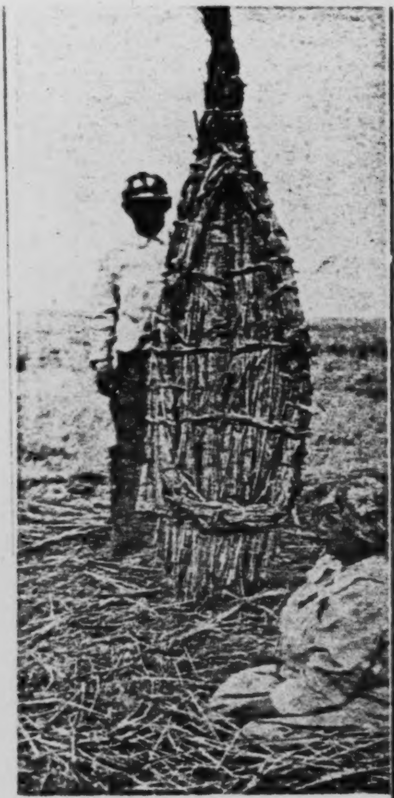
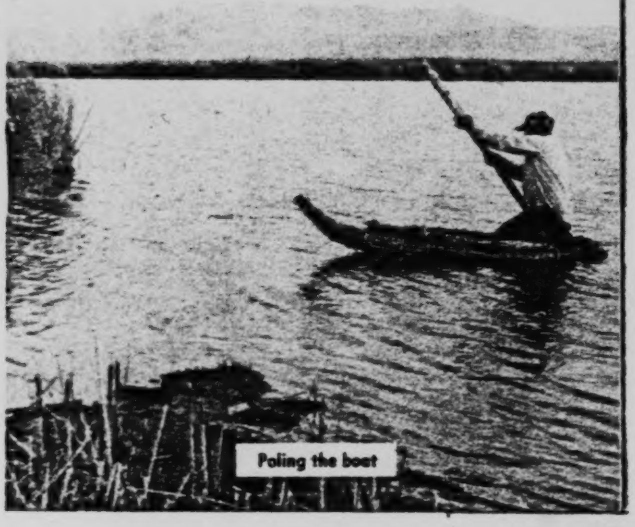


The completed boat

[End Plate 5 B]



Poling the boat

Gathering cattails

[End plate 6A]

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10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Putting the willow poles in place

Tearing the strips of denim

[End Plate 6B]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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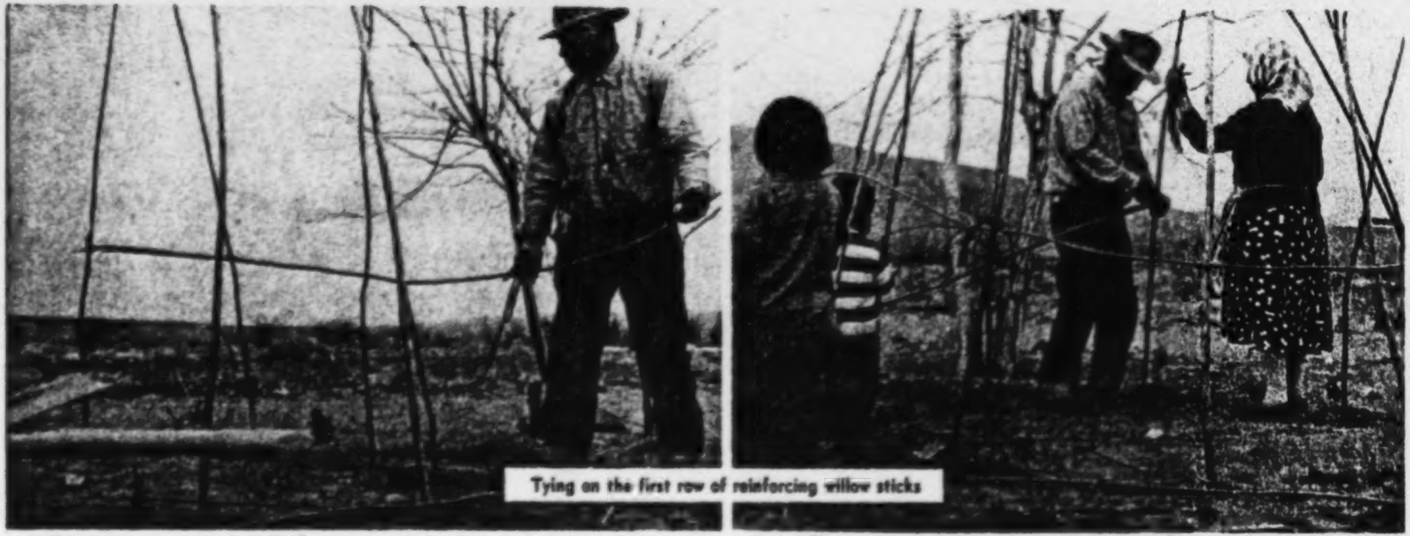

Tying on the first row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End plate 7A]

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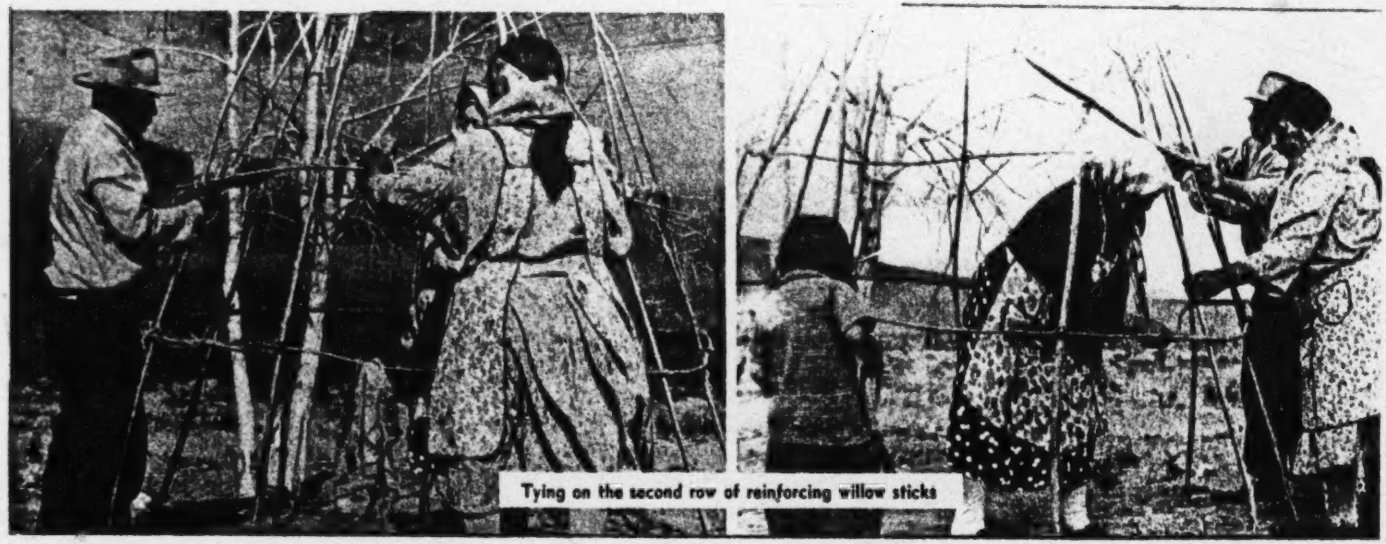

Tying on the second row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 7B]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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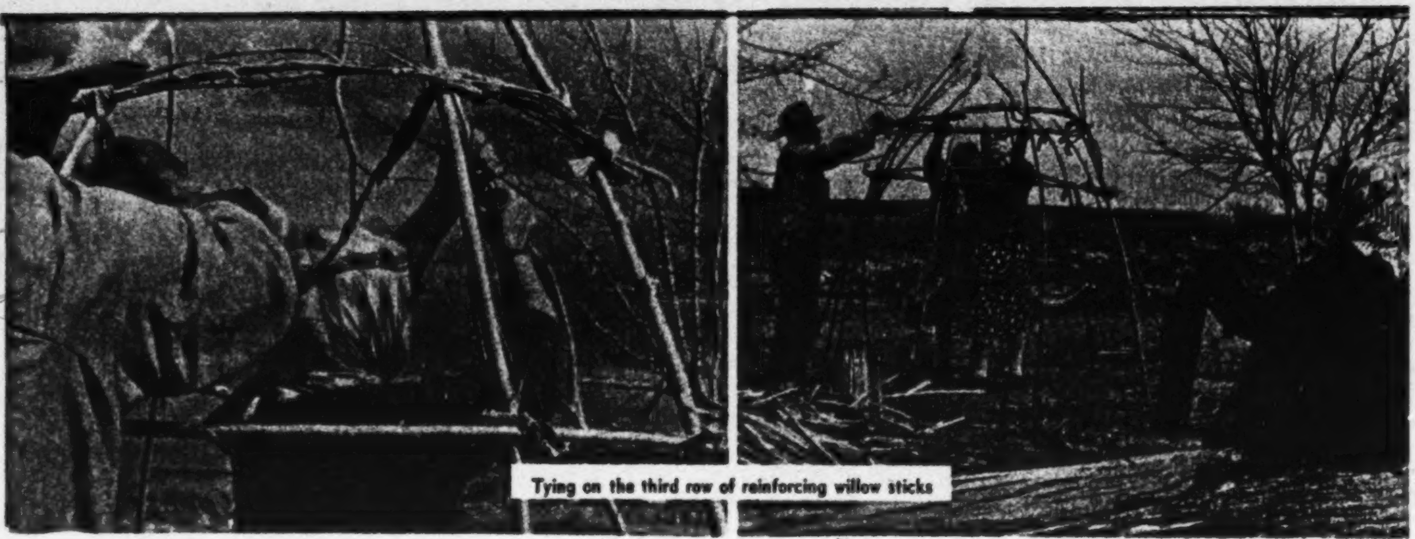

Tying on the third row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 8A]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Three willow sticks form the base of the mat

Spreading the cattails for the mat

[End Plate 8B]

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#2

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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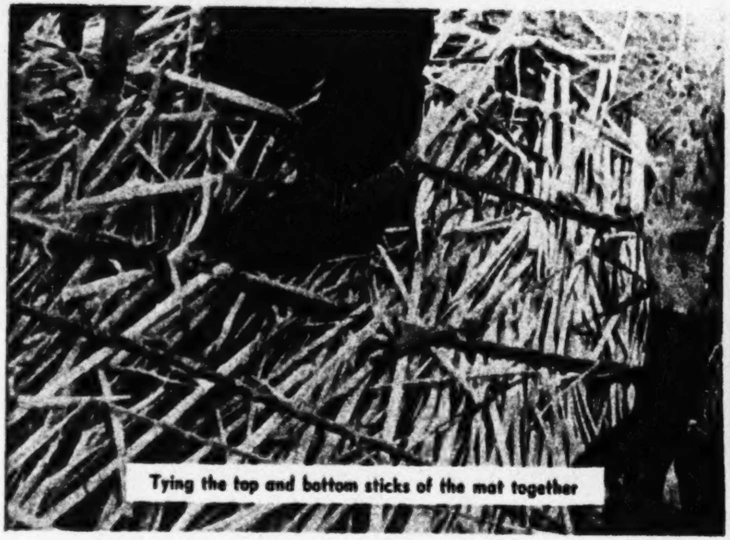
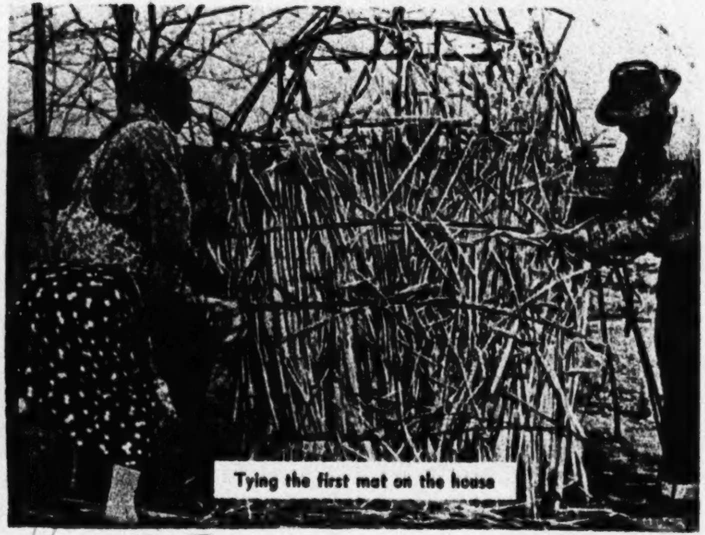
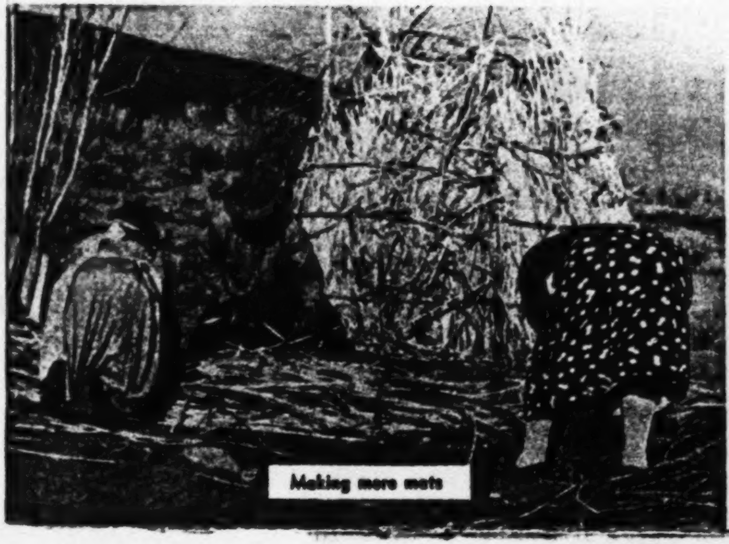


Tying the top and bottom sticks of the mat together

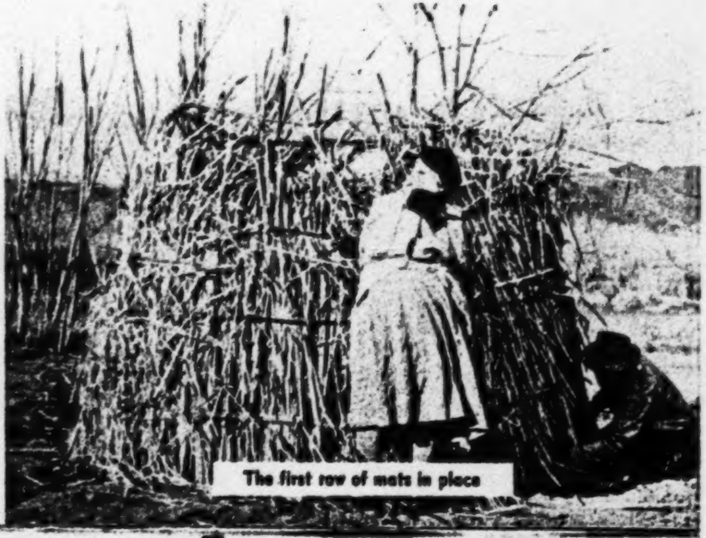


Tying the first mat on the house

[End plate 9A]



Making more mats



The first row of mats in place

[End Plate 9B]

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES NO. 2

SHAMANISM IN WESTERN NORTH AMERICA

A Study in Cultural Relationships

BY

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

[Title Page]

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Preface

The present study has developed from a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University. That manuscript has been extensively revised with the inclusion of new and valuable comparative data. Revision has led also to a reformulation of the significance of the distributional evidence for the basic problems involved in the inferential reconstruction of native history in western North America.

The descriptive data on shamanism presented here were collected in the course of three summers spent in making an ethnographic study of the Paviotso Indians in western Nevada. Work during the summer of 1933 was made possible through the generosity of Mr. H. U. Brandenstein of San Francisco. I am grateful to him for making it possible for me to gain my first experience in field work and for continued encouragement and interest. Investigations during the following two seasons were made under the auspices of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The financial support which enabled me to add materially to my knowledge of Paviotso culture is deeply appreciated.

The gathering of the material and the preparation of this study have benefited from the suggestions and encouragement of my teachers and colleagues. Above all I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, who, by their inspiration, encouragement, and helpful suggestions in the course of field work and in the preparation of the present study, contributed materially to my understanding of ethnological problems. Dr. Melville J. Herskovits's many valuable criticisms during the course of revision, and his unfailing encouragement to publish this venture in the field of anthropological theory are deeply appreciated. Dr. Robert H. Lowie was kind enough to read the manuscript and make suggestions for improvement.

Many people have generously contributed to make up the serious deficiencies in the published accounts of shamanism in western North America. I wish to extend my thanks here to all who so kindly placed unpublished field notes at my disposal. Specific acknowledgment is made where these important additions enter the discussion.

[P. vi is blank]

000 Lastly, it is with pleasure that I acknowledge the extremely large obligation due my wife, Susan Park. Her advice, assistance, and encouragement both in the field and in the preparation and revision that culminated in the present study have been invaluable to me. Her unpublished field notes on the Atsugewi and Cahuilla have also filled in a number of gaps in the literature. In all, her contribution to the finished work has been great indeed.

126 The phonetic symbols used in the recording of Paviotso terms
104 follow the simpler system of the *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916).

W. Z. P.

I. The Problem

INTRODUCTION

For several decades the religions of the American Indian tribes /2/ have provided data for the anthropologist bent on reconstructing the history and interrelationships of New World cultures. Notable studies in this field have displayed a wide variety of interests and aims, ranging from an intensive investigation of growth in a single tribal religion to an analysis of the interrelationships, practices, and beliefs on a continental scale. Still others have sought to reconstruct the growth, including relative chronological sequences, of ceremonies or entire religions in a more or less culturally homogeneous area. Whatever the specific goal and scope of these studies may be, it is either explicitly stated or implicitly recognized that the empirical data of geographical distribution, in the absence of more direct evidence such as documentary accounts of past events, afford an important body of knowledge for inferring the history of religions along with other cultural developments.

The distributional study of even simple generalized customs and beliefs yields evidence of the various interrelationships of cultures during their growth. Just as in the reconstruction of the history of more complex institutions, it is not necessary, and in fact it may be impossible, to determine the chronological sequence of accretion. Knowledge of the divergent sources and spatial relationships of several elements forming the complex does indicate, however, the interconnections among localized unique cultures. Without any attempt to postulate time-sequences, this may be considered a legitimate approach to the problems of culture history.

Shamanism in the New World presents an example of relatively simple and undifferentiated practices and beliefs which have wide but differing distributions. Moreover, the nearly universal occurrence in the Western Hemisphere of this type of religion suggests a respectable antiquity, at any rate, for some of the elements of the complex. Possibly, as Kroeber[1] suggests, shamanism may have been part of the cultural equipment of the first settlers in the New World. This, however, does not argue that the simple elements forming the complex are identical throughout the Western Hemisphere. A merely superficial examination of North American shamanism reveals quite striking differences in content, in meaning, and in the way practices and beliefs are combined with other customs. Years ago, Dixon pointed out certain of these distinctions in the attitudes and customs of the New World shamans. The local variations evident in that brief survey include, among others, differences in means of acquiring supernatural power, the variety in the functions and the performances of the shamans, and their position and influence in society.[2] Important distinctions in practices clearly setting off one part of aboriginal California from another were recognized by Kroeber.[3] Again, Spier, in appraising recently the place of the Klamath in western North America, has precisely defined the distribution of certain of the elements in the shamanistic complex of this region.[4] It is evident that despite the possible considerable age and relative simplicity of shamanism in the New World, we are dealing with a locally varying amalgam of historically heterogeneous traits. Accordingly, a study of the practices and beliefs of a particular tribe in reference to their spatial setting should reveal at least some of the cultural relationships contributing to the development of the localized complex.

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[1] Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 349; *American Culture and the Northwest Coast*, 2.

Scope of the Problem

The goal of the present study will be to ascertain those interrelationships of tribal cultures reflected in the geographical distributions of the elements found in a single localized shamanistic complex. The practices and beliefs of the shamans among the Paviotso or Northern Paiute of western Nevada will be considered in their distributional setting in order to indicate the cultural connections contributing to the growth of that complex.

In order to focus attention on the elements which are to be analyzed in their spatial relationships, an account of Paviotso practices and beliefs will first be presented. The distribution of these elements will then be traced among the neighboring tribes |2| of the Great Basin, the Plateau, California, and several of the so-called Western Rancheria[8] tribes of the non-pueblo Southwest. The data thus presented will suggest some of the cultural relationships among the several tribes of this region. In addition, this evidence should enable us to appraise certain of the tribal and regional differences and similarities with reference to several important historical problems in western North America.

---

[2] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman.*

[3] Kroeber, *The Religion of the Indians of California,* 327–334; *Handbook,* 851–855.

[4] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography,* 224 f.

One of these more persistent questions in the cultural history of this region is that of the relationship of Great Basin cultures with those of the surrounding areas of central California, the Plateau, and the Plains. It is manifestly impossible to determine on the basis of only one phase of culture, such as shamanism, the interdependence or individuality of a group of cultures. Nevertheless, a precise statement of the Paviotso position, and so far as possible that of other Basin tribes, in shamanistic practices both in contrast and in relation to the neighboring areas will suggest more accurately than has been possible to date the extent of historical independence of and connection with the surrounding cultures.

It should be clearly understood that limiting the present study to a particular area of western North America carries no implication of historical autonomy for that region. Unquestionably, an appreciable number of the elements found in this area occur widely elsewhere in the New World and also in Asia. Thus the distribution of certain practices within this area will not exhaust all the possibilities of interrelationships. Although continental and intercontinental distributions yield evidence of suggestive historical connections, the growth of a local complex can be inferred from a detailed examination of more limited spatial interrelationships. In this study, therefore, I shall analyze the shamanistic phenomena of an arbitrarily delimited area, always recognizing

---

[8] This term is used by Spier to designate the group which "includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river, i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others." *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai*, 214.

Not all the tribes of this group will be considered in this study, for data on shamanism from some are extremely scanty, whereas with others, as in the case of the Navaho, the heavy overlay of Pueblo ceremonialism as yet obscures the precise extent of shamanism in the religious life.

121 possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier
114 has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

121 Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an his-
177 torical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of
121 borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he
114 insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events
177 yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

---

[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 239–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of 121
only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing 114
have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue 177
that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted
with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical 121
distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference 177
warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

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[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions. [114]

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

121 177 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely, for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 171 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a 121
judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important 171
in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful 121
history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at important 114
points. At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but it is not apparent that shamans everywhere in the New World have performed this function to the same degree. Nevertheless, the changes in the shamanistic practices and beliefs have in each tribe resulted from the borrowing, the interpretations, and the inventions of novel ideas by individual shamans. A thorough study of borrowing processes must take into account such significant events and people. At the present time, however, knowledge of the contributions made by individual shamans to the totality of Paviotso practice is irretrievably lost to us. Therefore, although it is vitally important to bear in mind that these forces are ever present in making history, the limitations imposed on this study minimize the necessity for unverifiable assumptions of individuals, events, or chronology.

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[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

Definition of Shamanism

The great diversity of practices and beliefs presented by a survey of shamanism does not readily yield a clear definition of the term. In fact, shamanism usually has been defined descriptively, often in terms of the practices of a particular region. That this procedure is subject to error is evident when it is realized that in one society the shaman may have certain priestly functions, in another his duties relate only to curing. Laufer has shown that the word itself is an old term in the Turkish-Tungusian languages.[11] Frequently, we find that shamanism is defined largely by eastern Siberian practices. In clarifying the differences in current usage and in order to arrive at a definite formulation of the term for this study, it is interesting to review briefly several of the definitions prevailing in the literature.

Shamanism is defined by MacCulloch in terms of the functions of the shaman. According to this statement, the shaman is regarded as one who has undifferentiated priestly, prophetic, and magico-medical functions. Although it is recognized that the shaman exercises certain priestly functions, his main powers are connected with healing and divination. "He has direct intercourse with spirits and actual (bodily or spiritual) access to the spirit-world. All his magical arts are done by virtue of his power over

or influence with spirits."[12] The shaman is accordingly distinguished by his active relations to the spirit world, not by his knowledge of esoteric doctrines and rituals. 121 114

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[11] Laufer, *Origin of the Word Shaman*, 361.

Swanton distinguishes two classes of mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men, shamans, and priests. The shaman's authority is entirely dependent on individual ability. The priests are those who act "in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society."[13] This clean-cut differentiation of priests and shamans does not hold everywhere, for in some cultures, such as those of the Northwest coast, shamans exercise certain priestly functions, although in this respect they may be overshadowed by other officials, e.g., the chiefs who act as priests in the performances of the secret societies among the Tlingit, Haida, and Kwakiutl.

A similar distinction between shaman and priest has been made by Wissler. The priest is regarded as one who has knowledge of the rituals and leads ritualistic performances; his office is therefore primarily dependent upon learning, not upon direct personal experience with supernatural forces. The shaman, on the other hand, works by virtue of his possession of supernatural power. With this power he usually performs curative rites and acts as a prophet and seer.[14] This formulation likewise ignores the important points at which there is overlapping, for the appreciable body of knowledge gained by experience or apprenticeship is often an important part of the equipment distinguishing the shaman from his fellowmen.

One point is held in common by all these definitions: the shaman in all cases is one who has direct relationships with spirit powers in contrast to the priest who fills his office largely by virtue of his knowledge of rituals. Among some peoples, however, there is a certain overlapping of the functions belonging to the two offices. Some writers tend to regard as shamans all who experience personal contact with supernatural powers. A characteristic definition of this type is that given by Dixon, who applied the term "to that motley class of persons found in every savage community, who

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[12] MacCulloch, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, 441-442.

[13] Swanton, article "Shamans and Priests" in *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. II, 522-524.

[14] Wissler, *The American Indian*, 197, 200-201.

121 114 are supposed to have closer relations with the supernatural than other men, and who, according as they use the advantage of their position in one way or another, are the progenitors alike of the physician and the sorcerer, the prophet, the teacher, and the priest."[18]

The possession of power alone, however, does not necessarily distinguish the shaman from other men. In some tribes, almost everyone has visionary experiences in which some power to control supernatural forces is acquired. Under these conditions, the shaman may be regarded as one upon whom more than the usual amount of power is bestowed, and is so differentiated in native thought. Usually, the recipient of the power employs it for desirable social purposes, such as the curing of disease or the charming of game. Here shamanism is but a matter of degree; the shaman has the stronger power which enables him to perform certain functions in contrast to weaker powers of the laity. Moreover, the use of power for the good of others differentiates the shaman from the man who manipulates supernatural spirits for selfish ends. Of course this is an arbitrary distinction, for it is often difficult to distinguish between social and purely selfish interests.

For the purposes of this study, the shaman is one who acquires supernatural power through direct personal experience. This power is generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of concern to others in the society. Accordingly, the practice of witchcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game in a communal hunt. We will designate by the term shamanism, then, all the practices by which supernatural power may be acquired by mortals, the exercise of that power either for good or evil, and all the concepts and beliefs associated with these practices.

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[18] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman*, 1.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, 101
belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking
peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related.
The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful
but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent.
Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of
California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern
Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the
Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

648 Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

105 The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent introduction [77] of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

[82] A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

115 A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

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fulness for comparative purposes. Three shamans, Dick Mahwee and Joe Green at Pyramid Lake, and Rosie Plummer at Schurz on the Walker River reservation, were very willing and intelligent informants. Joe Green spoke English sufficiently well so that an interpreter was not required. An interpreter was necessary in working with both Dick Mahwee and Rosie Plummer. However, Dick Mahwee had spent several months in 1914 at the University of California Museum of Anthropology at San Francisco, acting as an informant in linguistic studies. This was a number of years before he became a shaman. As a result of his experience in San Francisco, he was well aware of, and sympathetic toward, the aims of ethnographic investigation. He had acquired also a limited knowledge of English which enabled him to check the translations of the interpreter. Frequently he stopped the interpreter in his English renditions and insisted on a re-phrasing or a correction of a misstatement. This, coupled with a very sincere desire for accuracy, gives to the material recorded from Dick Mahwee a high degree of creditability.

Daisy Lopez, who acted as the interpreter for Rosie Plummer, was very intelligent and sympathetic. She had an unusually good command of English, in addition to a far better knowledge of the Paviotso language than is usual among the younger generation. The usefulness of Daisy Lopez was not, however, confined to interpreting. As she was the daughter of Rosie Plummer and had been constantly with her mother, except for a few years spent at school, she was well informed on much of the aboriginal culture.

As has been noted, Joe Green did not require an interpreter. He at one time acquired power, but through a misadventure described below had lost it. Joe was one of the most intelligent and conscientious of all the informants and he took an unusually active interest in the work of recording cultural data. Well liked and respected by his fellow tribesmen, he was able to obtain the help of others when information of which he was unsure was requested of him. This service was of considerable value, as many of the older people disliked talking to strangers. Joe Green thus made it possible to tap a number of rich sources of material which would have otherwise remained unexploited.

Important as shamans were in giving information, they did not

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Ne-
vada lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The
[[13]] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five
lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson
Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of
128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the cul-
ture were recorded from informants belonging to each of these
localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on
shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no sig-
nificant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that
appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data
on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation
rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the
loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not
to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing
these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso
756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances
[782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for
relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of
dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and
the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these
play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to
shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

It is in respect to the last activity that the shaman is an out- 756
standingly important member of Paviotso society. Although a 787
man can acquire supernatural power which will enable him to be
a successful hunter or a lucky gambler, these ends may be accomplished more simply by praying to the sun, or before the hunt by dreaming where game is to be found, or by use of charms. The shaman may also have the power to control weather, but this is
not usually exercised for the good of the community. Rather, his [789]
demonstration of control over the elements seems to prove the shaman's *rapport* with powerful spirits, which give him power to cure the sick and heal the wounded. It is, then, the supernatural inspiration and assistance which enable one either to draw out the cause of illness or to go in search of the lost soul of a patient that is pre-eminent in the Paviotso mind as giving meaning and importance to the acquisition and exercise of shamanistic power. It should be noted that a shaman who has power to doctor the sick is called puhágəm. This term is not used to designate people who possess supernatural powers for hunting, gambling, or warfare. There is no term for such power or for the people who enjoy it. However, supernatural aid in these latter functions is of the same sort and from the same source—spirits of animals, birds, etc.—as that acquired by a shaman. All supernatural power is, in theory, of the same order, but it is the possession of strong power to be exercised in the function of curing that is important in Paviotso ideology. The other objectives can be, and in fact most frequently are, accomplished satisfactorily, without spirit aid. Only curing depends directly upon power.

Source of Shamanistic Power

The spirit beings which are everywhere in the Paviotso world 756
are the sources of supernatural power. Spirits of the fauna, spirits 776
from certain mountains and of rocks, as well as the elements, bestow on individuals the power (puhá) through which sickness is controlled and cured. In addition to securing power from these
spirits, shamans also derive supernatural aid from ghosts of the [775]
dead (sa'ab') and from the dwarf-like creatures called water-babies that live in certain water-holes, lakes, and water-serpents thought to inhabit the lakes.

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> Indians were put here on this earth with trees, plants, animals, and water, and the shaman gets his power from them. One shaman might get his power from the hawk that lives in the mountains. Another may get his power from the eagle, the otter, or the bear. A long time ago, all the animals were Indians (they could talk). I think that is why the animals help the people to be shamans. Some strong shamans get their powers from the sun. (Joe Green)
>
> [787] Anyone can get to be a shaman by dreaming. In the dreams, spirits such as those from the eagle, bear, owl, snake, antelope, deer, mountain sheep, mole, or falling star appear. The spirit that comes in the dreams is the shaman's power. It helps him to doctor sick people. (Harry Sampson)

It is not altogether clear whether the animal spirits are conceived to be those of the species or of a single animal. One statement would seem to indicate that it is a spirit of the species that confers power.

> When a shaman gets his power from the otter it means that the spirit is from many otters. The chief otter spirit tells the man to be a good doctor. It is this main otter that cannot be seen by the common people. He is the one that makes a man a shaman. He lives in a certain place in the water. Only the shaman can see him there. He knows where the otter is. He dreams about the otter and after a while he learns where the otter lives. (Joe Green)

This point was not carefully checked with other informants, but it would seem that the above statement formulates fairly accurately the norm of Paviotso belief in the animal and bird spirits that bestow shamanistic powers.

Several informants described the water-babies that are also believed to be a source of supernatural power.

> Some shamans get their power from the water-babies. They are the only people who can talk to them. They tell the rest of the people not to make fun of water-babies. These shamans can take the water-babies out of the lake.
>
> The water-babies came to life by their own power. They formed themselves. Some water-babies live in water-holes, and these holes never dry up. People call these water-babies the "breath of the water-holes." There is a cool breeze all the time in the mountains where they live. They have the power to cause wind to blow, even a very strong wind. The wind is their breath.
>
> There are also women in the lakes where the water-babies live. These women are like the water-babies. They have the same power. Big ser-

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pents live in the lake, too. Like the water-babies, these serpents have strong power. They give power to some shamans. (Rosie Plummer) 756 776

A somewhat different statement of the source of shamanistic power, probably due to individual interpretation, was given by Dick Mahwee.

> The Indian doctor gets his power from the spirit of the night. This spirit is everywhere. It has no name. There is no word for it. The Indians hold this spirit so sacred that they are afraid if they had a name for it the spirit would be angry. No one has ever dared give it a name.
>
> Eagle and owl do not give a shaman power.[3] They are just messengers that bring instructions from the spirit of the night. Some doctors have water-babies for their messengers. They are called when the shaman doctors. They do not give him his power; they only carry messages from the spirit of the night. When the shaman is treating a patient he calls for the water-babies and they bring him instructions from the spirit.
>
> At the time that the spirit of the night gives power for doctoring, it tells the shaman to ask for help from the water-babies, eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear or some other bird or animal.
>
> When shamans get power it always comes from the night. They are told to doctor only at night. This power has nothing to do with the moon or stars. I knew one woman who used the sun, moon, and stars for her power. I saw her fill her pipe and just as the sun came up she puffed and started to smoke. I saw her do this several times. I watched her closely but she did not use matches. Her power lighted her pipe. [821]

A similar formulation of the spirit of the night as the source of power was made by Joe Green, also at Pyramid Lake.

> There are two nights. The second one comes behind the night that everybody sees. This second night is under the darkness. It tells the shaman where the pain is and what caused the sickness. When the second night comes it makes the shaman feel that he is a doctor. The power is in him to doctor. Only shamans can see this second night. The people can only see the darkness. They cannot see the night under it.

In other statements, Joe Green insisted that power came from the spirits of animals; and, as has been noted, his own power came from the otter. This view of the source of supernatural aid was

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[3] Other informants at Pyramid Lake claimed that Dick Mahwee received his powers from the ghost of a Pit River Indian, eagle, and crow. (See list of shamans and their powers given below.)

756 776 not held by lay informants at Pyramid Lake nor was it recognized by members of any of the other Paviotso groups.

As has been suggested, personal interpretation may explain this deviant concept of supernatural power. It is clear that the views quoted harmonize at least in part with the basic pattern of individualized animal and other spirits giving supernatural aid, for here in one case we find these spirits acting as messengers; they are in immediate contact with the shamans, and in the other case power from animal and other spirits is specifically mentioned.

Spirits, then, are the sources of shamanistic powers. In theory, the number of these spirits or supernatural beings is unlimited. A list of shamans and their powers was compiled in the field and checked with several informants. Although there were discrepancies in the powers ascribed to some shamans—nor is it a complete list of present-day shamans—it will illustrate the actual sources of the powers of shamans living today.

Shaman	*Source of Power*
Dick Mahwee	Eagle, crow, and the ghost of a Pit River Indian.
Abraham Mahwee	A large spotted bird which lives on the lake (unidentified), and the ghosts of three Indians, the kind of people who live far away where nobody can see them.
George Calico	Lizard and two water-babies that live in the lake.
Frank Northop	The ghost of a Pit River Indian and horse.
Judy David	Eagle.
Jack Warwick	Two horses and the ghost of a man, the same kind of power that Abraham Mahwee has (see above).
Johnny Calico	Eagle and an unidentified bird.
Pete Toby	Horse and a horse-hair rope.
Eugene Frazier	Eagle and crow.
Hattie Whitehead	Water-babies and otter.
Mary Garvey	Crow and the big mountain fly.
Julia Robinson	Eagle.
Johnny Newman	Water-babies.
Blind Bob	Claims to have power from the magpie, but has never doctored.
Paiute Harrison	Antelope and eagle.
Mary Harrison	Eagle.
Jackson Overton	Bear.
Joe Green	Otter.
Tom Mitchell[4]	Eagle, weasel, small unidentified bird living in the mountains, and another spirit unknown to the informants.
Rosie Plummer	Rattlesnake.

[4] This man is acknowledged as the most powerful shaman in recent years.

It appears that the spirit of the coyote was never a source of power, although Coyote is the most prominent character in Paviotso tales. 756 776 825 [773]

> Shamans never got power from Coyote. According to the old stories the Indians tell, Coyote always spoils everything. Coyote is bad. Sometimes he tries to get the soul of someone. He says, "I am going to get you and when you die, I will eat you." The coyote cannot be heard to say this, but when he has said it, it makes the victim sick. (Joe Green)
>
> Shamans do not get power from Coyote. Coyote causes sickness. Dogs are almost like Coyote. When a shaman doctors, dogs are kept away, otherwise he would not be successful in curing the sickness. (Rosie Plummer)

Fear of the wrath of water-babies and water-serpents noted in accounts above is not held for other spirits, save those of the elements, particularly the thunder. There seems to be no danger in ridiculing or showing lack of respect for the spirits of the animals and birds. 756 776

> The Indian doctors know the wind, clouds, and rain. A shaman talks to them. They are just like people, and they come. Anyone who makes fun of the thunder will be killed. One time a man at Schurz heard the thunder, and said, "That is nothing. I am going to fight that thunder." He went outside the house, and the thunder was heard overhead. He was hit by lightning and killed. (Tom Mitchell) 756 776 821

There is only one shaman who is reported to have had power from such a source. Wovoka, the prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance, is said to have had power from two clouds.

> One was a straight high cloud. This was for snow. The other cloud was dark and close to the ground. It was for rain. Wovoka could see a man's arm sticking out of the white cloud. One time the arm would be pointing north. Another time it would be pointing south, east, or west. (Joe Green)

This statement could not be verified, but there is evidence that the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement had power from several sources, including the wolf.

Another aspect of the supernatural spirits which are the source of shamanistic power is their invisibility to all but the shamans. Only the shaman can see the spirit or spirits from which he derives his power. Even when he invokes his supernatural aids at a doctoring, they are visible to him alone. Their presence is known to the others only through the shaman's account of his conversa- 756 776

756 776 tion with them. Supernatural spirits never appear to, nor are they ever heard by, anyone but those upon whom they bestow power.

Acquiring Shamanistic Power

756 Both men and women acquire and exercise shamanistic power. A shaman of either sex is a puhágəm. The power possessed by either a man or a woman is likewise known by a single term, puhá. The ratio of male to female shamans, as well as the proportion of practitioners to the total population, no doubt varied considerably from generation to generation. There are at present at Pyramid Lake, in a total population of nearly five hundred, eight shamans. Three of these are women. On the Walker River Reservation, where the population is about the same, there are seven shamans, five of them women, one of whom is a Shoshoni. In past generations, female shamans do not seem to have ever outnumbered the men.

756 162 562 In an attempt to arrive at some idea of the total number of shamans and the ratio of men to women practitioners, I asked informants to name all who could be remembered as possessing power for curing purposes. The results at best are only approximate, but some conception of the frequency with which men and women become shamans is suggested. At Walker River several people, after a lengthy discussion among themselves, were able to name twenty shamans who were living about 1900. Of these, five were women. Three of the men were said to have been much more powerful shamans than the others. No doubt the population was somewhat greater at that time than at present, but figures are not available. Joe Green was able to name nineteen shamans living at Pyramid Lake about forty years ago. Of this number, two were women. At that time the population on this reservation was nearly seven hundred.

All informants were certain that in former years the number of shamans was considerably greater than it is today. Consequently, these estimates may serve only as a clue to the proportion of shamans, perhaps in the order of twenty to seven hundred people, at the same time giving a rough idea of how many of the shamans were women. Obviously, these ratios must have shifted from decade to decade.

In theory, female shamans may become as powerful as the male 756 doctors. In practice, however, it appears that all the outstanding 562 practitioners are, and have been, men. On the other hand, female shamans are highly respected and are on an equal footing with their male colleagues; some may even have stronger powers than the less prominent male shamans. Moreover, according to several informants, women can acquire powers which are used, as with men, for purposes other than curing.

> Women who have power are as strong as men shamans. One time there was a woman who had a power that protected her against bullets. When the Indians were fighting the soldiers, she rode out in front of [789 them to attract their attention while the women and children got away. 726] The soldiers shot at her but their bullets did not hurt her. She had the same power as men shamans. (Joe Green)

Apparently berdaches never became shamans. The several 756 transvestites who are remembered by people living today were 838 certainly not shamans. Lowie recorded only one case of sex-reversal among the Pyramid Lake Paviotso. This occurred some twenty years before his visit, and apparently shamanistic powers were not ascribed to the individual.[5] Sarah Winnemucca mentions the case of one cowardly warrior who was forced to don women's clothing and perform tasks allotted to that sex, but there is no reference to the possession of power.[6] This as well as the evidence in my own notes suggests that berdaches were of relatively infrequent occurrence and of slight importance. Certainly, they became shamans rarely, if ever, and clearly never as the result of their condition.

Acquiring shamanistic power, and later the exercise of power, 756 is an individual affair. This is true both for the power derived from unsolicited dreams and from the voluntary quest. Power is never acquired by people in groups or at public performances, but is the result of private personal experiences.

The acquisition of power involves more than the development of a personal relationship with a particular spirit. When shamanistic power is conferred, the candidate not only secures a spirit helper but also acquires those special abilities or capacities neces-

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[5] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 283.

[6] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 70.

756 sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[7]

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787 The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

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858 Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> [888] I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green)

756 Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

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[776] [7] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*, 13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*.

power may come at any time during life at the volition of the spir- 756
its or powers.

Power that comes unsolicited makes itself known through re- 756
peated dreams. The spirit which is the source of power appears re- 787
peatedly in these dreams to instruct the dreamer. 776

> A man dreams that a spirit of deer, eagle, or bear comes to him. The spirit tells him that he is to be a doctor. When a man first dreams this way he does not believe it. Then the dream comes again. He dreams this way for a long time. The spirit tells him to collect eagle feathers, wild tobacco, a stone pipe, a rattle, and other things. When he gets these things he becomes a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him. (Nick Downington)

The dreams, both in form and in content, conform to no rigidly fixed pattern. One person may see an animal or a ghost in his dreams; another may only hear the voice of the spirit which gives him his power. There seems, however, to be an emphasis on auditory experiences in dreams. Usually in the first dream, the prospective shaman only hears the spirit singing and talking. In later dreams the spirit is seen. This is not always the case, for some shamans had visual evidence of the presence of supernatural powers in their first, as well as in later, dream-experiences.

The instructions given the novice shaman in dreams are also 787
varied. One may be told to follow certain rules in eating or in other 756
daily habits; for another the details will be quite different. As was mentioned in the statements above, the dreamer is told also to collect certain objects to be used in doctoring. There is, then, a certain generalized type of dream through which power is acquired. Within this framework, the dreams of individuals are quite varied. Differences in instructions received by shamans in dreams are often given as the explanation of the variety of ways in which shamans doctor or perform their other functions. Several informants stated that no two shamans have precisely the same dreams. Consequently, there are numerous differences in detail in carrying out shamanistic practices. These differences are never ascribed to individual interpretation, but are attributed to the whims of shamans' spirits reflected in the instructions received from the supernatural helpers in dreams or at the curing performance. Moreover, individuals vary in the number of dreams that

787 are had before shamanistic practice is undertaken. One man may
756 dream of a spirit only a few times; then, recognizing the meaning
of his experience, he will feel fully qualified to take up doctoring. Another novice shaman may dream repeatedly for a year or more before he enters upon his profession. No doubt the degree of suggestibility of various individuals is an important factor in determining the frequency of dreams. The desire of one person to become a shaman may lead to the interpretation that certain dreams have conferred power, whereas another may refuse out of fear to undertake shamanistic practice. If a person dreams of being a shaman only once, or even several times, it is not thought that he must obey the call.

It should be noted that relatively few complete dream-experiences were recorded. This is in part due to the feeling that the actual content of the dream itself was of no importance. The instructions that the dreamer received were all that mattered. Consequently, though few people related dreams in any detail, the knowledge and the instructions gained through such experiences were carefully reported by informants. There was no reluctance on the part of either shamans or laymen in discussing dream-experiences; all talked freely on this subject.

756 An account of the dreams by which power was given to one sha-
787 man will serve to illustrate the characteristic features of this sort
159 of experience.

> I was getting to be a doctor. My father was a doctor, and I got to be one just the same as he. In my dream, I heard a song. It was coming from the north. It was coming just a few feet above the ground. I heard that song. I heard it just one night. The song came all night. That was all I heard the first night.
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> In dreams after that I saw a horse coming from the east. When I first heard him, he was on the other side of the mountain. Then I saw him come over the ridge. He came toward me and when he got close, he made a big circle around me. Then he went back. That horse had nothing to do with my power.
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> My father used to doctor. He had power from the otter. I had the same power. After I dreamed about the horse, the otter came to me in my dreams. He told me to get his skin and to cut it into a strip about four inches wide down the length of the back from the head to the top of the tail and including the eyes and ears. Then he told me to get two eagle tail-feathers and put them in two holes in the skin at the neck and

> to tie them inside with buckskin. The feathers lay flat on the fur side of the skin. The otter told me to keep the skin and the eagle-feathers. He told me to use the skin and feathers when sickness is bad and hard to cure. He said, "When there is very bad sickness and no doctor can cure it, take the skin out of your sack and put it in front of you. Then you are going to try to cure." I was ready to doctor then. When I doctored, the otter gave me my songs. 756 787 159

This account then goes on to relate how a mistake was made in the care of the paraphernalia and, as a result, the informant lost his power. This illustrates the belief that if the exact details of the instructions given by the supernatural spirit are not followed, the offending shaman will suffer illness and loss of power. 756 787 159 688

> After I got my power, I tried doctoring a few times. Then one night the otter came to me again in a dream. He told me that I should get another tail-feather of the eagle. He said, "Take a round piece of abalone shell about the size of a quarter and fasten it to the feather." It was then that I spoiled my power. I had been thinking for some time that the otter-skin was too long. It was about four feet from the head to the tip of the tail. So I cut the head off. After I had done this I got sick. The last time I dreamed about the otter was when I was sick. I felt dizzy. I did not feel very good. I saw the otter jump into the upper end of Pyramid Lake. Then I saw him running on the desert. That was the last time I saw the otter. I had to call in a powerful shaman [Tom Mitchell] to cure me. He came and doctored me. He said to me, "I found out that you cut off the otter's head. That is what made you sick. When you did that the otter went away. You will never see him again. You cut the head off and now you are just like the otter. He does not know anything, and you are the same way." I never dreamed again of the otter when I got well. If I had not cut that piece from the skin I would now be a doctor. (Joe Green)

Very often dream-experience, if not understood, will result in sickness. In this event it may be necessary to have a shaman interpret dreams and restore the dreamer to health. 756 787

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man, who is still living here [Reno], was sick about a year. He almost died. When he was sick he went into trances and his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the land of the dead. He dreamed that way all the time when he was sick. He said that ghosts of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman. The man almost died, but his father finally cured him. (Harry Sampson)

756 787 The first few dreams in which supernatural spirits appear can be safely disregarded. But shortly, if the instructions received in the dream are not followed, it is necessary to call a shaman to doctor the patient. In the course of curing, the shaman tells the patient to do as he had been told in his dreams. Then, if the summons is obeyed, recovery is assured. Usually a person is reluctant to become a shaman, and assumes his powers and follows the spirit's bidding only when he is told by other shamans that otherwise death will result. Likewise throughout the rest of the shaman's life he must follow carefully all the instructions given him by his supernatural power. If any part of shamanistic paraphernalia 758 which has been collected at the behest of the shaman's spirit is lost or destroyed, the shaman not only loses his power, but, as has been noted, sickness also results. Death may also follow any other very serious breaches of the injunctions placed on the shaman by the spirits.

In addition to those who receive shamanistic power from involuntary dreams, there are individuals whose desire for power is sufficiently strong to cause them to undertake a voluntary quest. There are certain places, such as caves in the mountains, where power can be acquired.[8] Eight or ten such places are known today, and perhaps formerly there were still others which are now forgotten.

In some of these places, only power for certain undertakings can be sought; in others several kinds of spirit aid can be gained. The tests that are imposed upon the seeker differ also according to the place where the power is sought.

> 756 787 778 Power is sought on a mountain near Wabusca. This power protects a man against bullets. It makes him a great warrior. When a man gets power at this place he must run down the side of the mountain without breathing. If he does not do this the power will not help him. This place is not like the other places where power is acquired. Here the noises of all the animals are not heard the way they are in the caves. Only power to be a warrior comes from this mountain. This place is called tágwanᵎ. A long time ago men got power there. No one goes there nowadays.
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> There is another place near Fallon where power is sought. The power

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[8] Lowie recorded that, ". . . in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision." *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294.

> to be a doctor can be acquired on this mountain. Big rocks roll down 756
> when a person goes there to seek power. If one steps out of the way of 787
> these rolling rocks, the power will not come. The rocks come within a 778
> couple of feet of the person who is seeking power and then disappear. That is the way the spirits test people who go there to get power. The mountain is called wayɨkudagwa'. (Rosie Plummer)

There are no preparations for the power-quest. The man who 756
seeks a vision does not fast either before he undertakes the quest 787
or during his stay in the cave. Nor is the quest for power accompanied by self-torture or extended physical exertion.

Late in the afternoon, the man who seeks power goes to a cave where, he has heard, it is possible to acquire power. Food for a midnight and a morning meal may be taken along. Upon entering the cave, the aspirant for supernatural power asks for the particular kind of power that he desires. He then makes simple preparations for spending the night there. Power comes simply as a result of the aspirant's request and his concentration on the desire for power. One of the informants, Dick Mahwee, who sought and received his power in a cave, gave an account of his experiences.[*] His version will serve as a fairly representative statement of this manner of acquiring power.

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> When I was a young man I had dreams in which I doctored people. 787
> I did not take those dreams seriously. My uncle was an Indian doctor. 159
> He knew what was coming to me. He told me to be careful in talking, not to speak harshly [in order not to offend the supernatural spirits]. I did not become a doctor from these dreams. Finally, I decided to go to the cave near Dayton. I was about fifty then. My uncle did not tell me to go there. I just decided to do this myself.
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> I went into the cave in the evening. As soon as I got inside, I prayed and asked for power to doctor sickness. I said, "My people are sick. I want to save them. I want to keep them well. You can help me make them well. I want you to help me to save them. When they have died give me power to bring them back [return the lost soul]." I said this to the spirit in the cave. It is not a person. It comes along with the darkness. This is a prayer to the night.
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> Then I tried to go to sleep. It was hard to sleep there. I heard all kinds of noises. I could hear all the animals. There were bears, mountain lions, deer, and other animals. They were all in caves in the moun-

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[*] It may be of interest to note that he related his experiences in detail each summer during the three seasons in the field. These accounts recorded a year apart agreed in all details.

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> tain. After I went to sleep I could hear people at a doctoring. They were down at the foot of the mountain. I could hear their voices and the songs. Then I heard the patient groan. A doctor was singing and doctoring for him. A woman with a sage-brush shoot in her hand danced. She moved around the fire jumping at every step. Each time she jumped she said, "hɔ', hɔ', hɔ'." Then the shaman sprinkled water on the patient with sage-brush. The singing and dancing went on for a long time. Then the singing stopped. The patient had died and the people began to cry.
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> After a while the rock where I was sleeping began to crack like breaking ice. A man appeared in the crack. He was tall and thin. He had the tail-feather of an eagle in his hand. He said to me, "You are here. You have said the right words. You must do as I tell you. Do that or you will have a hard time. When you doctor, you must follow the instructions that the animals give you. They will tell you how to cure the sickness. I have this feather in my hand, You must get feathers like it. You are also to find the things that go with it. Get dark beads. Put them on the quills of the feathers and tie a strip of buckskin to the quills. Also get a hoof of a deer, and down from the eagle. With these you can go to people to cure them. These are your weapons against sickness. You must get three rolls of tobacco. You can use them to tell your patients what made them sick and then you can cure them. The tobacco will also help you if you are choked with clots of saliva when you suck out the disease. With this you are beginning to be a doctor. You will get your songs when you doctor. The songs are now in a straight line [ready for use]. Bathe in the water at the foot of the cliff and paint yourself with i·bi [white paint]."
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> Then I woke up. It was daylight. I looked around but I could not see anyone. The man was gone and there was no sign of the animals or the people who had been singing and doctoring. Then I did as the spirit had ordered and waited to become a doctor. In about six years I had received enough instructions to begin to cure.

The success of the power-quest is dependent upon the seeker's undeviating adherence to the traditionally recognized form of procedure. If he does not go to the right place or if he refuses to stay in the cave the entire night, failure will attend his efforts. Also, as in unsolicited dreams, the instructions of the spirits must be carefully followed. Consequently, only those who do not abide by these conditions fail in the quest for power. Several informants related anecdotes of men who were unable to acquire power owing to their failure to follow the correct procedure in the quest.

> Happy Dave heard about the cave where power is acquired. He went there, but he did not want to go inside the cave. He tied his horse

> above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river and bathe and put i·bi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee) 756 787 159 [751]

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death. 756 787 [768]

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power. [775]

> Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

> 756 787 The eldest son does not always get the power. There is no rule, because the power always decides who is to be a shaman. Several doctors here [Pyramid Lake] inherited their powers. One woman has her father's power. She is as strong a doctor as he was. (Dick Mahwee)
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> In the old days, a shaman before his death did not give away his power. A son or daughter got the power after the shaman died. A few years ago a woman at Walker Lake gave her power to her daughter before she died. I do not think this was done in the old days. (Rosie Plummer)
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> My father had power from the otter. After he died, I dreamed about the otter and his songs. I never saw my father in my dreams. He did not decide that I would get his power. The otter decided that. Sometimes a shaman can tell before his death which child will inherit the power. One child will talk in his sleep and try to sing. The songs are not plain enough to be understood. Then the doctor knows that the child will have his power after he dies.
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> When my father was dying, he wanted to give me his doctoring outfit. But I knew about the danger and I did not take it. I knew it would make me sick. If I had taken his outfit he would have wanted his rattle and eagle-feather with him. He [his ghost] would come back to get these things. Then I would have got sick and died. (Joe Green)

Cases of shamanistic power being transmitted to a child while the parent is still alive are also known. In this event, both parent and child are regarded as practising shamans.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father who is a doctor. Both can doctor at the same time. The father will tell the son how to doctor. When a boy starts going into trances, his father knows that some day his son will be a doctor. A woman can inherit power the same way. (Annie Dick)

One informant, Rosie Plummer, inherited her power from her father. He in turn had been the heir to his brother's power. Her account gives the typical beliefs for this way of acquiring shamanistic power.

> 756 787 159 When my uncle was dying, he told my father to take his power. He wanted my father to have the power to doctor. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions for doctoring that way. The next day my uncle died. Soon after that my father began to have dreams. My uncle would appear in these dreams. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father did not like the dreams. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away [so he would die]. [778] My uncle, before he died, had given my father a little piece of lead with a hole in the center. The hole was filled with eagle

> down. My father buried the lead and the eagle down. Then his brother's 756
> ghost did not bother him again. That lead and the feathers represented 787
> my uncle's power. After that my father became a powerful shaman. 778
> His power told him to catch rattlesnakes. They did not bite him. He 159
> was told to put sage-brush in his nostrils so the snakes would not hurt him.
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> Rattlesnake was my uncle's power; then my father had rattlesnake 756
> for his power. Now the snake gives me power. Rattlesnake came to 787
> my father in dreams. That is how he learned to treat snake-bites. 825
> Rattlesnake told him to catch rattlesnakes and take two fangs from 159
> each. He was to do this until he had ten fangs. Then he was told to take ten stone beads that were colored like rattlesnake eyes. He strung the beads and the fangs together. He used this string of beads to treat rattlesnake bites. He could also cure people who were sick.
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> Sometimes my father caught rattlesnakes and put them around his waist. He used to ride home carrying rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me. He told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me, but it did not bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.
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> My father died about twenty years ago. Nearly fifteen years later, when I was about fifty, my father began to come to me in dreams. He brought his power to me. He told me to doctor. I dreamed about him three or four times before I believed that I would doctor. After a while the power started to come to me when I dreamed. Then I stopped dreaming about my father. The rattlesnake told me what to do. The snake helps me doctor now. It comes to me when I dream. Several times it has told me to catch snakes, but I have not done it. This has not yet made me sick.

It is difficult to state what proportion of shamans at any one 756
time have inherited powers. Nearly everyone has or had either close or distant kin with shamanistic power. There seems to be a general feeling that at least one child of a shaman will inherit powers. On the other hand, there is good evidence that in many cases a shaman's powers are lost at death. It also seems evident that inheritance here is but a variation on the theme of acquiring power through dream-experience.

Related to the practice of transferring power before death to the son or daughter is the idea that it can be shared with another. However, when a shaman gives his power to some member of his family, usually that person has already been set apart from others as having a predisposition to acquire power. This is exhibited early in life by dreams and by talking while asleep. Transfer in this

756 fashion appears to happen frequently, for it was described by a number of informants who knew of several shamans who had acquired power from a parent during the lifetime of that individual. On the other hand, sharing power with any person not so disposed is not a common practice. Only one incident of transferring power in return for property or other considerations was recorded.

There are, then, three general ways in which the Paviotso may acquire power, but all depend fundamentally upon the same type of experience. In spite of the many opportunities thus afforded for acquiring power, it is evident that relatively few people actually become shamans. The explanation doubtless is to be found in the danger involved in both the acquisition and the use of supernatural power.

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171 Another point that emerges from these accounts is the extreme simplicity of the voluntary power-quest. Essentially, it is little more than the deliberate seeking for the usual dream-experiences accompanied by rather simple tests of the candidate's courage. The long and arduous physical exertions that characterize the Plateau quest and the fasting and self-torture of the search for power on the western Plains are totally unknown to the Paviotso. It is as though the deliberate quest for power here were lightly superimposed upon an older basic pattern in which shamanistic power was derived from dream-experiences alone.

Loss of Power

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688 A shaman is never secure at any time in the possession of his power. Careless treatment of paraphernalia or the flouting of instructions given by the spirits may deprive the shaman of his ability to cure disease. Moreover, careless or malicious acts of others may endanger the shaman's power. If a spectator at a curing ceremony does not carry out the precise requests of the practitioner in handling food, painting the face or body, maintaining silence at specified times during the performance, or other special forms of behavior demanded of those present, harm in the form of failure to effect a cure as well as sickness for the shaman is likely to follow. Frequent instances of illness and loss of power among shamans were attributed by informants to these or similar missteps or to abuses in utilizing the special powers conferred upon these people.

Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman 756
suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not 688
only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

Paraphernalia

The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indi- 756
cation of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip 778
himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird, stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[10]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámakɔ^{swa}'odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another.
The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it [178]
is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer 756
hooflet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The 778
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[10] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

756 778 534 second type is made by scraping the skin clean of hair, soaking it in water, and sewing together the edges. Sand is packed inside, and the skin is allowed to dry until it is hard and stiff. Then the sand is removed and a handle of greasewood or willow about eight inches long is put through holes made in the center of the two pieces of skin. The handle projects an inch or a little less on one side of the rattle. It is fastened in place firmly with sinew. Small pebbles, usually gathered on an ant-hill, are put into the drum, and the opening is closed. Nowadays, circular pieces of deerskin frequently take the place of the skin from the ears. A variation in this rattle is produced by fastening two containers of pebbles together at one end of the handle, making a double-headed rattle.

The other type, the deer-claw rattle, is similar to the rattle used in girls' adolescence rites by a number of tribes in northern California. Anywhere from fifteen or twenty to fifty or even more deer-claws are used, depending upon the number available. A hole is made in the tip of each hooflet and a short piece of buckskin thong knotted at one end is put through the hole from the inside. The hooflet is then fastened by the thong to a willow or greasewood handle. The knot inside the hooflet prevents the buckskin from pulling through the hole. The claws dangle in a bunch an inch or two from the handle, which is usually eight or ten inches long.

Both types of rattles are known as wisábaya. The choice of the type of rattle to be used by each shaman is dictated by his power.

756 778 The tail-feather contained in the shaman's paraphernalia has a piece of buckskin thong about ten inches long tied to the quill. Down is also fastened to the thong and one or two beads of bone, shell or stone are strung on it close to the feathers. When the shaman doctors, the tail-feathers, together with the down and the beads, are fastened by the buckskin to a dressed willow stick three or four feet long. The pointed end of this stick (puhátumadápuipi) is placed in the ground beside the patient's head. The stick may be painted with red or white bands. The design of the painting is revealed to the shaman by his power. A fresh stick is used each time a shaman cures. The particular kind of feathers used by the shaman does not indicate his source of power. A shaman might have power from an animal and keep an eagle-feather in his outfit. In

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from 756
any other bird. 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

The shaman's pipe (tɔ́ɩc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden 756
stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of 778
the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, 276
few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for [178]
social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ́ɩc).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence [841]
of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions.

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in 756
their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as 778
bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of 534
eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

756 struments are used by some shamans at the beginning of the
778 curing performance in order to call the powers. They are little used
534 today, however, and it is doubtful that they were formerly commonly included with the paraphernalia. It was reported that a shaman uses a whistle only if told to do so by his power. When the whistle is not in use, it is stuffed with feathers.

756 A bone or wooden tube six to twelve inches in length, used in
778 sucking out the disease, might also be included in the outfit if required by a shaman's spirit. When not in use, such a tube is filled with feathers. Commonly the shaman sucks the cause of disease
[755] from the patient by applying his mouth to the part of the body where, according to the diagnosis, the pain is localized. Some shamans, however, suck the disease from the patient through these tubes.

Paraphernalia in excess of the common standard equipment does not give a shaman stronger or even special powers. Nevertheless, unique or unusual additions are not looked upon as nonessential elaborations of the shaman's equipment. Everything in the kit is important and has a meaning, for if only a single feather is missing, the shaman faces sickness and supernatural impotence. All paraphernalia must be carefully preserved and used only in accordance with the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. When power is secured from several sources, say from several species of birds and animals, each spirit is represented in the shaman's paraphernalia. If part of the outfit is lost or disposed of, the particular power thus offended will cause the shaman to be sick, but he will be deprived of only that part of his power bestowed by the outraged spirit. The shaman may not lose all of his powers through the anger of a single spirit. It is reported that Abraham Mahwee, a shaman at Pyramid Lake, formerly had power from the bear in addition to the powers ascribed to him today. Grieving over the death of his wife a number of years ago, he threw away that part of his paraphernalia which had been collected at the command of the bear. Soon after, he became seriously ill and had to call in another shaman to doctor him. Since his recovery, he has not been able to get the bear to help him in doctoring, although he has not lost the powers given him by other spirits.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753 ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757] The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164] that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774] may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [688] their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787 dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755] intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754] sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114] cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

753 sorcery, dreams, ghosts, and animals, as well as the illness of shamans resulting from mistakes or disobedience either of the practitioner or of others.

753 787 Dreams (nɔsi) are commonly the cause of sickness. That is, the dream itself is directly responsible, not prophetic of, illness. The experiences in such dreams usually are connected with ghosts of the dead or visions of sickness and death. Often the dreamer will not suffer the ill effects of his dream, but a relative or a member of the household is the victim of the illness so caused. These disease-causing dreams seem to be entirely involuntary; one dreams—with no conscious desire to cause harm—that another is, or will be, ill; and shortly thereafter that individual becomes sick. Thus, illness among children is commonly believed to result from the dreams of parents. A father will dream that his child is ill; a few days later [756] the child is stricken and a shaman must be called in. If the shaman is not called very soon after the first manifestation of the sickness, the child will die. Visitors, as well as the parents, may bring about the illness of children as the result of dreams. In the summer of 753 787 578 1934, one such incident caused some excitement on the Pyramid Lake Reservation. As several informants reconstructed the affair, the following incidents led to a threat of murder.

> Joe Overall was visiting Rawhide Henry. After they ate at noon, Joe fell asleep at the table. When he woke up he said that he had dreamed about Rawhide's grandchild. He said that in the dream the girl was sick and weak. She was very sick. She was almost dead. The girl's parents told Joe to do something to take away the dream. Otherwise it looked bad for the girl. The girl's mother asked Joe to wash the girl and pray so the dream would go away. He did not want to do it. He told them that she would be all right. In a few hours the girl was sick. They called in a shaman to doctor the girl. The next day Rawhide's family wanted to kill Joe. Joe was a shaman a long time ago, but he lost his power. They think that he may have a little power left and that he used it to make the girl sick.

753 787 The contents of the dreams which result in sickness are varied. A relative may be seen to be ill or dying; voices may speak of sickness, or the dreamer may experience aches and pains. Apparently, in these dreams spirits or ghosts are not seen.

> Dreams about sickness just come natural. There do not seem to be any spirits that cause them. The dream just comes and then soon after you are sick. (Nick Downington)

> People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different 753
> ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person 787
> dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be heard telling the dreamer to do certain things. Other people dream that a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'ab^{u}), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the
bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady
has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782]
recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not
remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then over- 753
come the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755
The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787
on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775
cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753
Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774
in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ́yəp, or numəmugu'^{a}.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

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[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

775 753 dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of [774] the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts (sa'abᵔ) and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however, may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes of illness.

775 756 753 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appearance of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause immediate and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to counteract their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirl- [789] wind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in preventing the sickness that frequently follows such an experience. [782] [751] The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the morning.

775 753 774 756 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness resulting from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover, soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls restored 775
by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these 753
cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must 774
be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation frequently 756
given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point.

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. 753
When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is suddenly 756
awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. 774
Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisition 753
of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness 756
at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of 787
shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso.

753 825 It is believed that animals as well as ghosts can bring sickness to man. Apparently, such sickness may result from a deliberate malicious effort as in the case of the coyote; with other animals it may be involuntary or the means of punishment.

> Once a man dreamed that three coyotes came to him. They said, "Tell us who is a good man. We will get him and eat him. If you do not tell us, we will come and eat you." The man believed them, so he told them about a woman. A few days after the man had this dream, the woman was sick. They got a shaman to doctor her. He sang for two nights before he knew what made her sick. Then he saw three coyotes in a cloud. Only the heads could be seen. He saw that they were coming to get the woman. He told the woman's family what the coyote had done. They were coming then. When they came close and saw the shaman, they were afraid. They went away and never bothered the woman again. The shaman told her to put red paint on all her joints. [755] She was to paint red and white bands around her joints. [Treatment in this fashion is customary in curing illness caused by dreams.] Coyote could see that paint when he was a long way off. He did not like it so he never came again. (Joe Green)

Other game animals, especially large game, such as antelope and mountain sheep, can also cause illness. The owl appears, prophetically perhaps, in dreams to bring sickness. Gophers, too are thought to be a sign of sickness and death, but it is doubtful that they cause either. When gophers are caught, they are skinned and the skin is spread over the belly of the carcass. Both are then hung up on the south side of a bush, tree, or house. Gophers may also be [782] burned until only ashes remain. In the course of either operation, a prayer in some such words as these is recited: "You tried to give me bad luck. Now you will be destroyed."

754 Sorcery is an extremely potent source of illness. The sorcerer secures his power from the same sources and in the same way as the shaman who practices for the general good. In fact, to the Paviotso a sorcerer is a shaman who utilizes his power not in the socially accepted way but in a dangerous and anti-social fashion; he has corrupted potentially beneficial power in such a way as to cause harm. The sorcerer is frequently designated by the term for shaman, puhágəm. There is, however, another word for the sorcerer, numə́tukə́d· (eater of people), but the former seems to be more commonly used.

The sorcerer recites no incantations, nor does he work spells, to 754 overcome his victims. Cast-off clothing, nail-parings, hair-combings, and the images of intended victims, are not used by the sorcerer in causing sickness and death. In fact, none of the techniques usually associated with the practice of either sympathetic or contagious magic is to be found among the Paviotso. Frequently the sorcerer achieves his end simply by concentrating his thoughts on the desired end, the wish for the destruction of the victim by sickness. A sorcerer may also cause illness by touching a person, by handing him food, or giving him a pipe to smoke. The sorcerer does not allow even his victim to become aware of the effort being made to harm him. Discovery of the sorcerer's practices comes only when a shaman is successful in diagnosing the malady of the victim. It is said that sorcerers can cause people either to die suddenly or to suffer a lingering illness.

Often, when sickness results from sorcery, a tangible substance 753 enters the victim's body. That is, in the current categories of such 754 concepts, the sorcerer brings about "disease-object intrusion." These objects are variously described as a small stone, a little black lizard, a worm, insects, a sliver of obsidian, and miniature figures of men, animals, or birds. None of these is thought to have been "shot" into the victim; nor are such objects used in any way to bring about sickness. In the words of one informant, "The sorcerer thinks about a lizard and that is what causes sickness." The sorcerer then simply concentrates on something, and with the assistance of his power it, or its miniature, is injected by some supernatural process into the victim and sickness results. The disease-object must be sucked out in order to bring about the victim's recovery.

Sorcerers appear never to practice their art for material gain or 754 at the request of another. Securing the services of a sorcerer by means of persuasion or bribery to wreak vengeance on an enemy is totally foreign to Paviotso thinking. The sorcerer works in secret entirely for his own ends. At least this is true when he first uses his power for evil purposes. Later, after he has caused the illness and death of a number of people, he is powerless to withstand the impulse to kill. Then his activities become completely involuntary and he is unable to restrain his lust for murder.

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> After a shaman poisons one person, he cannot stop. When the first victim is dead, he tries to poison others. Then he always wants to make people sick and kill them. (Joe Green)

If he has sufficient power, a shaman who has been the victim of a sorcerer may extract the cause of disease and without the aid of another practitioner cast off the ill effects of his enemy's magic.

As sorcerers are believed to cause so much of the illness afflicting the Paviotso, they are greatly feared. Anyone suspected of sorcery is treated with every respect and consideration in order not to arouse his wrath and ill-will. It is said that any request or demand made by a known sorcerer is never refused out of fear of the revenge that might be taken through witchcraft. Those who fear a particular shaman will, if possible, avoid accepting anything from him or touching his person.

754 683 In aboriginal times, sorcerers were put to death when detected in frequent killings. Their guilt was established then as now, by shamans who determined not only the nature of sickness but also the person responsible. An accusation of this sort by a shaman of standing was probably tantamount to conviction. When a sorcerer claimed several victims, the entire group became concerned and demanded the death of the guilty person. The execution was carried out by several men appointed for the task, or a large number of people fell upon the sorcerer and killed him. The usual practice 766 was to burn the house over the murdered sorcerer; otherwise the body was buried in the usual manner.

If a sorcerer had not become notorious, members of a victim's family might take it upon themselves to avenge the death of a relative. The sorcerer, known to them from the shaman's diagnosis, was stabbed, clubbed, or shot. As in the communal execution, the house was burned with the corpse inside. As far as can be learned, the sorcerer's family rarely attempted retaliation for these murders. In so far as pre-Caucasian conditions can be determined from the memories of living people, it can safely be said that the fear of sorcery was easily the chief source of intra-tribal strife and violence; that the charge of witchcraft more frequently 578 than anything else led to the killing of one Paviotso by another. Suspicion of sorcery is in itself sufficient to endanger social relations and even life.

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that 754
all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. 756
According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is al- 755
ways a public performance, with spectators participating to a
certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices
are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans.
The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the [796
only other important public ceremony.[13] The Paviotso shaman 224]
gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power,
nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is
not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an im-
portant public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious [796]
activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso 756 shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

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[13] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both movements, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance. [796]

756 instructed sons and daughters in curing practices. It is reported that in some instances when a shaman is invited to treat his first patient, he may ask an older experienced man to help him the first night. The instructor initiates the curing and carries it on for nearly half the night. The younger shaman then takes over the performance and goes on unaided. This is entirely a personal affair between shamans, as there are no organizations or societies of shamans. Usually, instead of mutual interests and aims bringing [578] shamans together, rivalry and jealousy, manifested by attempts to poison one another, are typical of their feelings and behavior.

755 In curing, each shaman is thought to derive his particular procedure from the supernatural power which directs his efforts. Therefore it seems perfectly consistent to the Paviotso that no two shamans will go through the curing performance in precisely the same way. There is, nevertheless, a general form of procedure followed by all shamans when they treat the sick. The characteristic features of this prevailing plan will first be described.

Curing always takes place at the home of the patient. In winter the mat-covered, dome-shaped house is the scene of the performance; in warm weather the shaman usually performs in the circular brush wind-break which serves as shelter while the family is away from winter quarters. Beyond sweeping the floor, nothing is done to the house in preparation for the arrival of the shaman and spectators.

The family of the sick person decides which shaman is to be called in to doctor. This decision may be made by the patient, if he is able to make his desires known. When the illness is quite serious, a shaman known to have unusually strong powers may be asked to doctor. Shamans of renown may be called in from another band, especially in serious cases, or after the failure of a local practitioner.

Shamanistic curing performances are attended by all who are living conveniently near. No public announcement is made when a shaman is about to cure, but the news of the coming event nevertheless circulates quickly. Often when a shaman is invited in the morning, everyone within walking distance has heard of the coming performance by nightfall. Consequently, a crowd never fails to gather for the curing rites.

The shamanistic performance is probably best looked upon as 755
a blend of the social and the religious. All who attend participate, [533]
at least in a small way, by singing, which is thought to be a powerful aid in establishing contact through the shaman with the supernatural forces. This in turn assists the shaman in gaining control over malignant forces. When Paviotso shamanism was in full swing, these performances, held in a small closely packed house, must have been exciting and impressive. The singing and the shaman's tricks appear to have excited the spectators to a high emotional pitch which was followed by a relaxation of tension attended often by a general feeling of satisfaction when control of the sickness was demonstrated by the return of the soul or the extraction of a disease-object. The social aspect of these gatherings was and is today an important motive for attending. There were occasions during the night for talk and gossip, an opportunity never spurned by the Paviotso. The food provided by the patient's family at midnight also held a strong social appeal, for the religious tensions were largely relaxed for the moment. Finally, in the absence of other important religious ceremonies, these rites were charged with more feeling and emotion [781]
than any other type of community gathering.

At the present time, there is little specialization among shamans. 756
In aboriginal times, however, certain types of disorders were 463
treated by shamans known for their ability along special lines. Shamans with power from the rattlesnake were believed to have the greatest power for treating people bitten by that snake. Again, only shamans who derived power from water-babies could treat sickness caused by these beings. Shamans who secured their powers from ghosts specialized in curing those whose illness resulted from experiences with the souls of the dead. Still other forms of specialization in curing seem to depend on the strength of the shaman's power rather than upon its source. Some powerful shamans are believed to be especially efficacious in curing the ill-effects of dreams; others are famous for success in doctoring wounds. On the Pyramid Lake Reservation at the present time, one shaman is well known for assisting women in cases of difficult labor, not because of any particular kind of power, but because of a number of successful cures. As with this man, the renown of shamans as specialists is based entirely on success in treating

756 certain types of afflictions. In still another form of illness, soul 463 loss, cures can be made only by shamans who have unusually strong power. Lost souls are restored not by virtue of power from a particular source, but rather by the aid of spirits far stronger than those possessed by the ordinary shamans.

755 The curing performance usually takes place at night. In case of a wound, a snake-bite, or very serious illness, a shaman may be summoned at any time of the day or night. In this event, the doctoring begins as soon as the shaman arrives. Apparently these emergency treatments take place infrequently. The performance at night which is thought of by the Paviotso as the orthodox form of doctoring is called tuníku'hu (literally, singing). An emergency treatment which lasts about three hours is known as sɔgɔ́nəbu'ᵘ. The meaning of this term is not known.

It is customary for the shaman to doctor a patient for two nights. Several informants insisted that the treatment must be kept up for this length of time even though the patient shows signs of recovery after the first night. The shaman does not doctor two successive nights, however, but rests one night between the first and second treatments. When a patient is dangerously ill, two shamans may be called in, though usually they do not work together, but alternately. One performs the first night and the other the second, and so on.

A member of the patient's family summons the shaman, usually visiting the shaman at sunrise. The shaman is reserved and aloof during the consultation, slowly smoking his pipe while considering the summoner's invitation. The fee is briefly discussed and agreed upon; it may also be paid at this time. In former days, beads, 465 skins, blankets, and horses were paid for a shaman's services; nowadays the usual fee is three to five dollars. No doubt the shaman's remuneration varies considerably, the better-known practitioners charging even more than the larger sum mentioned.

756 It is said that shamans who overcharge their patients become ill. The explanation offered is that the shamans' powers determine the fee and if the practitioner asks for more the spirit will be angry and punish the offender. On the other hand, shamans are required by their powers to collect a fee for treating patients; the giving of free services would endanger the life of the shaman.

The only exception to this rule mentioned by informants is in 756 the case of illness in the shaman's immediate family, where he can treat the sick without exacting a fee and at the same time remain in the good graces of his power.

Shamans may permit their patients to defer payment of the charges for curing. If the debt is not paid in a specified time, however, the shaman will suffer a serious illness. This is believed to be the shaman's penalty for disobeying the injunctions of his power. Consequently, the shaman makes sure that he will be paid, usually demanding the fee in advance. In spite of these precautions, several instances of sickness among shamans, attributed to the failure to pay, were recorded.

Shamans rarely refuse to accept a case. It is generally agreed that shamans are required to treat the sick whenever they are asked. It is said that if a shaman refuses to go, his power will be angry, and sickness and loss of power will result.

When invited to doctor, the shaman asks few questions. He 755 does not inquire about the patient's symptoms, for his power is supposed to help him determine them. Yet he may briefly question the summoner about the patient's actions prior to the illness.

After gravely and quietly considering the request for assistance, the shaman announces that he will doctor that night. Then he directs the preparation of the stick (subínamadáʙu·inya) which is to be placed upright by the patient's head. The relative who summons the shaman cuts and prepares this stick, which is of willow and is three or four feet long. The shaman takes a feather from his kit (usually the tail-feather of the eagle) which, together with a bone or shell bead and down from the breast of the eagle, is attached by a buckskin thong to the blunt end of the stick. Red and white bands may also be painted on the wand. The precise way in which it is prepared and decorated depends upon the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. The relative now returns home, and the wand that he has prepared under the direction of the shaman is stuck in the ground beside the patient's head with the feathers and the bead hanging by several inches of string from the top of the stick. During the day the wand may be kept outside the house, but it is taken in and placed by the patient before the doctoring begins.

755 The shaman arrives after dark, usually about nine o'clock. He
756 is accompanied by his interpreter or "talker," called poínab*.[14]
[463] The interpreter, like the shaman, receives a fee for his services; usually he is paid about half as much as the shaman. His function in the curing rites is to repeat, in a loud clear voice, everything that is said by the shaman. In the curing rites, the shaman mumbles and speaks rapidly in broken snatches. The interpreter sitting at his left listens attentively and repeats the words clearly in order that the spectators may understand. He also follows the songs that the shaman sings, repeating the words loudly to enable the spectators to follow them easily and join in the singing. The interpreter learns only through practice, as he does not have supernatural power to aid him. A shaman always uses the same interpreter, who becomes familiar with his songs and way of talking. Several people stated that formerly the interpreters were not numerous, that shamans outnumbered interpreters. It is also said that in earlier days only men acted in this capacity, but nowadays women also interpret for shamans. One informant asserted that the interpreter also "prays" to the source of the sickness during the course of the curing. According to this statement, before the shaman starts to doctor, the interpreter seats himself by the patient and addresses the "sickness" with some such words as these:

> Our doctor is here. He is a good doctor. He is a strong doctor. You are poisoning this man. This doctor will find out about you. He knows you. Go away and leave this man alone. We do not want him to be sick. Go away and do not come back again. (Joe Green)

This informant stated that later in the performance, when the shaman had diagnosed the cause of illness, the interpreter again prays. This time he addresses the shaman. He might say,

> Cure this man. Make the sickness disappear. Make this man well. Suck out the sickness that is inside him. Show us the sickness that you suck out. Then he will recover.

Other informants did not confirm this function of the interpreter. The general opinion seems to be that the interpreter's duties consist only of repeating the words of the shaman and leading the spectators in singing his songs. Qualifications for this posi-

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[14] It may be noted that a chief and the head man of a communal undertaking are also designated by the same term.

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tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing 756
throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be 755
noted. This is the dancer (wūtád^{a}). The dancer is always a woman 535
and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous.
She may be either married or single. This performer carries a
bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This [534]
type of rattle (wədákət^{i}) is held close to the front of the body
and jerked up and down in time to the dance step. The dancer
follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets
up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction.
Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but
others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while
he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short,
quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee [465]
equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for 755
if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means
that in the summer the curing does not get under way before
ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the
twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with
the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange
gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating
his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats
himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been
previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are
also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One [756
may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his 787]
clothing in a particular way.

755 clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own
[304] style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face
and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left;
the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range them-
selves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if
[844 they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are
843] required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women
are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

756 The number of songs and their length vary with different
533 shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their
powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

755 After singing for a time, the shaman gets up and walks or hops slowly around the fire in the center of the room. If he employs a dancer, she follows him around the room each time he makes a circuit. He always moves around the room counter-clockwise. In describing this part of the performances, one informant volunteered the remark, "The whirlwind always moves in that direction too." Unfortunately, I neglected to question others on this point.

755 276 When the shaman sits down, he takes up his pipe, already filled by the interpreter, takes several puffs, and then passes it around among the spectators, always in a counter-clockwise direction. Everyone must take one or two whiffs of smoke, the number varying according to the shaman's instructions. The singing continues while the shaman smokes and during the time the pipe is being passed around. If anyone refuses to smoke, the shaman stops the performance until that person can be made to conform to his request. Otherwise the curing will not be successful, and the shaman will suffer from the annoyance of his power. The pipe is usually circulated among the spectators at intervals ranging from half an hour to an hour as long as the curing rite continues, customarily until morning.

755 [774] The nature of the disease determines to some extent the general plan of procedure. If the patient is unconscious and appears to be dead, it is obvious that he is suffering from soul loss. It is then imperative for the shaman to go into a trance (yáika)[15] as quickly as possible in order to find and return the soul before it has strayed too far. On the other hand, when disease results from other causes, the shaman may go into a trance in order to diagnose the illness and to confer with his power on the treatment. Whether or not the shaman goes into a trance for the latter purposes is said to be dependent upon the strength of his power.

755 787 The procedure for entering a trance varies considerably from one practitioner to another, but the following statement will serve to give an outline of generally accepted forms of practice. The shaman who goes into a trance first details five men to catch him as he staggers about the fire singing. They lower him to the ground

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[15] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, gives the term *mugwamanaq'* for this shamanistic trance. My informants were not familiar with this word.

755 787 and when he shows signs of returning to consciousness, they rub his limbs, especially the joints, with the feather wand. If the spirit of the shaman is returning with a lost soul, he can be heard talking with the soul as the spirits approach their respective bodies. When the shaman uses the trance for prognostic purposes, he will not only see the cause of illness but also signs which are interpreted as omens of recovery or of death. A trance of the latter kind was described by Dick Mahwee.

> I smoke before I go into the trance. While I am in the trance no one makes any noise. I go out to see what will happen to the patient. When I see a whirlwind I know that it caused the sickness. If I see the patient walking on grass and flowers it means that he will get well; he will soon be up and walking. When I see the patient among fresh flowers and he picks them it means that he will recover. If the flowers are withered or look as if the frost had killed them, I know that the patient will die. Sometimes in a trance I see the patient walking on the ground. If he leaves footprints I know that he will live, but if there are no tracks, I cannot cure him.
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> When I am coming back from the trance I sing. I sing louder and louder until I am completely conscious. Then the men lift me to my feet and I go on with the doctoring.

Apparently today few shamans are able to induce a trance state in the curing performance. It is frequently said that in former times, however, shamans commonly went into trances in curative practice. It is now impossible to determine how important a rôle this played in the shamanistic rites of aboriginal days. It should be noted that usually no distinctions are made between those who go into trances and those who do not. Several informants were of the opinion that there was only a difference in degree —those who used the trance were the more powerful shamans.

As soon as the shaman returns to consciousness, he relates his experiences in the trance. The singing is then resumed. If the shaman has found that the sickness is due to the presence of a disease object, at this point in the ceremony he will attempt to extract it by suction. This part of the treatment is shown as nubu'u or as patɔzibúo͜iid. My notes fail to give any distinction between the two terms.

755 He sucks the part of the body which his diagnosis has shown to be the seat of the pain. Usually he applies his mouth to the

patient's body, but some shamans use a bone or willow tube through which the disease is sucked. The blood and the cause of disease are sucked out through the unbroken skin, as the shaman never bites or cuts the patient's body. While the shaman is sucking, the interpreter and spectators continue to sing until he signals for them to stop by a vigorous shake of the rattle. The blood that is sucked from the patient is spat into a shallow hole scooped out in the earth floor beside the shaman. A new song is started by the shaman as soon as he spits out the blood. Then the pipe may be passed around again and he walks or dances around the fire several times before he applies himself to the sucking. This procedure is repeated a number of times before the disease-object is extracted. 755

When the shaman finally draws out the cause of sickness, he exhibits it to the spectators. He shows a pebble, a small black lizard, an insect, or a worm, which he claims caused the illness. The disease-object is then disposed of by putting it in the hole with the bad blood and covering all with dirt. Apparently it is no longer harmful. As far as could be determined, no particular time is specified in the curing rite for the shaman to succeed in sucking out the cause of illness. Singing and smoking are resumed as soon as the shaman disposes of the disease-object.

At about midnight there is an intermission in the curing performance lasting about a half-hour. At this time food provided by the patient's family is passed among the spectators. It is said that the particular kind of food is prescribed by the shaman when he agrees to doctor the patient. The basket containing the food is handed about in a counter-clockwise direction. Some shamans indicate the exact way in which the food may be eaten at this time. Care is taken in handling the food. None should be dropped on the ground or wasted; and the unconsumed left-overs are carefully buried. Usually the shaman does not partake of the midnight meal. He may, however, talk and even joke with the spectators while they are eating.

The shaman brings the ceremony to an end in the morning a little before daylight. Shamans often say that as day approaches their songs come to them very faintly; this is regarded as a signal given by the powers to stop. The shaman then gives the family

755 instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These prescriptions are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course of the curing rites.

→ When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the spec-
755 tators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire.
535 The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round
dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with
the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten
or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire.
According to one description, at the end of the dance all must
shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is
believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the
[776] house and these actions drive it away.

755 The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the
first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman
removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by
a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool
water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where
it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is
essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were
[825] to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness
and loss of power.

755 The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəpⁱ) and white (i·bi),
302 is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are se-
[388] cured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry powder, and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted. There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are employed for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily decoration with these paints is also common on social occasions. Nevertheless, the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the recovery of the sick.

It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated 757
with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of 515
shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies
that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its
use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place [177]
in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[18]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His 756
failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic 756
performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks 789
when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

[18] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

756 789 These few tricks are about the extent of the shaman's legerdemain. It is evident that sleight-of-hand forms no important part of the shaman's stock-in-trade. Moreover, only a few shamans at any time employed such means to demonstrate their powers.

756 533 The small number of songs that were recorded have not been analyzed, but several general observations can be made. The words of a shaman's song often refer to the source of power. The songs are short; frequently they are not more than four or five words in length, with meaningless syllables often incorporated. The three shaman's songs published by Gilbert Natches illustrate these points. The songs are short, and mention curing or other attributes of the shaman's power. The words of one song, "the soul pursuing, the person's soul bring back," obviously refer to restoring a soul that has been lost.[17] The words of a single song are repeated as long as the shaman cares to continue, usually ten or fifteen minutes, sometimes even longer.

Shamans claim that they are not familiar with their songs before actually engaging in the performance of the curing rite. As we have seen, songs come to the practitioners from their powers when they are needed and cannot be recalled the next day. In the course of recording songs, three otherwise quite willing informants insisted that they were unable to recall their own songs, although they could remember those of other shamans. Evidently, shamans' songs differ from those sung at the round dance and for the hand-game, although there appears to be little difference in words. A number of informants unhesitatingly identified curing songs when reproduced on the phonograph, but authorship was not always recognized, and property rights in them never.

755 The following two accounts of shamanistic curing will illustrate several points in the procedure outlined above.

> Jackson Overton's father, Natches Overton, doctored my mother one time. I was sitting with my uncle. Natches smoothed the ground in front of us. Then he drew three circles in a row in the dirt. He said that he wanted a man to take off his shoes and stand with a foot in each of the end circles. My uncle took off his shoes and stood where Natches told him. After a while Natches told him to sit down. Then Natches sang. When he finished his song he told my uncle to scrape

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[17] Natches, *Northern Paiute Verbs*, 259.

755 away the dirt in the circles. In the dirt of the first two circles he found nothing. In the third he found a small hard object that looked like a piece of copper. It was about the size of a ten-cent piece and there was a hole in the center. Natches then said, "I think this woman will recover." He told them to tie the small object to the top of my mother's head with her hair. He said that she must keep it there for ten days. The next morning she felt better. In seven or eight days she was almost well. On the tenth day she got up and walked. (Joe Green)

Captain Dave was almost dead. His mind was gone. Two shamans were doctoring him. They quit because they could do nothing for him. People brought Bull Tom to doctor Captain Dave. Bull Tom said, "I am going to lie down here. I am going to find him. His mind is already gone. Maybe I cannot find him. I do not know how long he has been gone. Maybe it is too long." Bull Tom was in a trance for a long time. Then he was heard talking softly. He was still a long way off. We heard him say, "Do not be afraid. We are going home. We are going back to your home. We will go from here over to that mountain. Your boy, your daughter, your wife are all there. We are going back and see all of them there. Do not look back. Bad animals are back there. Do not go back; we will be home soon." Then Bull Tom came out of his trance. He told Captain Dave's family to blow on the top of Captain Dave's head. Captain Dave woke up. He recognized all the people around him. Bull Tom turned the doctoring over to the other shamans then. Captain Dave recovered and lived for many years. (Joe Green)

756 752 Shamans cure wounds and injuries as well as illness. The treatment is substantially the same for all. Usually shamans suck out arrowheads and bullets. In case of internal injury they draw off the blood which is believed to prevent recovery. Certain shamans, such as Wovoka, are credited with unusually strong powers for curing the injured and the wounded. No particular source of power is associated with this form of practice; such shamans also cure disease.

756 726 752 War parties are often accompanied by at least one shaman. He takes part in the fighting, and only when hostilities are over does he treat the wounded. The shaman utilizes his power while on the war-path solely for purposes of doctoring. The only exception is the shaman whose power not only enables him to cure but also makes him invulnerable. Invulnerability is occasionally exhibited in peace-times simply to demonstrate the shaman's mastery of supernatural spirits. It is not probable that these public exhibitions were ever very common.

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Fighting and treating the wounded are the shaman's only functions on the war-path. He does not invoke the aid of his powers for the success of the party, nor does he prophesy the outcome of the venture.

WEATHER-CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

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Although the shaman's function is chiefly to cure disease, control of the elements, the ability to foretell future events, and the discovery of lost articles, are all within the ability of at least some shamans. Usually shamanistic manipulation of the weather serves no practical need.[18] Often it is simply a means of demonstrating the control of supernatural power. By waving a feather or by singing, shamans may cause the clear sky to become cloudy, the wind to blow, or rain to fall. They can also stop wind and rain or banish the clouds that they have brought. Although the predominant motive in weather-control is this exhibition of power, shamans have been known in the past to manipulate weather for the benefit of the community. This weather-control is chiefly concerned with causing changes in the elements in order to bring about a badly-needed run of fish in the rivers. It is said that fish may be induced to go up the river in the spring by causing the ice to melt or by bringing about a wind that will force them to the mouth of the river. When ice covers the rivers late in the spring, delaying the run of fish from the lakes, a shaman known to have control over the elements is asked to cause warm weather and rain to melt the ice. Only a few shamans, however, have this power.

> During the winter the river was frozen over. The men could not fish. In the spring the people were hungry. There were no fish in the river. There was too much ice. It was cold. The people talked about it. They were talking about asking a certain shaman here (Pyramid Lake) who could help them. He had the power to bring a warm wind that would melt the ice. They sent two or three men to the shaman. They asked him to make the wind blow. The shaman sang and the ice was made to melt. Then the fish started up the river. The people caught many of them. They paid the shaman with fish. Everyone gave him fish. If the

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[782] [18] A form of weather-control is practised at the social round dances. While the dancers are moving in a circle a headman, not necessarily one with supernatural power, walks around praying for rain in order to insure abundant wild products.

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> **shaman asked for beads, skins, or flint when he brought the wind, he** 756
> **would spoil his power. He would lose his power if he did not obey his spirit. (Joe Green)**

Some shamans, but not all, are able to foretell the future. Apparently 787
even among those who are supposed to have the ability 756
to predict future events the power is not frequently exercised. One shaman is reported to have foreseen the coming of the whites, and others have foreseen several serious epidemics.

Sarah Winnemucca mentions the shamans' gift of prophecy. She describes a dream of her father's in which the killing of the Indians by the whites was predicted.[19] Although Sarah does not specifically make a statement about her father's power, there is evidence both in her account and from my field notes that he was a shaman. On still another occasion, future events were revealed to Sarah's brother in a dream. When he awoke from the dream, the people were called together and the prophecy was related.[20]

All informants denied that shamans exercise their clairvoyant 726
powers either on the warpath or on the eve of the departure of 787
the war-party. In fact, aside from their rôles in treating the 756
wounded and fighting shoulder to shoulder with other men, shamans have no outstanding position in battle or the preparations that precede it. On these occasions, the shaman's position is definitely [554]
subordinate to that of the war-leader or chief. This official may, however, owe his position to the possession of supernatural power which makes him invulnerable, hence a daring and fearless fighter, the qualifications for the leader of a war party. In Sarah Winnemucca's account there is a suggestion, not borne out by the above, that shamans previsioned the outcome of battles. At least her father on one occasion and her brother on another foretold from dream experiences the outcome of impending conflicts with the whites.[21]

In all these clairvoyant revelations, only harmful events such 787
as sickness, warfare, and death are predicted. There is no indication 756
that successful undertakings or happy events are previsioned. This characteristic of Paviotso clairvoyance may be related to

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[19] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 14–15.

[20] Ibid., 80.

[21] Ibid., 14, 80.

787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.

756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

Antelope Shamans

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a [622] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope. A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

[796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life, are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the
[776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice, but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

puhágəm or tunápuhágəm (tuná, antelope; puhágəm, shaman). 224
If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756
is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124]
memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423]
shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is fre- 224
quently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756
string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was re- 533
ported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

224 756 [533] across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of [422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

224 237 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup', and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these condi- 843]
tions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in the drive.

224
When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [832]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.

[23] Ibid., 55-57.

224 The "Kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[24] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days. [534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[25]

224 756 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an important place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

The Position of the Shaman in the Social Order

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's [182] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

756 632 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

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[24] Ibid., 56.

[25] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304-305.

stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the 756
past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also 622
possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, [668]
was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was responsible 756
for substantially increasing the importance and influence 622
of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with 178
the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of 756
Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and 554
accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, [429]
the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner.
It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization
or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman
acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual
[525] gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive
resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Largely because of this popular form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [437]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and consequently 554
dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned.
In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear,
the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may
be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect
felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general
feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with
supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's
death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of
such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths
among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the
weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance movements 668
are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements.
Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the
dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered
today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

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792 preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e.,
[787] they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals. Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because
[756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for their curative abilities.

668 The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to recon-
792 struct on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests,
756 however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in
[622] fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an impor-
[622] tant and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief
[556] and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a 756 wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not [556] relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to gain marked economic privileges.

SUMMARY

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is 755 the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire ceremonial life of the Paviotso. [796]

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of organization, 756 Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in acquiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all [754] shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indicate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be regarded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel combinations of practices found widely over western North America, [171] the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are unique.

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Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

By Robert F. Heizer
Director, University of California Archaeological Survey
Berkeley

The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification 114
of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of [101]
the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to.

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time 159
before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's [114]
History of the Big Bonanza (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144).

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the [595]
famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise

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[1] Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227–28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a lesser chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1883, pp. 98–99; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

159 (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, appears to quote Sarah as stating her father was then about eighty years old. Sarah Winnemucca (1882, p. 252) states that both she and her father were born at the Sink of the Humboldt River (i.e., Humboldt Lake).

[55] The name Winnemucca has been given a variety of meanings. The Pacific Tourist (Williams, 1876, p. 191) says the word means "chief"; DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it means "charitable man." In 1931 Skinny Dave, whose mother was Sis Winnemucca (a daughter of Truckee John or *Wa-hee Winnemucca*, who was the brother of Chief Winnemucca)[2] and whose father was *Numana*
[304] (Captain Dave), told me that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Mubetawaka*, "man with hole in his nose," the name coming from the pierced nasal septum in which he wore a stick or bone about 4 inches long. This nose-pin can be seen in Plate 1, *right*. Thompson and West (1881, p. 151) say that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Po-i-to*.

[177] The feather headdress which Winnemucca wears in Plate 1, *right*, is not an aboriginal Nevada form, but is clearly recognizable as a ceremonial headgear of the sort used by Central California Indians north of San Francisco Bay in a ritual called the *KUKSU* cult. Since he is known to have been in California, it may be presumed that Winnemucca secured this bit of ceremonial finery from across the Sierras.

The Winnemucca we have been speaking about, and who is shown on Plate 1, is often referred to as Chief Winnemucca or Old Winnemucca to distinguish him from his nephew *Numaga* or Young Winnemucca (DeQuille, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Young Winnemucca's picture is shown by Thompson and West (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 144), but they erroneously state (*ibid.*, p. 151) that he was not related to Old Winnemucca. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 60) correctly refers to Young Winnemucca as her cousin.

The death of Winnemucca rated some notice in the press, and the San Francisco Call of October 15, 1882 carried the story of his last illness. Winnemucca died at Coppersmith Station on October 21, 1882, and attributed his illness to having been bewitched by his young wife. Either on the night of his death or a few days afterward (the accounts are not in agreement on this point), the young wife and her three-year-old child were stoned to death as punishment for causing her husband's death. This incident, with the newspaper accounts quoted in full, has been presented elsewhere in publication (Heizer, 1955).

PLATE 2

Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah, whose father was Old Winnemucca and whose mother was a daughter of Captain Truckee, in some way acquired a fair education. She and her father correctly saw that the only hope for the Indians' survival lay in cooperation and submission rather than in war, and that only an informed public could help the Indians by bringing pressure upon the Department of the Interior to appoint honest Indian agents. Sarah's life is one of extraordinary interest, and is too lengthy and complex to be sketched here. In her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, she indicates her birth at about 1844, although a few years earlier she gave information appearing in the Virginia Enterprise (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, that she was then about thirty-one years of age, which would make her birth year 1848. She states in her book (*ibid.*, p. 70) that she was taken to San Jose, California, in 1860 to school, but stayed only three weeks because of objections raised by parents of Caucasian children also attending. The Virginia Enterprise (Jan. 14, 1879) says that she and two of her sisters (Mary and Emma, probably) stayed seven years in a "select school" in San Jose. She was married at least three times to white men; first to a man named Snyder who died on his way to Germany on a visit, next (in 1876) to a Lt. Bartlett, USA, with whom she lived only a short time, and then to a man named Hopkins whose name she still used when she published her book in 1883. Her Indian name is variously given; De Quille

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[2] The death of Chief Winnemucca's brother, Wa-hee Winnemucca, also known as Truckee John, occurred in 1859 at the hand of Augustus Moore, who shot Wa-hee for stealing a valuable mare which he owned and kept on his ranch in Truckee Meadows (Moore, 1878, pp. 15–19).

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, 159
"shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower."

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort 159
of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type charac- 291
teristic of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress
as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is [177]
apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in red leather leggings and a pair of moccasins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side
was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was [302]
brushed smoothly back from her forehead."

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the 159
outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco 648
on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accomplish much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West.

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be deter- 159
mined if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement.

PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

PLATE 4

342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary
[222 262] shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and
[415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with
[415 531 252] dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made watertight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117–22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 222 251 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000 in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342 winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361 Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342 Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui* [101] (*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291] while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [512] a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at [482] the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [415] bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342 in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156-67). [136]

PLATE 9

342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought [415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Paviotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there [177] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622
648 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

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[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

Caucasions. This stage of interracial contact which created the milieu of Indian groups under pressure and who needed a strong leader, and of Caucasians who had to handle the "Indian problem" by negotiation rather than by force if possible, is what may have led to the emergence of Old Winnemucca as a strong chief. The record is clear that he had much more prestige, support, and authority among the Paviotso in the 1860–1870 decade than in the 1880's when the Paviotso tribe no longer could be considered a "problem" (i.e., after the Indians had been "reduced" in the Pyramid Lake war). 622 640

After Winnemucca, although his name is today remembered and honored among the Paviotso, his son and successor, Natches, was much less important as a chief *because a strong chief was no longer required by the whites.*

The lineal descent of the chief's position survives today, but a man whose father and grandfather were chiefs, and who today claims that title, may be laughed at for his pretensions by most of the Indians he claims to represent. That this is true of the Washoe tribe is probable, and in my own experience of thirty years ago, I recall that Skinny Dave at the Lovelock Indian Colony was the self-styled chief who was laughed at for this by most of his fellow tribesmen. His claim to the office was correct since his grandfather was Captain Dave, who was married to a daughter of Old Winnemucca—what made it different was that in 1930 Indian chiefs were no longer either needed or in vogue. Sarah Winnemucca (1882) says of this: "I will now speak of the chief. His rank is inherited from father to son, the oldest being the chief by law. If he is dead, the one next to him became chief, or, if there are no sons, the next male relative; but never a woman." 622 [423]

For some reason which I do not understand, this subject has been practically ignored by ethnologists. Before Indian memories become too dim to provide accurate testimony, some student should make detailed inquiries into the matter of Paviotso chieftainship and combine these data with the rich documentary record to produce what is a much-needed study.

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PLATE 1

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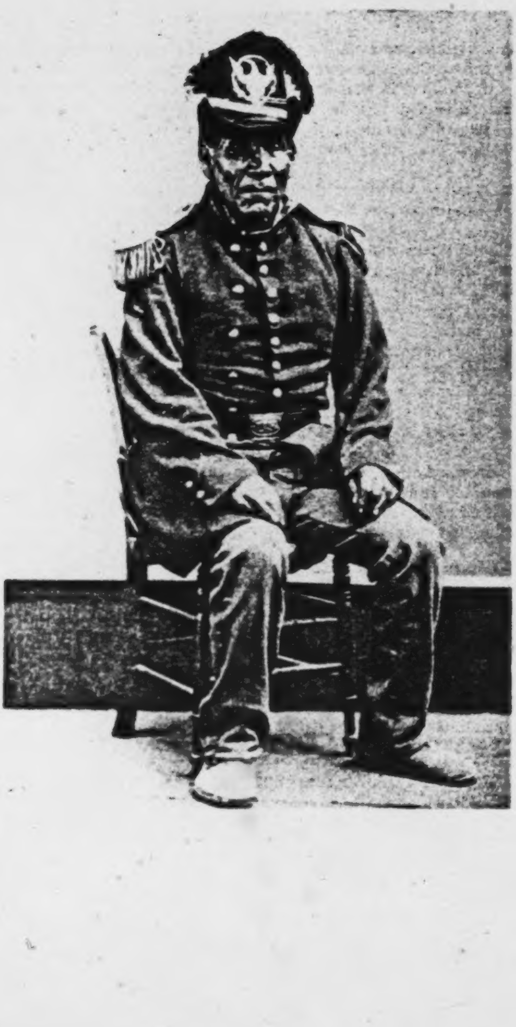

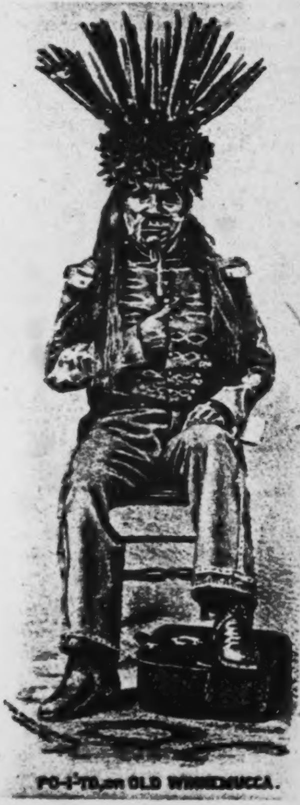

PO-I'-TO, OR OLD WINNEMUCCA.

PLATE 2

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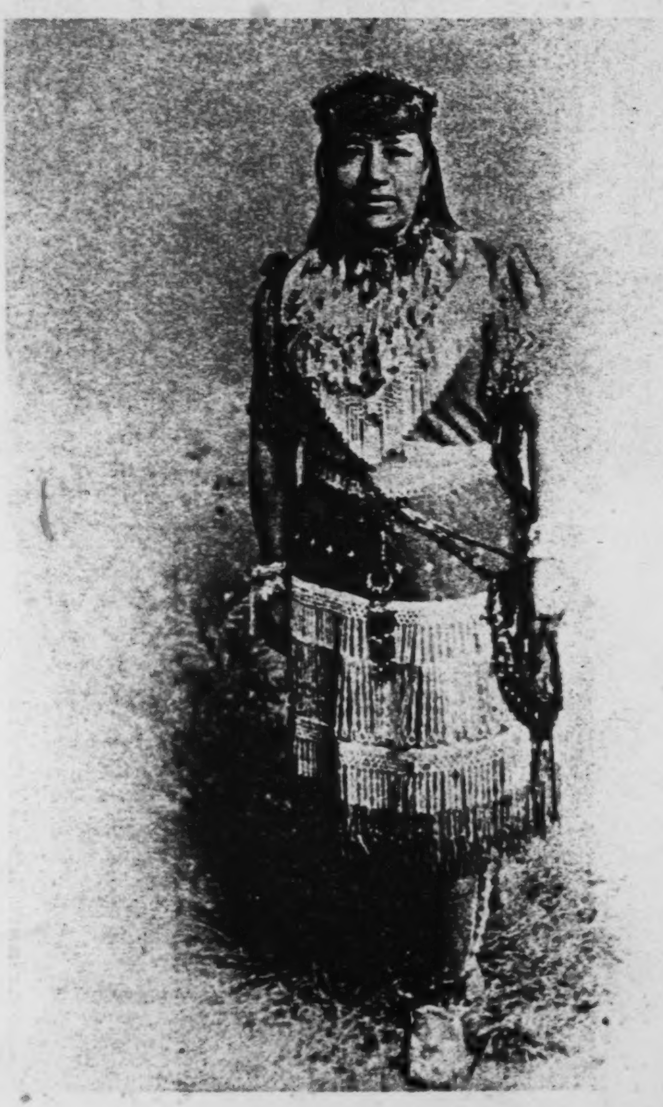

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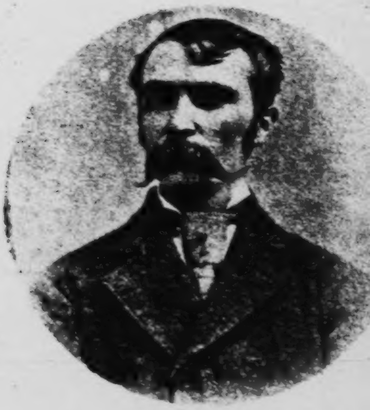

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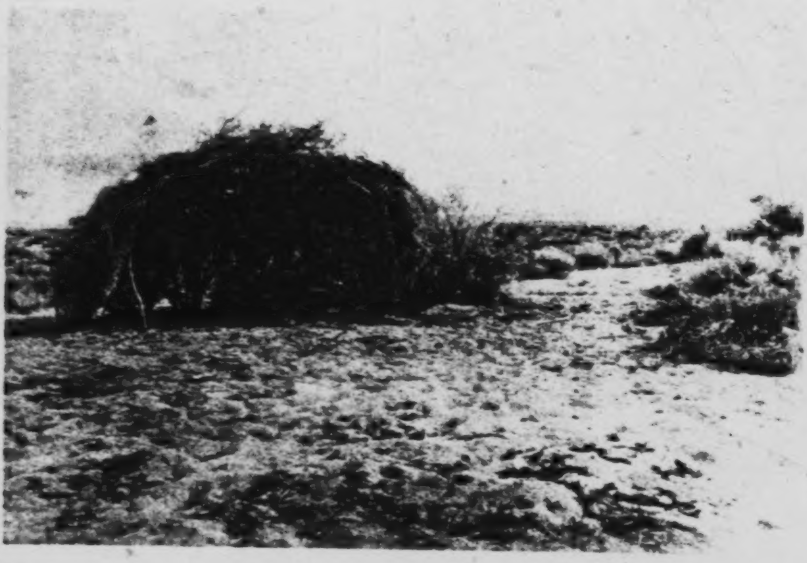

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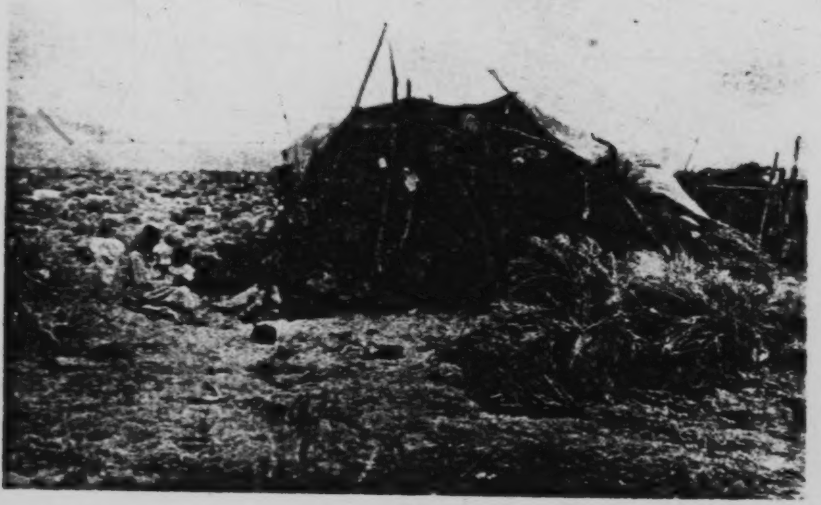

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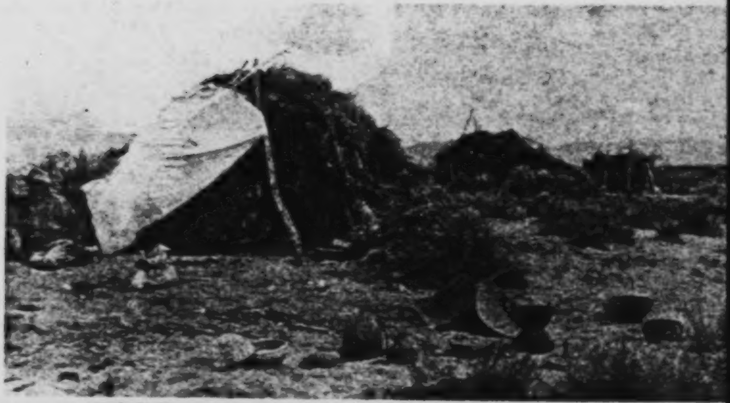

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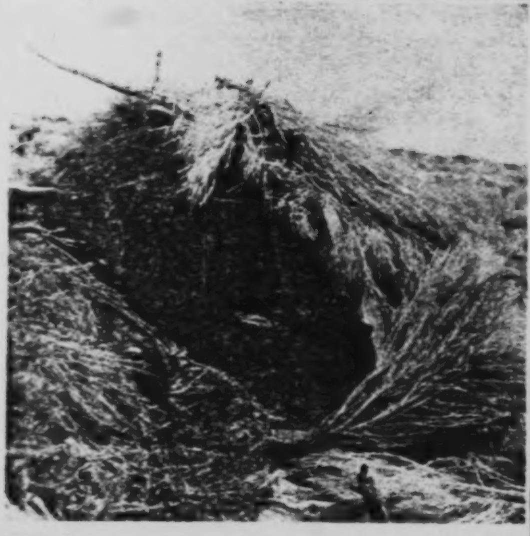

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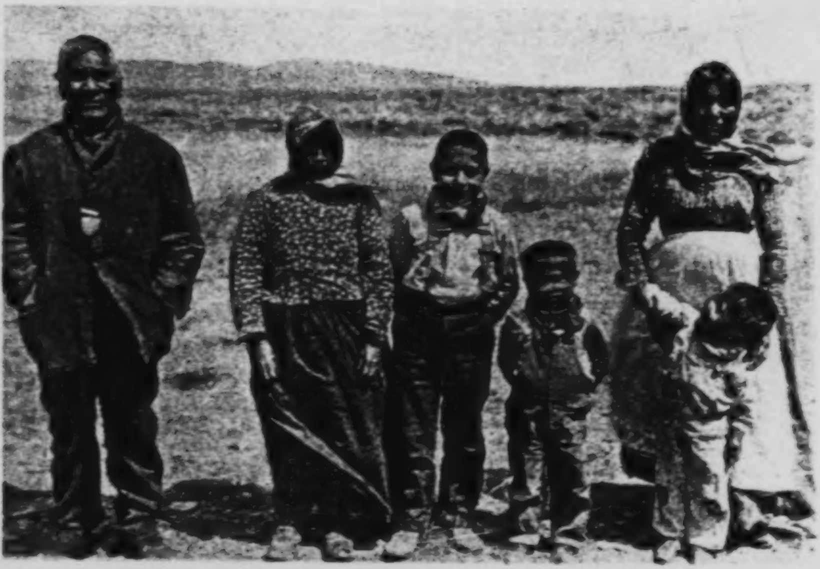
PLATE 6



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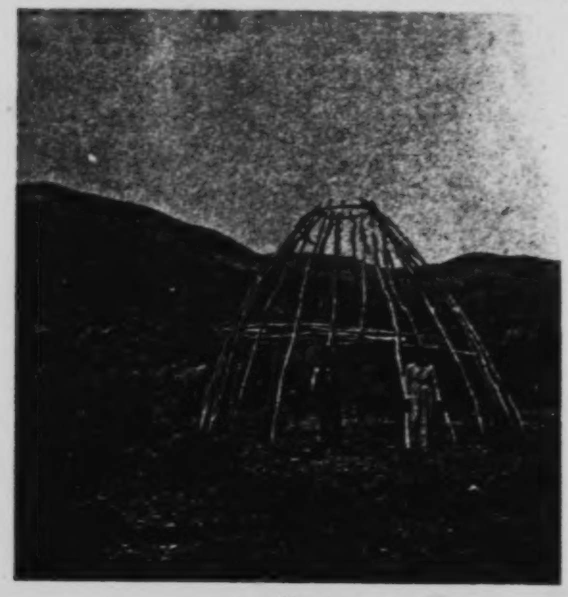

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PLATE 7

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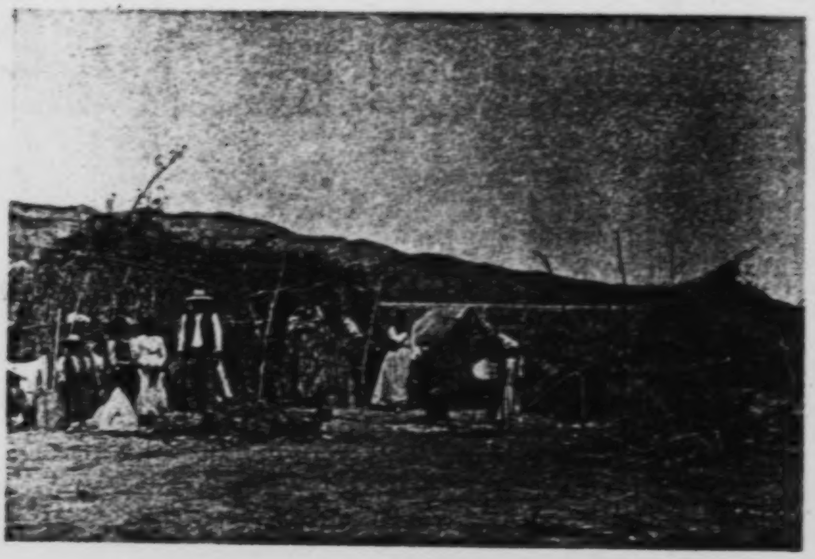

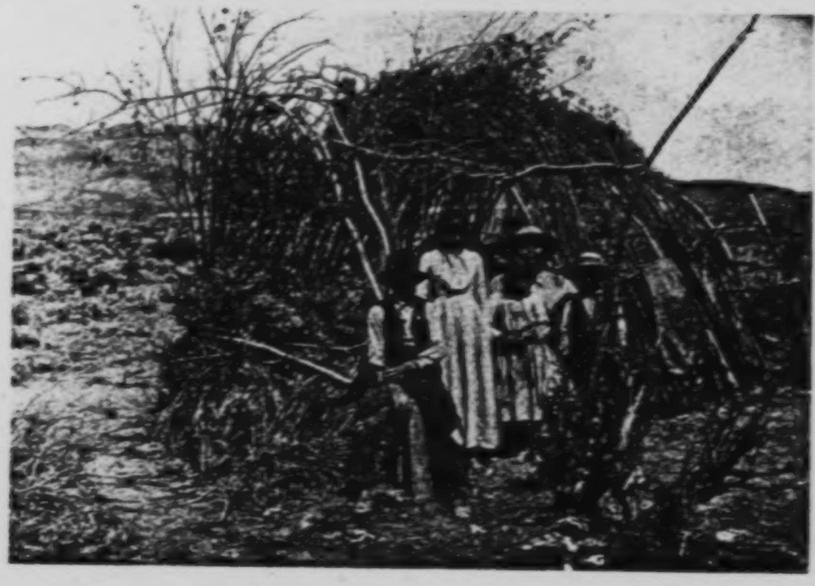

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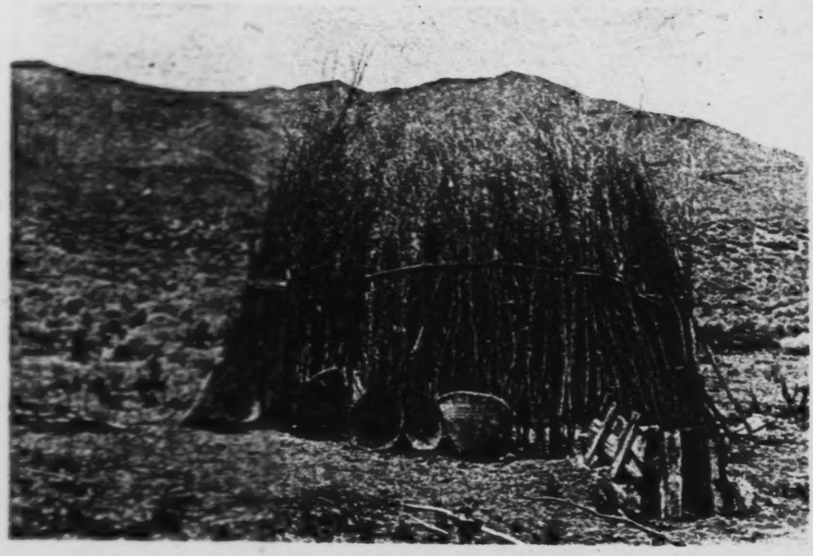

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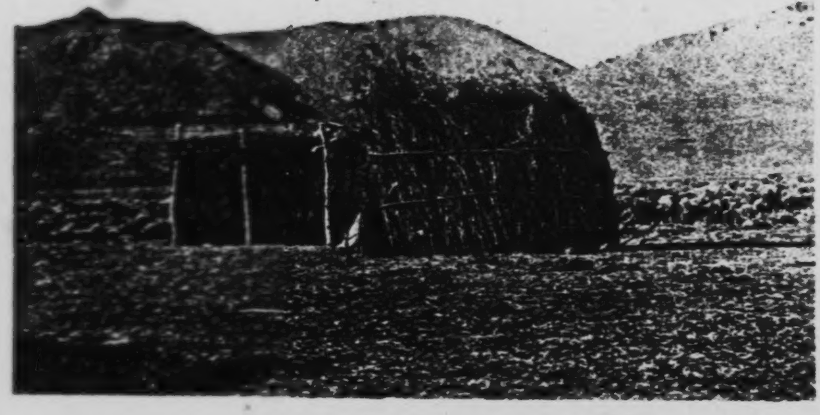

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PLATE 9

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APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131 The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[88] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

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[161]

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

621 The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[89] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

[114]
[101]

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sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

[913]

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[88] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[89] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Genega, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Wararika, Tenoyiet, Toampe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukeo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Poatsituktikuteh.

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 621 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook. 131

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162] Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the [114] Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115] born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is ő-tl-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1,[1] although [103] ő-tl-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221] seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224 spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25a).

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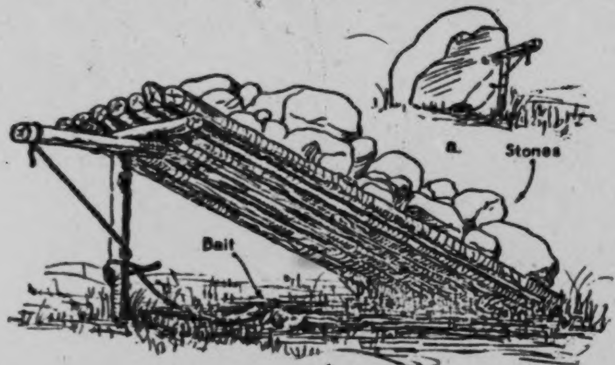
[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was 224
firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform
of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than
words of how the weight was released.

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not 291
even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute [136]
never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them.
It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from [172]
twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that 291
way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes [172]
of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of
the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good [178]
hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin [231]
blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east.
Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful [136]
on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that [224]
no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin.



224

Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and 224
children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them
into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would
follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across
a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill.

224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[43]

1. awagu.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus or Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. hu-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. how-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agui.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

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[113] [43] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua's. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[46] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahapa, bog-rush, *Juncus*. Gosiute, pa'bwap, pa-ma-wăp.

pipohE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris*. Gosiute name, saip.

sawipi, sāwapi, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata*. Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wă pi, juniper. [262] [291] [372]

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[46] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

.824 sahI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to sa in com-
[285] position; for example sa-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute
word for willow si-opi.

[261] sikupi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the
stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will
search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] sane, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are
hulled and eaten. Gosiute sa-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is sup-
posed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] taEpi, greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-
like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook
[262] (shotetoma) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in
the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch
[226] in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish
bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Still-
water range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-si-gop, nettle,
Urtica holosericea.

[262] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, toima, is gathered, inclosed
in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and
[302] sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for
[291] sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from
the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*.
[411] The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow
points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was
[172] a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is
very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies
mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwahobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem
the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in
[227] making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum*
androsaemifolium, a plant answering our description, is that from which the
Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name
tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord
rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made
into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is
reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down
Truckee river.

Gathering seeds.—By October various seeds were ripe. The seeds 222 of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, were especially mentioned, also the seeds from the cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The fine down to which the cat-tail seeds are attached is spread upon the hard ground of a playa to the depth of 1 or 2 inches and over a space of 5 to 10 feet in diameter. It is then burned. More of the down is gradually added and continually stirred with sticks in order that it may be fully consumed. At the end of a hard day's labor there may be a sufficient quantity of seed upon the ground to fill several sacks. The method of removing the nut-like shell of these and other minute seeds is explained in discussing the various implements. It was a [262] common thing to make porridge of several seed meals mixed.

The one-leaf piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, a tree 8 to 25, or rarely 45, feet in height, is found on the range east of Carson sink at an elevation of over 1000 or 1500 feet above the valley. It formed so important [423] a source of food that different bands of Northern Paiute held proprietary rights to certain tracts. [621] Winnemucca claimed the particular mountain on which is located the mythical "Weasel trail," described later (p. 160; no. 1, pl. 68). Late in autumn the nuts were gathered and secreted in piles until opportunity presented itself for transportation.

Basketry.—The typical Northern Paiute hulling basket (tema) is 285 a flat triangular tray, while other tribes, as well as the cave people, 252 had circular hulling trays. A layer of seeds is placed upon such a basket, and pressure applied with a circular motion with a flat stone. This cracks the nut-like seed coverings, after which the kernel and shells are separated by winnowing. A hulling basket may be of coiled (pl. 30a)[z] or other weave, but it must be a tight weave, as it is used to hull small seeds. Tema baskets are also used in roasting seeds, either before or after hulling, by placing them on the basket with coals and shaking. For the hulling of pine nuts and the larger seeds a coarser basket called yata may be used.

A flat wicker tema basket, triangular in shape, 24 by 30 inches in 285 size, was found several miles north of Lovelock cave, at the base of a cliff, at an elevation of some 300 feet above the level of the plain. It is undoubtedly a Northern Paiute specimen left on the spot in recent decades. It is made of willow, there being 32 warp rods and 40 courses of woof to 10 centimeters. The woof is single, unlike that in baskets found in the cave, and passes over two warps at a time, giving the basket a superficial appearance of being of diagonal twined weave.

[z] [See category 116, End Plate 30—Analyst]

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few
decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by
15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined
[531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting
of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida.
Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the
[193] nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the
words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to
supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process
of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material
825 culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described
the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of
[291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten,
[262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our
language and know when they are being talked about even at a
distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet
773 high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The
mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson
sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length
and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible
over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles
distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault
line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or
gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which
is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon
look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipö or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See Category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

Wolf and Coyote

The chief theater of action of Wolf and Coyote in the story to follow was in the Shoshone creek region. Once when a boy, Natches had visited the place, going by horseback. He made some rough sketch maps, recalling as best he could the location. 133 773

There was a cave in the mountain range next east of the Stillwater range, from which one could look across a basin and see several columns of stone. The basin is undoubtedly Humboldt salt marsh into which Shoshone creek empties. On the west side of the marsh, a mile or so from the mouth of Hare canyon, there are known to be hot springs (no. 3, pl. 68). Hence there is a high degree of probability that the stone columns are situated here, they being a deposit of lime from the springs. If this supposition is correct the cave would quite likely be to the southeast of the marsh on Willow creek, the water seepage of which would account for the presence of trees which are mentioned. The entire basin in Pleistocene times formed a fair-sized lake without outlet.

All the people from Carson sink and Humboldt lake, in fact all the people from the Pine Nut mountains (Stillwater range) and all those to the west, came to fight Wolf and Coyote. It would appear that Coyote was the younger brother and was considered too young to fight, so Wolf shut him in the house while he went out to fight alone. The people stayed on one side of the basin, while Wolf fought them from the other side. He killed some of the people. They can be seen to this day as rocks, some standing and some fallen just as they were when killed across the basin from where Wolf's house is situated. The people were clothed in robes made of twisted strips of skin from the mud hen, woven together with thongs of buckskin. There were scattered about over the ground fragments of black rock, looking just like the skin of the mud hen. 773

Wolf himself was killed in this engagement and his head cut off. You can see his headless form and his entrails all scattered about (no. 5, pl. 68). Meantime Coyote was a prisoner in the house, but he made repeated attempts to get out by climbing up through the smokehole. At last he succeeded in getting out just as Wolf was killed. When Coyote saw what had happened, he fell over and rolled down the slope, pretending that he was dead, and for further deception he also made some weeds grow out of his head. He can be seen there now with the weeds, which are trees, growing around him. The house

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

[103] After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] [133] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. All mention [114] of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern [411] Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason for this is that both peoples are held in contempt. 173 186 829

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians. 173 829 (727) (648)

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that they must have been made by the Pit River Indians 173 829 114

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the map, plate 68. 133 172

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a cavernous cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The name of the place is [illegible]. [212] [103]

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a village site, called etigadatU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called etigadatU. On both sides of the ridge 133 [361] [103] there are absolutely barren level playas. The size of the ridge was not ascertained, but from memory the writer would say it is 10 or 15 feet in height, several rods in width, and 10 miles long. It is covered with sagebrush and is visible 6 or 8 miles away. It was caused by a gravel wash in the Pleistocene lake. In fact Humboldt lake itself owes its existence to a gigantic dam of gravel wash, over a hundred feet in height, built entirely across the valley by the old lake.

15.—There are two caves to the south of the lake, opposite Ocala. On the ridge near the cave, marked 19 on plate 3, Natches said that there is a ''stone house.'' In the hill to the west of this is situated the other cave.

16.—Near Hazen on the side of Black butte there is a cave of considerable size called pusia-tipogI, ''louse-cave.''

17.—Soda lake, near Fallon, covers an area of 268 acres and is 147 feet deep. It has a crater rim built up above the level of the desert, so that the total depth of the old crater is 312 feet. Natches said that there was an old story that it once burst open in an eruption. This may be a historical tradition, as Russell shows that although volcanic activity began before the Dendritic stage of Lake Lahontan, its last outbreak is post-Lahontan in date.

18.—A mountain nine miles northeast of Wadsworth and famous for its supply of woodchucks is called waha-kutakwA, ''two-tips.'' The English name, Two Tips, is a translation.

19.—The southern end of the range in which Two Tips is located is called pahino-metsata, ''hot spring rock-point.'' The word for the rock deposited by hot springs is pahinopE.

[312] 20.—At present there are several hot springs at the base of Pyramid island, from which steam issues with a noise. The island is knob-like in form with an elevation of 320 feet, composed entirely of rock deposited by the hot springs. There is a tradition that there was formerly a hole in the top of the island which is now entirely filled by the steam deposit.

13: Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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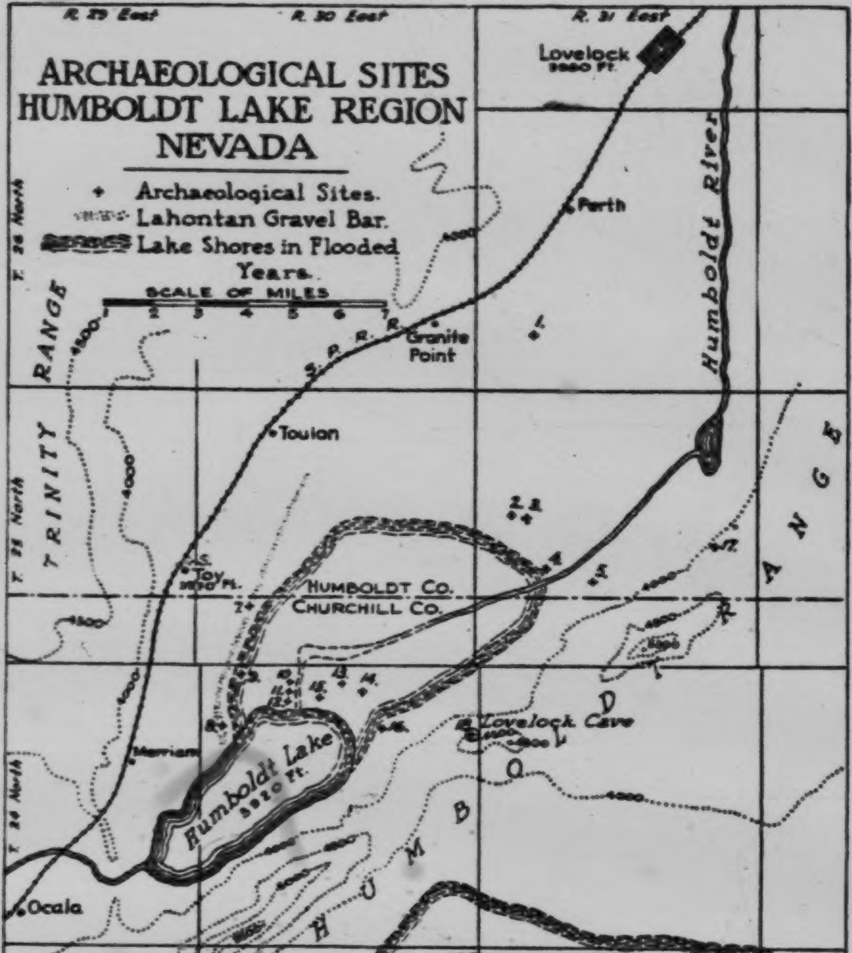
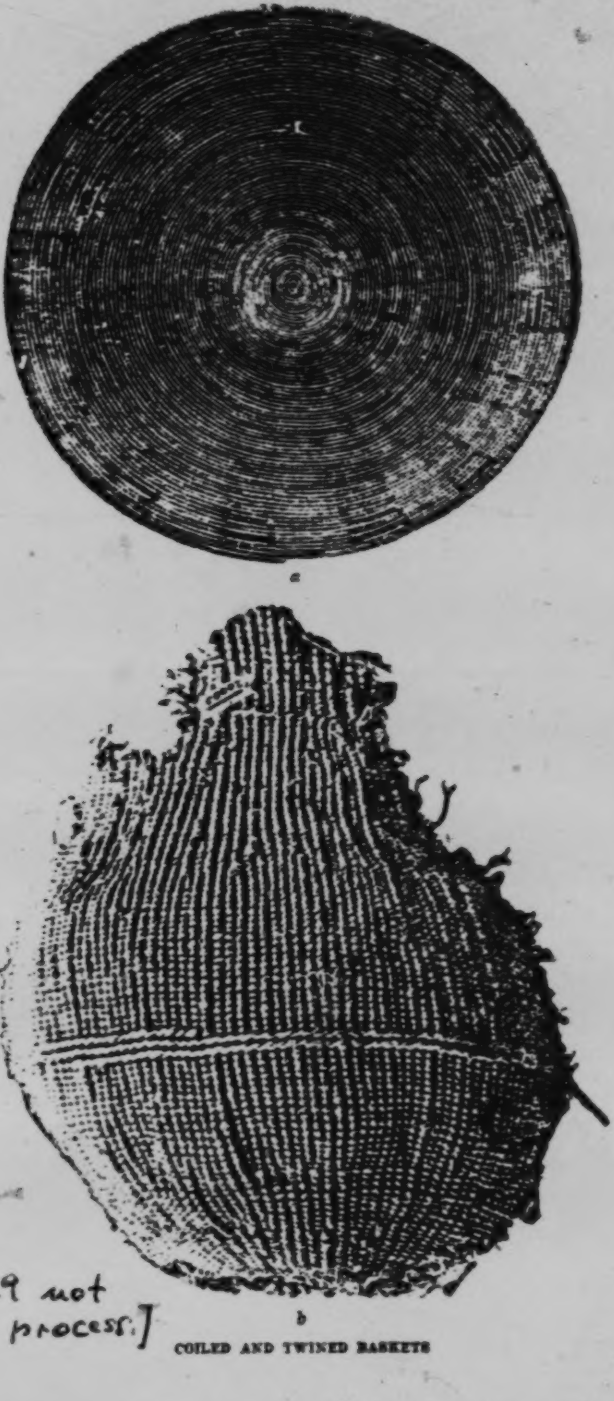

R. 29 East
R. 30 East
R. 31 East
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION
NEVADA
+ Archaeological Sites.
Lahontan Gravel Bar.
Lake Shores in Flooded Years.
SCALE OF MILES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Lovelock 3980 Ft.
Perth
Humboldt River
Granite Point
S. P. R. R.
Toulon
Toy 3910 Ft.
HUMBOLDT CO.
CHURCHILL CO.
Lovelock Cave
Merriam
Humboldt Lake 3920 Ft.
Ocala
Ocala Cave
Carson Sink 3860 Feet
TRINITY RANGE
HUMBOLDT RANGE
T. 26 North
T. 25 North
T. 24 North
T. 23 North
4000
4500

MAP OF HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION

[End Plate 1]

13: Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

285

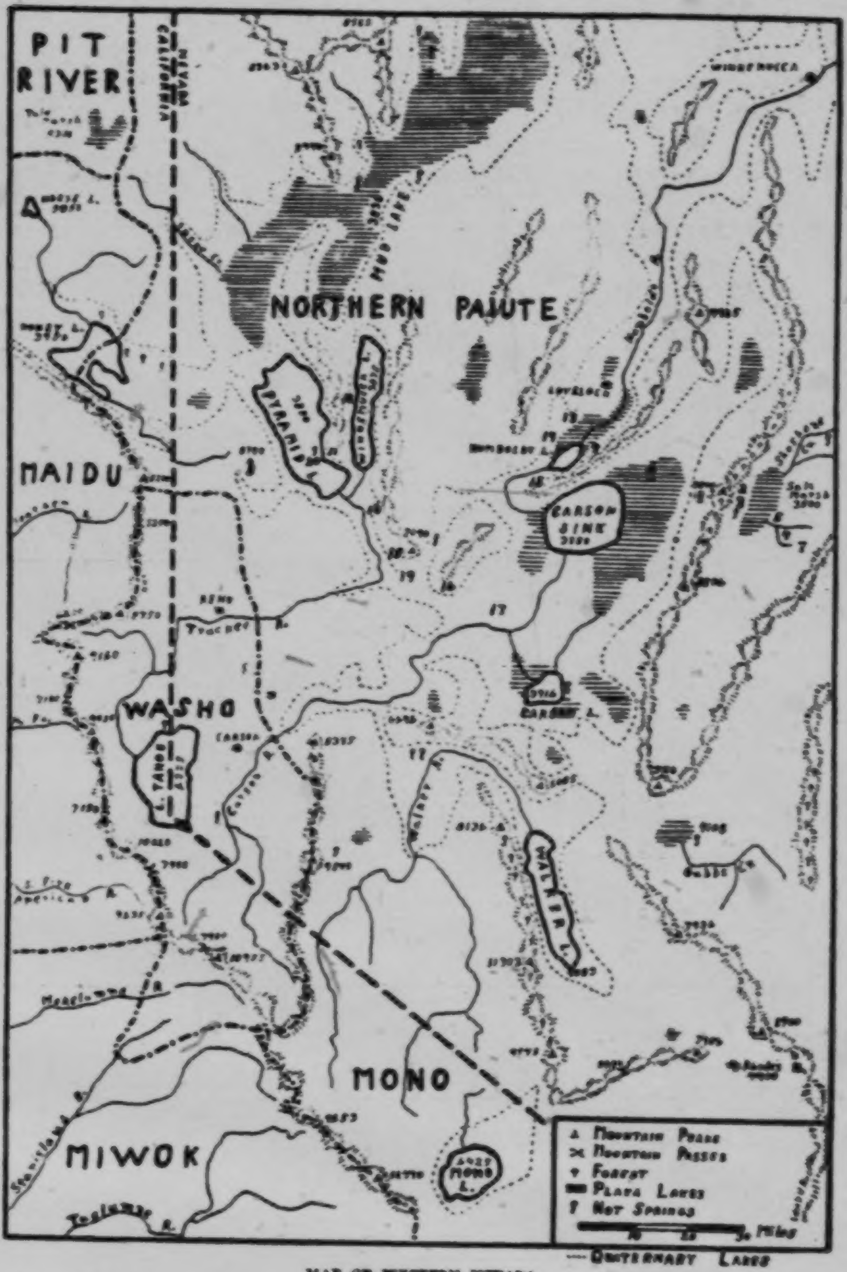


COILED AND TWINED BASKETS

[Plate 30]
[Plates 2-29 not process.]

13: Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
101
103
131
133
487


PIT RIVER
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MUD LAKE
PYRAMID L.
WINNEMUCCA L.
WINNEMUCCA
LOVELOCK
HUMBOLDT L.
CARSON SINK
CARSON L.
MAIDU
RENO
Truckee R.
WASHO
L. TAHOE
CARSON
Walker R.
WALKER L.
MONO
MONO L.
MIWOK
Mokelumne R.
Stanislaus R.
Tuolumne R.
Mountain Peaks
Mountain Passes
Forest
Playa Lakes
Hot Springs
10
20
30 Miles
Quaternary Lakes

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]
[End plates 31-67 not processed]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

000

WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY

OMER C. STEWART

[title page]
[p. i]

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
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PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

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My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

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I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

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Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

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I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

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WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY

OMER C. STEWART

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Peyote Plant

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Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

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Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{13}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_3N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychninelike and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

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The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

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[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140.

[2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

N W 175 276 short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

N W 177 276 *795 Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

N W 171 177 276 *795 The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[7] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

IDEOLOGY OF PEYOTISM

N W 182 276 *795 In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

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[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[4] Beals, 1932, 216.

[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 59.

Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are re-

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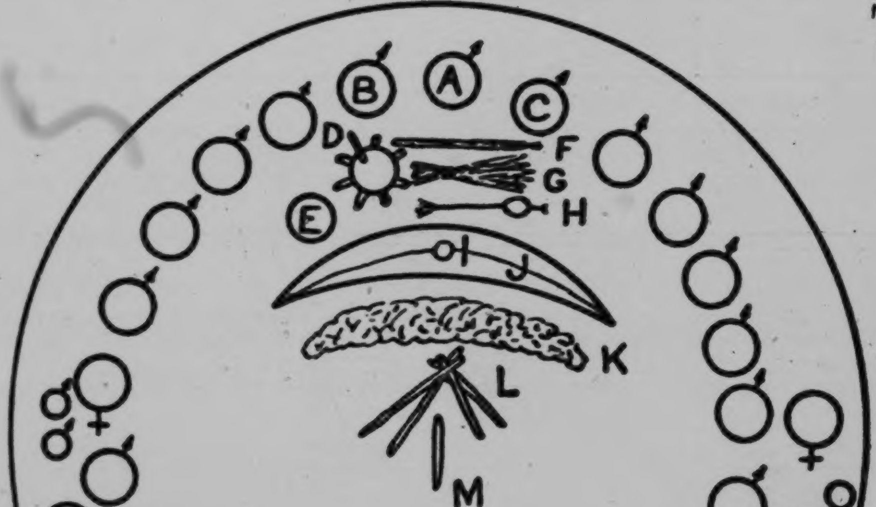

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

ceived. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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755 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar
*795 smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled
with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in
N nearly all peyote ceremonies.

W Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used cere-
782 monially by a congregation of believers.

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The Peyote Ceremony

*795 Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house
796 which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance;
[346] then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and pro-
[782] ceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[778] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it,
to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared
[276] cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

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LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[1]

N The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-
101 Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[2] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few
563 Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute
*795 have embraced the peyote religion.

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FIELD METHODS

W Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture
114 of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances
000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[1] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[2] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

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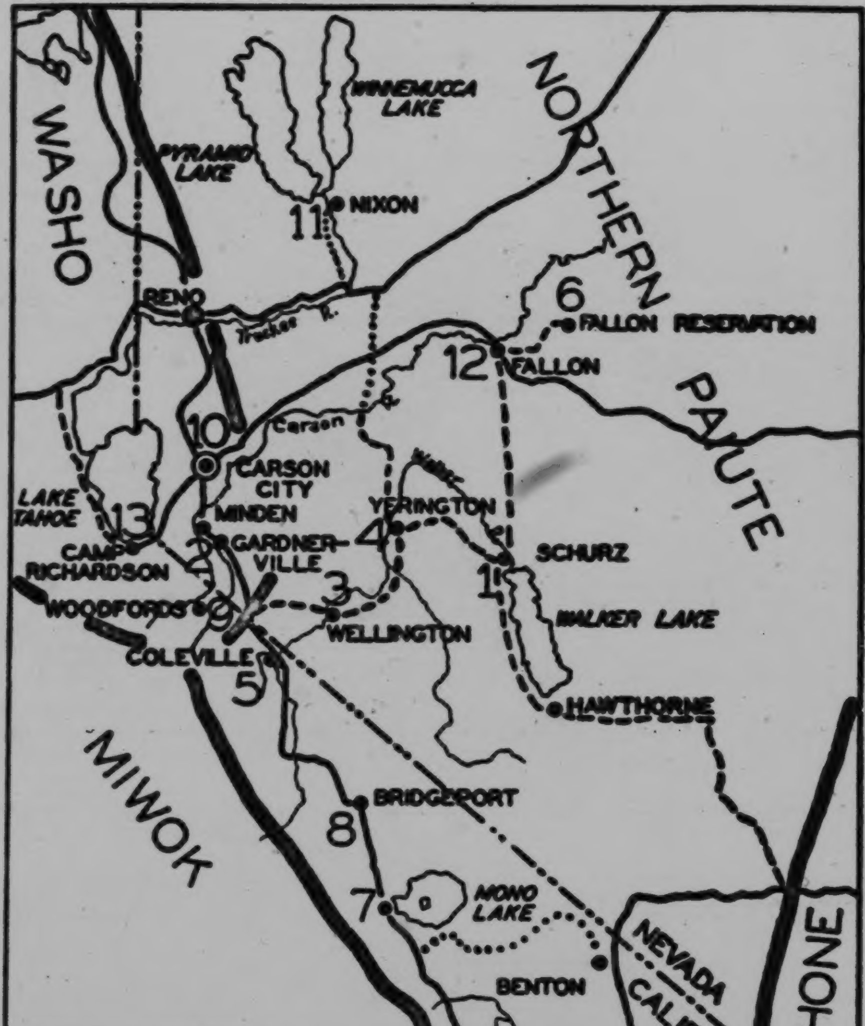
WASHO
NORTHERN
PAIUTE
MIWOK
SHOSHONE
WINNEMUCCA LAKE
PYRAMID LAKE
NIXON
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RENO
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FALLON RESERVATION
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FALLON
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Carson
CARSON CITY
MINDEN
LAKE TAHOE
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CAMP RICHARDSON
GARDNERVILLE
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YERINGTON
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Walker
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HAWTHORNE
BRIDGEPORT
8
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MONO LAKE
BENTON
NEVADA
CALIF.
Owens R.
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BISHOP
LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
PAVED U.S. HIGHWAYS
PAVED STATE HIGHWAYS
GRAVELED ROADS

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

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That five or six years may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

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To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

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It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

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First Contacts

The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

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peyote,"[30] most of the adult Indians in the area of its distribution remembered in 177
November, 1938, previously hearing of peyote, some having had personal experi- 795*
ence with it.

In 1924, Dan Voorhees (P,1)[31] and Johnny Cleveland (P,1) heard that peyote was successfully used in a curing ritual in Oklahoma. A mixed-blood Sioux or Ponca, Tom Knudsen, the government farm agent then at Schurz, showed them an Indian Service pamphlet condemning peyote, but told them his family had been cured by it.

Actual experience came through Leo Okio, an "Eastern Indian," who held meet- N
ings at Nixon, Fallon, and Schurz in the fall and winter of 1929–1930. When with 177
the Northern Paiute, he lived with Joe Green, a Paiute shaman at Nixon, who be- 755
friended him and was convinced of peyote's power after seeing Leo cure cases of
paralysis and pneumonia. Joe learned the relevant songs and assisted in the ritual. 795*
More than a dozen Indians described the 1929 meetings, several as eyewitnesses. The ritual differed in several particulars from the present Washo-Paiute cult, resembling what is known in the Great Basin as the "old Sioux way."[32] As many as seventy Indians attended Leo's meetings, some coming from as far away as Bishop, California, and McDermitt, Nevada. Although a number of converts were made, peyotism completely ceased as an active force when Leo Okio left. He is now principally remembered as an Indian doctor who took much money from the people and whose patients all died.

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Raymond Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin) (Ute,2), the second to hold 177
meetings in the western Great Basin, arrived about 1932. A Uintah Ute, he had
learned of peyote at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1913. Before marrying a Washo 795*
girl and settling with her tribe (where he was in 1938), he had also attended peyote meetings in Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico. Lone Bear was harbored by Sam Dick, a Washo shaman at Minden, Nevada. Soon he started "Sioux way" meetings and also "doctored" as an "old-time" shaman. Successful with both techniques, he collected for a few months from $15 to $60 for a single treatment. Nearly all the Washo in the vicinity attended his meetings. Sam Dick learned the peyote songs and made a kettledrum, acting as drummer during the rituals. Eventually, Lone Bear ruined himself by drinking too much and getting in jail too often. After his first period of success, he held only N
a few meetings. He has not been allowed to affiliate with the new movement. W

Besides the knowledge of peyotism brought to them by foreign Indians, the 177
Washo–Northern Paiute also learned of peyotism on visits to other tribes. It is 795*
impossible to state exactly how many attended meetings elsewhere or heard of them, but I have information of several. Johnny Wright (by some called John Harrington)[33] (P,6) gives an interesting account. He had been converted to peyotism, "the

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[30] La Barre, 1938, 120, fn. 72: "Willard Park informed me in 1936 that the Paviotso [i.e., Northern Paiute] lacked peyote." Joe Green, one of Park's informants, joined the cult in 1929, continued believing in it, and reaffiliated with it in 1936. He said, "I didn't tell Willard Park about peyote because he didn't ask me."

[31] P, W, and S represent Northern Paiute, Washo, and Shoshone respectively, the tribes of the informants; figures agree with numbered places on the map, where informants live.

[32] The "old Sioux way" or "old Ute way" is still followed by a minority of the peyotists on the Goshute and Uintah-Ouray reservations. Although no detailed description is available, I have learned from the Indians that the moon is smaller, sometimes constructed on a piece of velvet; usually only four peyote buttons are eaten; there is no smoking; meetings are conducted strictly and without levity; and members are very pious. Rules of conduct resemble those of the Oto peyote church (Church of the First Born; see La Barre, 168–169).

[33] Wright interpreted for me in 1936; see Stewart, 1941.

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Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

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1936 PROSELYTER BEN LANCASTER

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The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stagecoach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[44] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

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[44] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

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When the Walker River Reservation was opened for mineral claims in 1907, he was there looking for ore. After mining or prospecting "in every mineral district in Nevada," he caught an east-bound freight train in 1916. He worked in Bingham Canyon, Utah, and, during the war, in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Working for Armour and Company in Omaha, "busting bronchos" near Red Rock, Oklahoma (1919), and bootlegging whiskey in Hot Springs, Arkansas, were a few of Ben's experiences before 1921 when he got a job as a farm hand near Clinton, Oklahoma, and attended a Cheyenne peyote meeting, his first.

Shortly after this, he began "traveling for a medicine company"; and for the next ten years, letting his hair grow and sporting a fancy feather headdress and beaded buckskin clothes, he trekked over the United States selling "Chief Gray Horse's Indian Herbs, a natural laxative." Although he claimed he advertised the medicine for Baker Chemical Company, Cincinnati, and sold it only to stores, he is known widely in Oklahoma as an herb-medicine saleman.[illegible] He sold his few remaining boxes of medicine to his Nevada converts to peyotism at the regular price of $1.00. The package contained an ounce or two of dry ground "cascara, mandrake, polk root, gentian, uva ursi, licorice, wild cherry, senna, and other herbs," a medicine "strictly botanical," prepared by "Chief Gray Horse Remedy Company, Cincinnati, Ohio."[illegible] "Hoover's depression," he said, "put me out of business; then I started drifting and getting odd jobs wherever I could."

Ben spent each Christmas with his Cheyenne peyotist friends. Johnny Wright met him there in 1930, and in 1932 he (Johnny) heard that Ben was selling herbs and was married to a white woman who had a restaurant in Lawton, Oklahoma. (Ben refused to confirm this marriage, but Carnegie Smokey [W,2] lived with Ben and his white wife, Sylvia Gray Horse, after he followed Ben to Texas, January, 1938.)[illegible]

In 1930 Ben told Johnny that he would take peyote to his people in 1932, but he was delayed until 1936. His plans to proselyte among the Washo and the Northern Paiute were secret. "I had cut and dried peyote near Sanderson, Texas, to bring to the Washo," he said, "for I knew these Indians needed it." Near Phoenix, Arizona, he added a cactus staff to the ritual equipment he had obtained in Oklahoma. He conducted his first meeting at Randlett, Utah, for the Ute Indians. At Ibapah, Utah, he held one for the Goshute. About the first of October, 1936, he arrived in Minden, Nevada, where he lived with his "aunt," Susie Dick, and his "cousin," Sam Dick.

For a week or two, he spent most of his time sitting on the curb at Gardnerville, causing quite a stir with his hair bound in colored wrappings falling over his shoulders and his beaded vest, and greeting old friends and acquaintances, both Indian and white. Nothing was said about peyote during that time, and one Indian girl told me she got drunk with him.

[illegible] This is confirmed by letters from the superintendents of the Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies, from the secretary and treasurer of the Native American Church, from a Kiowa and an Oto in Oklahoma, and by Johnny Wright.

[illegible] I saw several boxes and obtained from one its folded leaflet containing this information.

[illegible] In a letter dated September 26, 1938, the present officials of the Native American Church (the incorporated Indian peyote church) denied any knowledge of Ben's membership in their church. That Ben went to peyote meetings in Oklahoma frequently enough to be considered a member of the Native American Church is confirmed in a letter to me dated December 3, 1938, from Mack Haag (Cheyenne), of Calumet, Oklahoma, former president of the church. He wrote that Ben was a member, had attended many meetings, and was well qualified to start the church in Nevada, although he did not know that Ben had done so.

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CONVERTS AMONG WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

W 159 *795 797 About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937. N W

159 755 *795 797 [274] Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doc (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doc there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doc's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doc was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[illegible] The In-

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[illegible] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who W
used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement 159
that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist 755
missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. 795*
In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only 797
about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty
or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after N
February, 1937. W

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute [203]
Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[illegible] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

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[illegible] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

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159 brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to
755 hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The
*795 meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno
by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the
797 reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Decroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Decroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Coleville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one W mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members. 159

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake 755 (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at 795* the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of 797 digitalis,[illegible] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lan- N caster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. W When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the [578] sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[illegible] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available. N

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding W

[illegible] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.

[illegible] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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159 light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben de-
755 parted, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a
good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting
*795 for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started
797 when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys'
[578 and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for
Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more
N of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie
Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.
W Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his
[578 wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between
Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

N The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he
W improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in
159 his absence.[illegible] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting
578 for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James
(W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were
*795 invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to
797 support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's
headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[illegible] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to W
the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate 159
and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been
attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and 795
because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth 797
about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Cole- N
ville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice W
and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from [578]
curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a
supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[a] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, W
for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

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In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area ex- [177]
tending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

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In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural 171
setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little.
The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche proto- 177
type is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list 795*

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[a] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice
never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation
[841] because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely
it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's
spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting
the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel
better, more equal."

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La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
W privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation
of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote
meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two
eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and
ate dried peyote buttons.

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W The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
171 elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben,
177 admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting
*795 too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water
N Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
W during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part
of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs
[533] they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from
conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and
for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing
practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not
allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great
Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs
were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute
peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite
N different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534] to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
[237] prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual
because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam.
[755] Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can."
This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture
is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always N
places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the W
moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their 171
way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, 177
which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall 795*
of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben
admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. [346]
It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among
the Cheyenne,[*] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of
doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant,
for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures. N

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal W
for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and [262]
Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is
given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on
his way to Nevada. N

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged W
for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. 171
A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and 177
leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached 795*
to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported
practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[*] The 824
local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. [276]
Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this
feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright,
peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings,
both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing
peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw
cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains. N

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as W
typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the 177
cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual 795*
horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone 796
has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight
(the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff
and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also
limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming,
then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives
four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to
the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although
the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand,
since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo
and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with
the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water
from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the
body with the drumstick is also unusual.[*]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

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[*] La Barre, 61.

[*] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[*] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam with-
W out Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the
[535] ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican
N peyote rituals.[30]

W Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting
[514] and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because
[415] poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to
N meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported.
W Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe
\ 177 are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that
578 anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meet-
*795 ings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button
N for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

W The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs
177 of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regard-
182 ing the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry
533 prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to
*795 see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

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[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

N W 177 795* [182] [533]

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

N W [754] [171]

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

N W 171 276 795*

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

N W 177 795*

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[illegible] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

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[illegible] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

W does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the
177 aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other
*795 distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

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REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

182 Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[illegible] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh
571 of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions,
578 accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent
*795 opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members
N remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole commu-
W nities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition
[648] to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[illegible] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with
N community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[illegible]

W An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in
182 witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of
754 the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or
*795 removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

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[illegible] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[illegible] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[illegible] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as “infected by peyote” or some illness 182
sent by a “peyote boy.” Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their 795*
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches,
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's N
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing W
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of “devil power.” 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a “victim” were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, “just like Jesus was,” that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing
that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote
religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists,
attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct W
specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such [683]
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are N W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially “lighter-colored ones.” Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise
several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely N W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, 571
peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment 795*
of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new
settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows
would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not
friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by
peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time." N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [1911]
prayers will “sound good.” Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

La Barre mentions (p. 113) the “use of English as a lingua Franca,” facilitating the spread of peyote.

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182 even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and
571 nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street.

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced
*795 by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this
[648] acculturation study. To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also
N aided the diffusion.

W As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely
182 advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have
755 to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty
*795 cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward re-
N covery.

W Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans con-
[648] tributed to this belief in peyote. Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times. Most protracted illnesses
[756] for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is
N more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is
W better than Protestantism, although similar.

761 Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that
*795 peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told
828 me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond
N Bishop) in Owens Valley.

W When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

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The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

See Appendix III for statistics.

Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: “Joaquin W
Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, ‘I have been very happy today. While 158
I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had 795*
been changed.’” But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation
soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors
only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a
cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and
murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison
because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of
the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism N
and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw W
his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked [787]
freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life
anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants
who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried
for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin
was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous N
to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin
accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the W
infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual [835]
relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also
confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending
peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if
accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted
as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged.
Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also,
several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings.
When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became
“permanently” unbalanced were “very queer” before eating peyote; and in all cases
but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception
was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity,
yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the
son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists
equate peyote and “muipu” (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, N
they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[illegible] W

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote 761
with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three
McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians 795*
died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired
in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using
peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems
to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides
peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease
or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the
cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings
hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[illegible] Except when persistently

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[illegible] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[illegible] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used “to witch people and make them crazy” and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to
peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[illegible]

[761] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the
[745] chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of black-
[648] ened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic break-
fast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood.
[826] Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital
treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure
N better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuc-
W cessfully using peyote.

771 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members
said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at
787 least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[illegible] Peyote visions of
*795 dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[illegible] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new
N peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious
W aspect of the cult.[illegible]

171 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function
276 also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero
*795 as peyote's principal virtue.[illegible] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as
fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[illegible]

N Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious
W grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First,
178 peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, re-
771 sisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral
*795 speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[illegible] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is
N implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal
W guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meet-
[797] ing he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[illegible] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[illegible] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[illegible] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[illegible] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[illegible] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[illegible] La Barre, 72.

[illegible] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[illegible] thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

W 178 771

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

795* [797] N W

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[illegible] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[illegible] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

178 273 276 795* N W [787]

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[illegible] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

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There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

276 578 795* [786] [832]

[illegible] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[illegible] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[illegible] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[illegible] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

N W 276 578 *795

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote. The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

N W [786] [832]

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

N W 182 554 *795

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

N W 182 435 511 *795

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

N W 182 493 *795 [434]

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben 182
is "robbing the Indians." 433

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle 795*
and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months
of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecu- [434]
tive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the N
cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[illegible] Two who temporarily joined the W
peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, [578]
the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist
a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism. N

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were W
also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[illegible] Just as 182
real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction 571
of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An ex-
amination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk 602
in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be 795*
apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd
rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire N
for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[illegible] W

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, 182
wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or 795*
two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to
cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what
to believe. N

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

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Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly 177
or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural 795*
compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into
N these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
[755] curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
[171] singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used;
curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
801 visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoy-
756 ance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
276 peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
787 common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical con-
W clusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyot-
755 ism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
534 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
276 a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, raw-
533 hide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute cere-
801 monial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the
sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

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complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. 177
Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and 795*
explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism.[illegible]

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed N
was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the 177
meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living 795*
beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They N
believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. [755]
The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually N
needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipö that they use down south."[illegible] W

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, 177
there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion 182
and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, 795*
however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents.[illegible]

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

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[illegible] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[illegible] Muipö might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[illegible] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

N W 177 182 *795 compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

N W 177 554 *795 As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. N W [124] Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Coleville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III,[2] show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[illegible]

N W 157 177 *795 Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

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[illegible] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. 2[see col. 116, p. 123-Au.]

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differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult 157
with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar back- 177
grounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors. 795*

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were con-
sidered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter,
the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three ex-
ceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement,
and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for
the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult.
The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided
an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have
reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family
the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of
the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but
tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in- N
law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism.[illegible] W

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support 177
from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we 795*
must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural
integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the
Washo-Paiute is not significant. N

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial W
datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth 171
while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of re- 177
ligions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals 668
in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among
tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. 795*
He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in
cultural disintegration.[illegible] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement,
confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and
stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there
are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern
Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

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[illegible] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.

[illegible] 1925:868–873.

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of a new type of living."[73] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."[74]

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

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What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

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The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

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[73] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[74] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok NS31
Comanche NO6

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Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who con- 171
ducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at 177
Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid 668
shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not 795 *
doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported 797
by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The
appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." Y
A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his [668]
character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted [797]
to join."[25] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[26] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege. N

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one W
of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[27] The Arapaho Sitting 171
Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

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[25] Du Bois, 23, 27.

[26] Tom Garth, field notes.

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[27] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost [177]
Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its [668]
spread among his tribe."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

N W 171 and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P 668 797 P [276] [431] [578] Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N W 171 The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[78] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[79] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi [795] [797] The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[80] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

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[78] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.

[79] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.

[80] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

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return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from W
Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright 171
learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.*

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire
to insure his income. N

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, W
notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for 177
behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is con- 795*
siderable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native
religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandize- N
ment, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and W
deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kin- [797]
ship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

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* Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

W 177 between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

*795 Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

N W [182] All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

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The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[illegible] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

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Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[illegible]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

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The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

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Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[illegible] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[illegible] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[illegible] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[illegible] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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*795 some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, 796 the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning 276 them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be [782] concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, [237] and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through N it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with W small feathers or dyed horsehair.[39] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string [124] buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief N drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

W Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any [533] peyote song they wish.[40] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[41] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With N a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, W eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

[783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to N twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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W [39] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One [534] Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[40] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[41] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is W offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. 795* While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. 796 The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, 276 expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made N through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying W is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders [191] pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

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As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the W ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire [262] and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[illegible]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[illegible] and informal con- [783] versation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; [521] then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

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At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a W fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside. [522]

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[illegible] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[illegible] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

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with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

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Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

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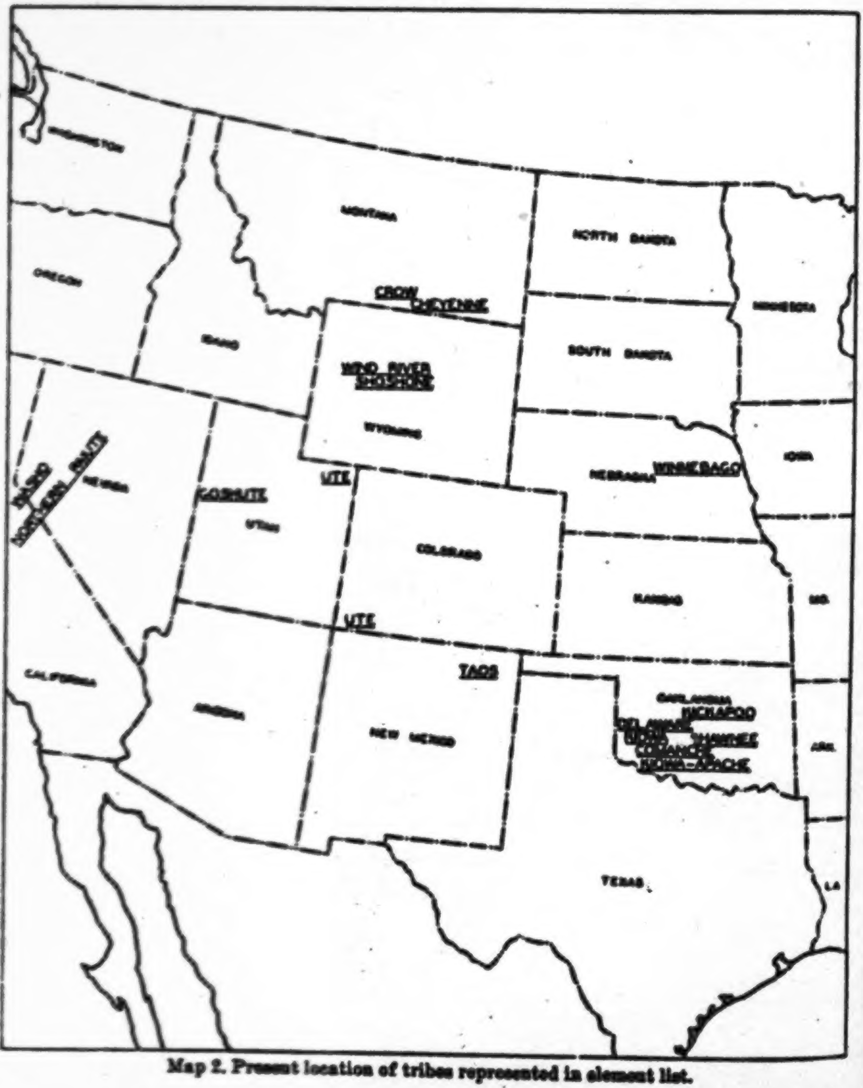
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
CROW
CHEYENNE
WIND RIVER
SHOSHONE
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
WINNEBAGO
IOWA
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
NEVADA
GOSHUTE
UTAH
UTE
COLORADO
KANSAS
MO.
UTE
TAOS
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
KICKAPOO
DELAWARE
KIOWA
SHAWNEE
COMANCHE
KIOWA-APACHE
ARK.
TEXAS
LA.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[illegible] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

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SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938. 800

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

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[illegible] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Delaware NM7
WinnebagoNP12
Comanche NO6

C
D
W
171
127
128
795

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

000 K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
[127
128
795]

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

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D
127
128
795

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
127
128
795

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

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[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

050 a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women . . . 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 267a).

W
N
127 W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

128
*795 Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Winnebago NP12
Crow NQ10

127 a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women ... 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery
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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Comanche N06

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ar S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(−)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		−	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	−	(+)	−	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

N
W
171
534
795*
796

C
171
534
795
796

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

C
D
W
171
795
796
[534]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
171
*795
796
[534]
[276]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

C
D
171
795
796
[534]
[276]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Uin	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+	+		–	–	–		+		–	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	+
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	+	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	Occurrence																
	U T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	Do 1	Do 2	Win	Mc C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	*+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	*(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	*+	−	−	
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	*+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	*+	*+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		*+	+		(+)	*−	+	*+	−		+	*−	*−	+	*(+)	*−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	*+	+	(+)	*+	*+	*+		+	+	*+	*+	+	*	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	*−	−	−	+	+	*+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		*+	*−	−	*+	*−	*−	*+	−	*−	*−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	*+	+	−	*+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	*−	*−	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	

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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ah 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR3

Washo NT20

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	–		(–)		•–		•–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	•+	–		+	+	+		–	•–	•–	–	+	+	–	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•–	(–)	+	•–	•–	–	•–	+	•+	–	+	+	+	•–
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	+	•–
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(–)		–		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–		+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•–	•+	+	–	–	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

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Peyote Element Distribution List—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																
	U T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	N-P	Tao
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+
94. All baths before attending meeting	+	+	•+	−		(−)		•−		•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		−	•+	−		+	+	+		−	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•−	(−)	+	•−	•−	−	•−	+	•+	−	+	+	+	•−
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	•−
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(−)		−		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+		−	+	−		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	(+)		−		+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	(−)	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•−	•+	+	−	−	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 2	Do 1	Do 2	Win	Mc C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
	Occurrence																
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	(	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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[276]
[783]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 Washo NT20

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[533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		•	+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Ka	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

110[A]

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[533]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM17

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

C
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171
795
796
[533]

110[B]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	U T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De L	De 1	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	Occurrence																
	Ut T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Uta	Gos	W-P	Taos
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	•+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Ka	Ar S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Uta	Gos	W-P	Tao
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10

Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	US T	K-A	Ka	Com	Ka	Ab S	Do 1	Do 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	*(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	*	−	−	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	*+	−	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		*−	*+		+	+	+	+			*(+)	+	−	+	*(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			*+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	*+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	*+	+	+	−	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			*+	−	*+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		*+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		*+	−	−	+	*−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	*−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			*+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	*+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	*+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	*+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 Northern Paiute NR13 Washo NT20

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Peyote Element Distribution List—(Concluded)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche No6
Winnebago No12

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																
	MT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ar S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow N Q10
Delaware NM7

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																
	LB T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	–	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 8	Do 1	Do 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06

Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	UT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

C
W
171
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796
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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																
	B T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

[276]
[574]
[771]
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D
C

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

N
W
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1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 40). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C
D 1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).
2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany
171 by leader himself (Malouf).
795 3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff
decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two
796 joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers
attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with
C crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used.
[237] "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer
white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is
why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C 9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in
[533] his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship."
But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference
to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D 13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).
16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber).
[533] Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90,
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[782] four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among
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east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction,
and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something
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east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries
have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the
south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain
foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]."
North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator
to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago N#12

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C
W
171
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2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

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13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

N
W
171
795*
796

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kie: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

42. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kie: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a. C

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). D 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf). C [534]

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget). D [237]

40. Kie: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget). C D [823]

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf). C [823]

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kie: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin). C

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget). [276]

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeʃi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a. C

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). W 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. AbS: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin). W

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus). [824]

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin). W [276]

N
W
171
*795
796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 60). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

N
W
[533]

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

N
W
[783]

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

C
D
171
795
796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

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95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NR10

Winnebago NR12

C
W
171
745
746
C
[276]

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

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69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

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74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

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92. Win: See note 182.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

96. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

N
W
171
795*
796

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kic: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kic: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

[A]

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). D

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 795 796 D [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98. D [823]

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kic: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kic: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C W

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). 171

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 795

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 796 W [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons). C [291]

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget). C [562]

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon). C

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget). [352]

NW 171 *795 796

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

C 125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

D 127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

171 128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

745 130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

746 132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

D [276] 133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

[782] 134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

D [533] 160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 156). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

Crow NQ10

Winnebago NP12

C
W
171
795
796

126. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 156). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

168. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes N
piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, W
181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a 171
heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross 795*
(by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). 796

169. De 2: See note 168. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close
friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon). N

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground W
sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S. [276]

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, [782]
then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

[A] C

168. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). D 171 795

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget). 796

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget). D

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin). D

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93). [532]

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S. D

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget). [276] [782]

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber). D

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: [264]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

[B]

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). C W 171 795

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget). 796

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin). W

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93). [532]

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin). C

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf). [276]

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget). [782]

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Delaware NM7

C Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready,
D she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).
171 215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins
and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See
795 note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).
796 216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants,
Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

D 236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre).
[782] De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon,
leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damë apë (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ni'më apë (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

C

W Win: Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready,
171 she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

795 215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins
and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See
796 note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

W 216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants,
[264] Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

C 217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

[264] 219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

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238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

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263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). N

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). W 171

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940. 795 796 002

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

A

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). C

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). D 171

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940. 795 796

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief. 62D

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NR10

Winnebago NR12

[R]

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). C

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Goe: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). W 171

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PROGRAM : NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

600

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
103
162
171
484
*795

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on middle of p. 123]

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	350	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

N
W
171

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, [illegible].

(Concluded on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

TABLE 1

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2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	23
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

I
O
D
W
C
162
191
795

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

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[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

N
W
171

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 25, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

N
W
162
795'
[103]
[171]
[484]

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

N
W
162
795
273
756
157
563

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Winnebago NA12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

[A]

I
O
D
W
C
162
171
795

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate- 500

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
162
171
*795

TABLE 4

ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley			Mono County				Total by tribes				Total
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O	P	W	S	O	P	W	S	O	
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	2	51	3	3	218	15	11	18	620	281	58	41	1000
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	6		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	32	8	3	88
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	27	8	3	83
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1		20	2		2	26	12	3	2	43
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1												5			5
Mixed-blood households								2			1												3			3
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1												1	2		3
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1															1			1
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2							2	2		2	6	6	2	2	16
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			52	1	1	3		24		24		2	26	3			96	58	2	3	159
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			35	1		3		24		24		2	22	3			91	41	2	3	137
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9			9	1			39	18	1		58
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1								4				5	17			22
Mixed blood households								4		1								2				3	4			7
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1							1	1		1	3
Attended only other meetings	7							1														7	1			8
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7							7	4		1	12
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2	1	1			5	3	1	3	12
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	112	2	22	1	1	161	4	11	15	479	191	48	35	753
Full-blood individuals	89	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1	102	3	11	14	404	174	44	32	654
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	52		49		10			54	2	6		196	76	21		293
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2			59	1		1	75	17	4	3	99
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2			27	1			38	11	2		51
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		2	2	2	1	1	14			15	25	10	3	21	59

N
W
162
795+
[273]

gories, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 2.5 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more liquor than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

TABLE 5
Other Peyotist Communities
(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	Total by tribes (P)	Total
Total population	128	359	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6
Totals of All Peyotist Communities

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed. [563]

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received from more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

• N
W
162
171
*795

The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

N
W
162
563
*795

Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

N
W
128
795*
602
171

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; ss, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
171
602
4795

ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, a	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, a	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, a	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	58	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	89	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, e, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	69	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, a			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, a			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 a, e			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	62	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, e			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 ssl			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	35	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	e, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	56	P	1				

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* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d			
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, c
57. Gregory, N.	F	50	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	h			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	h			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				nph
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			w, fl
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1			d	ss, sl
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b			
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, sal, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

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Washo NT20

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	32	P	1	ml, 2 sal, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 sal		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P–(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 sal, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P–(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 sal	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 sal, h, m, bl	2 sal, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d		s	
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss		b	
86. Walker, C.	M	59	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 sal
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 sal
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, a			f, stm, u, a
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				d
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	59	P	1	3 s, gs, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	a, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	a, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	a, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, a			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 c			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Concluded*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists: Unconcerned	Nonpeyotists: Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	ss	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 a, ss
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, a, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl, d, 2 ssl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, ss, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, ss, 2 u	ss	gf, 2 u	bl, ss
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		a			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			s, gs
109. Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, a, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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A	Anthropos
AA	American Anthropologist
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AMNH–AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH–B	Bulletins
AMNH–M	Memoirs
ASS–P	American Sociological Society, Publications
BAE–B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins
BAE–R	(Annual) Reports
CU–CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology
DU–CE	Denver University, Contributions to Ethnography
ESS	Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences
HU–BML	Harvard University, Botanical Museum Leaflets
GSA	General Series in Anthropology
I–A	Ibero-Americana
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
JH	Journal of Heredity
JRP	Journal of Religious Psychology
NSHS	Nebraska State Historical Society
NU–SSS	Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences
PMM–B	Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin
RMIA	Revista Mexicana de Ingeniería y Arquitectura
UC–AR	University of California, Anthropological Records
UC–PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW–PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology
YU–PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology

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PLATES

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PLATE 1

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a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

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b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

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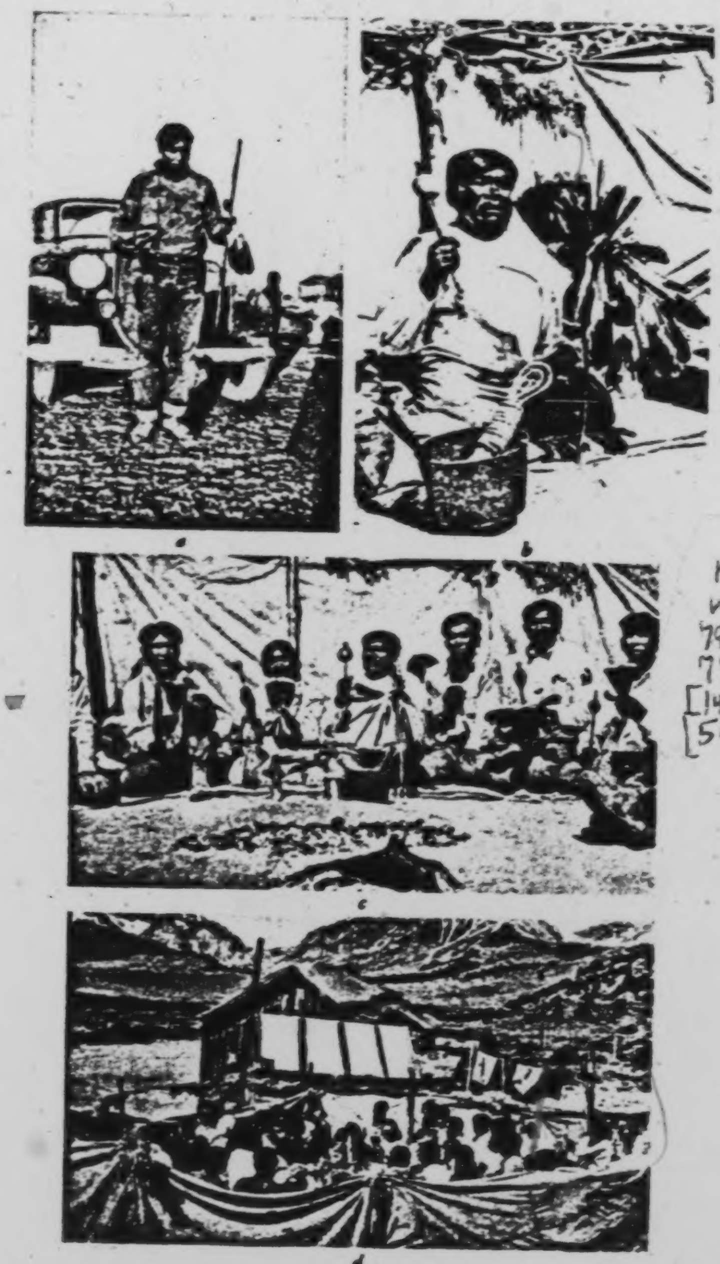
c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.



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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

PLATE 2

N
W *a.* Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit, and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July,
115 1938.

142 *b.* "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok.
516 Mono Lake, July, 1938.

[514] *c.* Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

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[854] *d.* School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

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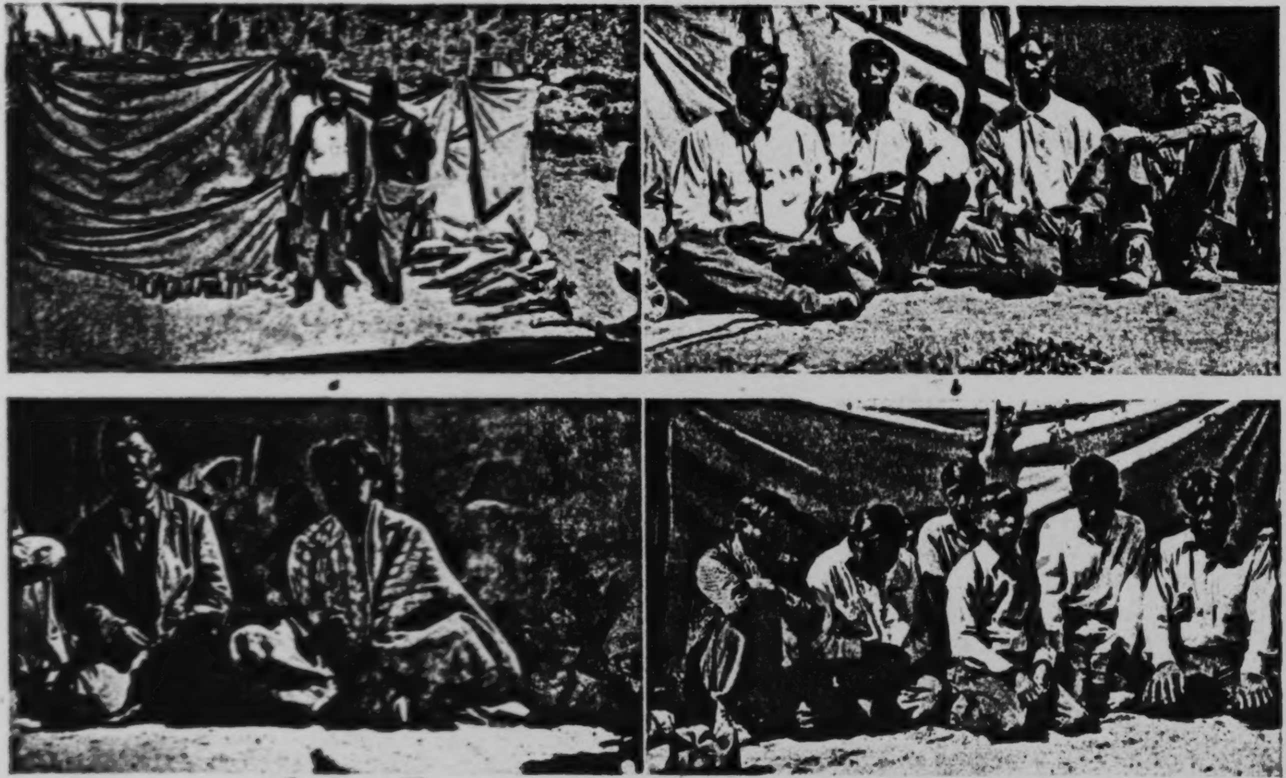

PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

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[For detailed information on Washo-Northern Paiute religious acculturation as exemplified by the Peyote cult, see 14: Stewart, NR13 Northern Paiute file.]

14: Stewart

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[Detailed information on various aspects of the Washo-Northern Paiute peyote cult will be found in category 116, pp. 64-136.]

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Frontispiece

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KITTY JOAQUIN
1954

[Facing P. i, A]

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HONEY LAKE PAIUTE ETHNOGRAPHY

By

FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

[p. i, B]

PREFACE

114 [115] This report on the ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute has been little more than an objective recording of data as obtained from the informants. No correlations, comparisons or contrasts with data obtained by others has been attempted here. It is fully recognized that much more can be done with the data gathered but one's work must sometimes be arbitrarily terminated. The original concern of this endeavor was to chart the territory of this group of Paiute people as an aid [121] to the archaeological investigations being carried out in their region. This was done, but, in doing so, an interest in other aspects of their society was whetted. As the investigator's interest grew so did that of the informants! If these investigations serve no other purpose than to give some measure of enjoyment and understanding of a past way of native life to those who may read, then I shall have been repaid for what effort I may have put into this work. Actually, I have been repaid many times over by the friendship and kindness that have been shown me by Kitty, Gladys, and the other Wadátkuht people I had the good fortune of meeting and visiting. I am ever-grateful to Kitty and Ike for allowing me to remove myself from the present and go back in time to a different world which is now gone forever. My glimpses into the past were fleeting and clouded by my own inadequacies, but none-the-less, very rewarding. My contact with the Honey Lake Paiute has given me much pleasure and I ask their indulgence in those areas of this work which lack the details necessary for providing a richer and more meaningful illumination of their history and former way of life.

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- a - Kitty Joaquin and daughter Gladys (in cradleboard) with unidentified missionary.
- b - Kitty Joaquin and her daughter Gladys.
- c - Lena Joaquin Calvin, Kitty Joaquin's sister.
- d - Grant Servillicun, Kitty Joaquin's son.
- e - (l. to r.) Gladys Mankins, Kitty Joaquin and Ike Northrup at Matá.

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Plate 2-- 89
- a - View of the village site of Matá with Honey Lake in the background.
- b - (l. to r.) Kitty Joaquin, Gladys Mankins and Ike Northrup visiting the village site of Matá.
- c - Small child sliding down the side of a granite boulder at Matá. This slide was used over a long enough period of time to create a slick vertical strip on the face of the stone. Kitty Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder, and as a child used this slide in her play.
- d - Kitty Joaquin at Matá standing in the center of the house pit of the dance house built by her father, Joaquin, and Dick Wright, when Kitty was a small child.

Plate 3-- 90
- a - Kitty Joaquin pointing out to Gladys Mankins and Ike Northrup the bedrock mortar pits at Matá used by her mother when Kitty was a child.
- b - The frame of a sweat house used by Kitty Joaquin for taking steam baths. Note the pile of stones which were heated so that water could be sprinkled on them to produce steam for the bath.
- c - The notch in the Sierra which the Honey Lake Paiute call Kukwa^{q}ta, or "Wind Hole." This feature figures in their mythology, and the wind can be made to blow through here if one knows the proper phrase.
- d - Ike Northrup and Gladys Mankins gathering atsátun^{a}, a plant used for stopping bleeding.

Plate 4-- 91
- a - Kitty Joaquin grinding acorns with a mano and metate. This is normally done with a pestle in a bedrock mortar but as she grew older Kitty found it to be less work to use the metate.
- b - Kitty Joaquin's mano and metate.
- c - Kitty Joaquin winnowing acorn meal to separate the coarse particles from the fine.
- d - Kitty Joaquin with winnowing tray separating wild mustard seeds from their seed pods.

Plate 5-- 92
- a - Kitty Joaquin washing "wild potatoes" using the yuhta, or sieve.

b - A large, coiled basket made by Kitty Joaquin. This type of basket was popular in post-contact time as a laundry basket, and often was used by the white people.

c - Kitty Joaquin digging "wild potatoes" in the Last Chance Creek area of Plumas County a few miles west of Honey Lake in the Sierra.

d - Acorn flour being leached in a nest of pine needles covered with flour sacks. Note the cedar boughs through which the water is poured so as not to disturb the flour.

MAPS

Northeastern California Climatic Types-----------facing page 4

Territory of the Honey Lake Paiute---------------in pocket

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

INTRODUCTION

As archaeological investigations in the Honey Lake region of Lassen County, northeastern California, progressed (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956; 1958) it became apparent that it was important to have an ethnogeography of the region in order to provide a base line for the archaeological interpretations. To obtain this information remnants of the indigenous Paiute band were visited intermittently over a period of several years. The results of these visits were a relatively complete ethnogeography of the territory of the Honey Lake Paiute and a fairly detailed account of the group's subsistence activities. In addition to this it was possible to get information on many other aspects of both their aboriginal and post-contact life. 114

Information concerning the ethnogeography of the Honey Lake Paiute primarily was obtained from Ike Northrup (Tabŭk... "Cottontail"), who was born about 1870 at the native camp of Kamš pana wuina ("Rabbit trail coming down") at the north end of Secret Valley (see map, Territory of the Honey Lake Paiute). 115

Additional information and confirmation of Ike Northrup's data was obtained from Susy Buster who was born about 1860. Susy's mother was a Pit River woman who had been captured by Susy's father, a Honey Lake Paiute. Susy Buster, who also served as Stewart's informant (Stewart, 1939, p. 138), died at Susanville in 1951. Ike Northrup died in the same town two years later.

Most of the ethnographic information presented in this report was obtained from Kitty Joaquin with the aid of her daughter, Gladys Mankins, who acted as both interpreter and informant. Helen Joaquin, Kitty's sister, also contributed information at various times. Joaquin, who was the father of Kitty and Helen, was the last headman of the Honey Lake Paiute. He died in 1935 (Stewart, 1939, p. 138) and the two women in 1954.

The ethnogeographic data were obtained through a grant-in-aid by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, in the summer of 1951. My own funds were used to obtain a portion of the ethnographic notes given herein. Specimens collected are housed in the University of California Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. Special thanks are here given to Dr. T. D. McCown, Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, and to Professor 122 126

000 E. W. Gifford, late Director Emeritus of the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for their generous support of this project.

n4 A linguistic analysis of Honey Lake Paiute was not attempted, being outside the scope of the project. For a discussion of Paiute linguistics see Lamb, 1958. The orthography used in this report is as follows:

104 a, e, i, o, and u have their continental values
eh, ih, and uh are the short forms of the vowels
ö, ü - imperfect umlaut
' elevated is the glottal stop
All elevated letters are whispered
All other consonants are pronounced as in English
/ indicates the accent

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15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

THE WADÁTKUHT

The Honey Lake Paiute, or Wadátkuht ("Wada eaters", 101 after the seed of Suaeda depressa), as they call themselves, are an independent band of Northern Paiute living entirely in California. This band had its own chiefs; the last two 622 were Kukwhi (Dick Wright) and Numunana ("Indian man"), also known as Joaquin. These men were contemporaries and apparently served jointly as headmen. Several earlier chiefs are listed by Stewart (1939, p. 138) and include No-jo-mud, Hozi-a and Adavugaya. Stewart equates Hozi-a with Ochio, the Kidütoka chief of Surprise Valley to the north of the Wadátkuht territory. Captain Dick, according to Stewart (ibid.), might be a Kamö man whose group immediately joins the Wadátkuht to the north and east. This Captain Dick is probably not to be confused with Dick Wright the Wadátkuht headman.

The Wadátkuht actually are composed of two groups of 101 closely related people. The main group lived in Honey Lake Valley and the secondary group lived in Secret Valley just north of Honey Lake. Those living in Secret Valley additionally utilized the eastern half of Madeline Plains north of Secret Valley. Apparently they shared it with the Kamötkuht ("Jackrabbit eaters") with whom they were closely related and affiliated. A more detailed discussion of this joint use is presented in a section on "Boundaries and Population".

Not only were the Wadátkuht closely related to the Kamötkuht, but they were close relatives of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Except for living in different areas and having their own headmen the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht might well be considered a single group. Genetic relationship to the Northeastern Maidu, Washo, Atsugewi, and Achomawi people also was considerable due to the fact that men often stole women (for wives) from, or lost women to these neighbor- [583] ing groups. Social intercourse between the Maidu and the Washo on the one hand, and the Wadátkuht on the other seems to have been of a much more friendly and cooperative nature than be- [648] tween the Wadátkuht and the Pit River people. Despite the apparently considerable foreign genetic inheritance of the Wadátkuht, not to mention certain cultural additions, the Wadátkuht strictly considered themselves as Paiute and maintained their strongest affiliations with their Paiute relatives. Linguistically there seems to be little difference between the [197] Wadátkuht and the Kuyuitkuht, except possibly for the preferential use of occasional words.

Wadátkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
[137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
(i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gather-
[137] ing forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territory.

15: Riddell·E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

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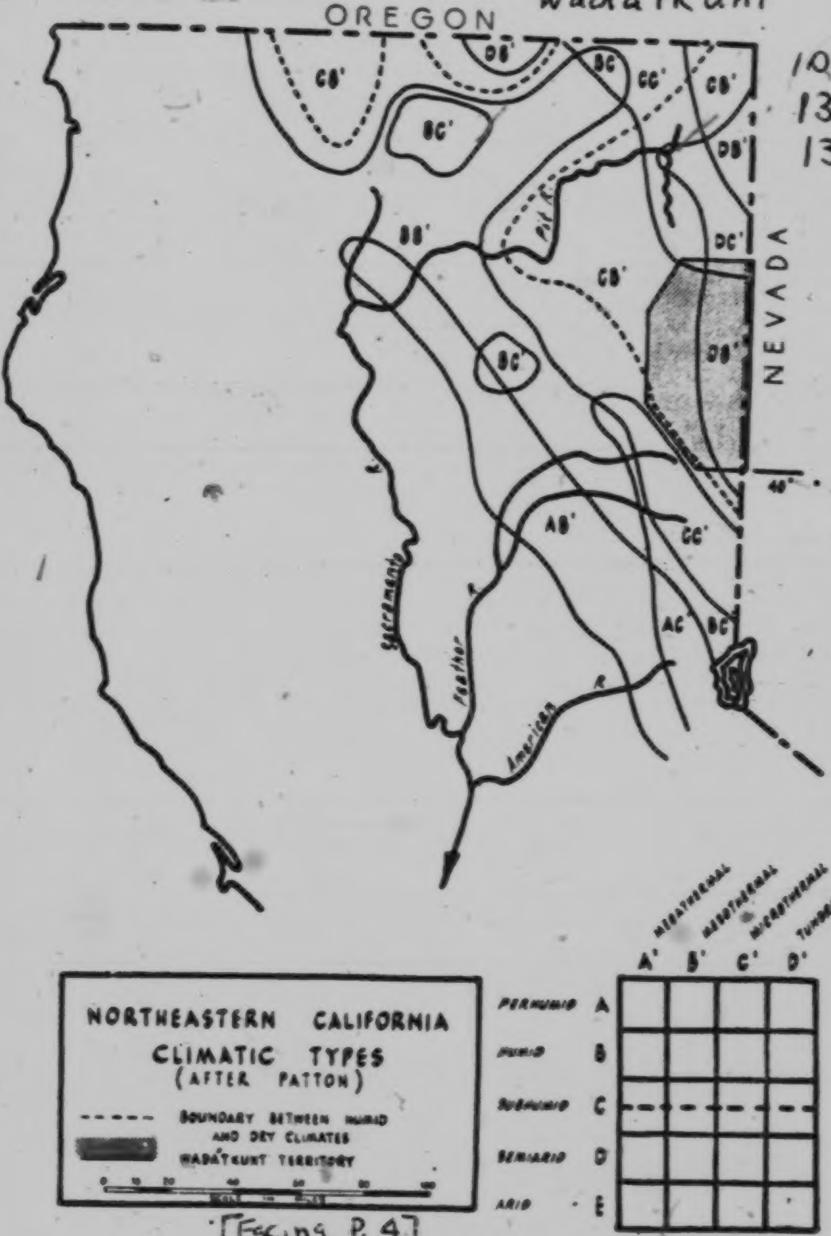
OREGON
NEVADA
CB'
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40°
AB'
CC'
AC'
DC
Pit R.
Sacramento
Feather R.
American R.
NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA
CLIMATIC TYPES
(AFTER PATTON)
BOUNDARY BETWEEN HUMID AND DRY CLIMATES
WADÁTKUHT TERRITORY
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE IN MILES
MEGATHERMAL
MESOTHERMAL
MICROTHERMAL
TUNDRA
A'
B'
C'
D'
PERHUMID A
HUMID B
SUBHUMID C
SEMIARID D
ARID E

[Facing P. 4]

Wadātkuht

3-0-C regions outside their recognized territory.

132 Winter temperatures can be extreme in the Honey Lake area with temperatures occasionally falling as low as -20°F in the vicinity of the winter villages of the Wadátkuht. Summer temperatures can exceed 100°F for short periods. Fields of snow often remain on the crest of the Sierra until June, occasionally until August, and snow can be heavy on the valley floor in the winter. Also in the winter Honey Lake Valley may be filled with a dense fog which will remain for several weeks. This same fog shrouded area in the summer, particularly around Honey Lake, may be subjected to choking, blinding dust storms of considerable magnitude. Despite this seemingly harsh environment the Wadátkuht were very fortunate [137] to have groves of oak trees within their territory. They also [133] were fortunate to have Honey Lake and the network of swamps and sloughs of Susan River which attracted myriads of waterfowl to nest and feed. The Wadátkuht environment could be harsh, but it could also be bountiful.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

175 [174] The date of first contact by Europeans with the Honey Lake Paiute may never be known with any exactness, but it can be assumed that some knowledge of the whites had been obtained by the last quarter of the 18th century. The existence of the Spanish after their founding of the mission at what is now San Francisco in 1776 was certainly known to Indian groups even as remote as the Honey Lake Paiute. Visits by Europeans into the general region are recorded as first having occurred in 1829 when Peter Skene Ogden made a trip west from Salt Lake to northwestern Nevada in that year. In 1830 he traveled from the Columbia River to the Colorado River on a route which lay to the east of the Sierra Nevada. His exact route is not known but it may have been through Nevada rather than in California along the east margin of the Sierra Nevada (Elliott, 1920). There can be little doubt that activities such as his were soon known to all groups neighboring the areas of penetration. It is thus probable that the Honey Lake people had heard rumors and tales of the white people for many years before they actually saw them. In fact, the coming of the whites was "foreseen" by Sanezha wahits, an old shaman. He sang for four or five nights and told the Honey Lake people that something was coming to their country, and that "something" was a white-skinned people. Because of this prediction [78 7] the Wadátkuht were not too surprised to see the first white

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people. The first group that they saw was composed of soldiers (sic), of whom they were afraid. 175

At the end of 1843 and the beginning of 1844 Fremont made a reconnaissance trip from Oregon through Nevada and became the first recorded white man to visit Pyramid Lake (Fremont, 1846). His description of the region and the people is relatively detailed and his visit was surely known to the Honey Lake people since they are closely related neighbors of the Pyramid Lake Paiute. [101]

It was not until 1850, however, that there is any record of actual penetration of Honey Lake Valley by Europeans. In this year Peter Lassen made two trips to this large lake lying just east of the Sierra Nevada in what is now northeastern California. On his second trip he was accompanied by J. Goldsborough Bruff and a group of other men. Bruff was a trained topographer with a curiosity, an appreciation of what he observed and a keen ability for describing his experiences. It is unfortunate that on his trip to Honey Lake he did not have his topographic instruments with him and thus able to make accurate day-by-day locations. Because of the lack of proper instruments it is scarcely possible to trace the party's route with accuracy. His verbal descriptions and his pen and pencil sketches made on the trip, however, are of considerable historical value and interest.

Read and Gaines (1949) have attempted a reconstruction of Bruff's route to Honey Lake but it is not entirely satisfactory. As the party neared Honey Lake, however, their position is more readily apparent. They originally left Lassen's ranch on Deer Creek near its junction with the Sacramento River and proceeded up the creek to its headwaters. They then rode east to the headwaters of the Feather River on the Lassen Trail. They followed this trail north approximately to a point where it meets the Pit River and then apparently branched off toward the north and east to cross Big Valley in Achomawi territory. From Big Valley they seem to have gone to the general area of the present town of Alturas, Modoc County, and then proceeded in a south and east direction, eventually reaching Honey Lake. The "hieroglyphic defile" of which he speaks is a section of the upper reaches of Smoke Creek, just south of Observation Peak and east of Shinn Peak, between Wagontree and Sagebrush Springs. All along the way they saw abundant evidence of Indians, and occasionally the Indians themselves. However, they were generally hostile and Bruff nearly lost his life while exploring a volcanic cone. [114]

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175 Arrows discharged at him and a friend from a distance of about 100 yards stuck the ground a few feet from them. Read and Gaines suggest that the volcanic cone was McDonald Peak, but the evidence is not entirely convincing. It can be assumed, however, that from about the time the party left this camp near the volcanic peak on September 30, 1850, they were in territory claimed by the Wadátkuht Paiute, having just left Achomawi territory. On October 2, 1850, the party camped on the north side of Shaffer Peak (Atsá kaduhkʷ, "Red Mountain"), which has an elevation of 5,864 feet above sea level. They remained at this camp through the 3rd of October and on the following day went around the east side of the peak to descend into Honey Lake Valley. On the night of the 4th they camped on one of the branches of the Susan River (apparently in the vicinity of where the town of Standish is now located), and on the following day went a few miles to the northwest end of the lake where they stopped for lunch and rest. That morning before they left camp they were visited by an old man and a young man who were armed with bows and arrows. Bruff made a sketch of the old man as he sat near the fire (Read and Gaines, 1949, p. 553).

At their lunch stop at the northwest end of the lake, Bruff made a sketch of Honey Lake and the Hot Springs Mountains (ibid., pp. 545-555). In the afternoon the party left the Honey Lake Valley and entered the Sierra Nevada on their return to the Sacramento Valley.

In 1853, Isaac Roop came to Honey Lake Valley to establish himself as the valley's first permanent white resident. The present town of Susanville, where Roop claimed land, was eventually named after his daughter Susan (Fairfield, 1916). As Lassen's Trail fell into disrepute, emigrant movement slackened, but with the establishment of Noble's Road the movement of settlers into northern California again began to increase. The Noble Road, established in 1852, branched off the Lassen-Applegate Trail where the latter turned north in the Nevada desert. The Noble Road crossed the Smoke Creek Desert and passed through Honey Lake Valley. It reached the Sacramento River in the vicinity of the present city of Redding after passing by the north side of Lassen Peak.

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648 The whites of Honey Lake Valley are reported to have made a treaty with the Paiutes (not just the local band but those of Pyramid Lake) (ibid., p. 82). Both sides observed the truce for several years and there was a friendly social

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and economic intercourse between both peoples in which the Indians traded furs and game for clothing and other desirable objects. The Pit River Indians, however, were early recognized by the whites as being dangerous and provocative and the settlers were always on guard against their depredations. In fact, the whites went into the Pit River territory on a number of occasions in force to carry the fight to these Indians in retaliation for both real and imaginary abuses. It was inevitable, however, that the Paiutes, too, would become alienated from the settlers and launch a campaign of resistance to last for several decades. Warfare between the whites and the Paiutes consisted of intermittent raids on one another's holdings and establishments. The Indians were primarily interested in driving off or killing the settler's livestock to get food and riding horses. The whites, interested in maintaining their holdings, would raid Indian camps and villages (often at dawn) and kill as many men as they could and destroy all the provisions the Indians had. Probably one of the greatest threats to the peace of mind of the Honey Lake Valley settlers was the gathering together of the Paiutes at Pyramid Lake upon the reservation. Both in theory and in actuality this banding together of Paiutes provided the Indians with a relatively strong force of mounted warriors which, if not controlled, possibly could have wiped out the young settlement. For many years the white settlers of Honey Lake Valley lived in apprehension of Indian attacks.

> "In Honey Lake Valley the military defense was never permanent. When trouble with the Indians arose, troops were dispatched from the neighboring military posts of Fort Crook, Fort Bidwell, and Fort Churchill, Nevada. Sometimes military posts were established and patrols maintained over a period of several months, but Honey Lake Valley was always considered 'as in the field', its defenses operating only on an emergency basis. The protection of the area rested chiefly upon the settlers themselves" (Davis, n.d., p. 66).
>
> "As Indian hostility lessened in the vicinity of Honey Lake, military activity diminished. Patrols and scouts, however, were continued for many years" (*ibid*., p. 75).
>
> "But by 1880 the work of the military post was behind it. Cooperation and assimilation had replaced conflict and isolation. The struggle between native and new comer was over" (*ibid*., p. 80).

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[464] From about 1880 on the Honey Lake Paiute began increasingly to work as agricultural and domestic laborers for the white settlers, but pursued their old way of life in a modified form. The hunting and gathering cycles of pre-contact times was modified to include seasonal work on the ranches, primarily centered about haying. Many traditional camps and villages were abandoned due to a decrease in population and in order to take advantage of closer contact with particular ranchers from whom the Indians could receive certain benefits. A glimpse of this post-contact type of settlement pattern is given in a following section.

According to Kitty Joaquin the Maidu people were anxious to have peaceful relations with the white people and urged the Paiutes to follow the same policy. The Paiute people, however, distrusted and feared the white people (tai'bo'^{o}) who were coming into their country. They wanted to be rid of these strangers. The first (sic) group of white men were soldiers who camped in a draw low on the mountain slope between Litchfield and the Gibson ranch which is located [312] several miles east of Litchfield. As there is a spring in that locality it was a good place to camp.

[177] Kitty stated that the soldiers gave the Indians soap, flour, canned milk, tomato sauce, clothes and shoes. The Indians used the soap to make soup and put the muskmelons into the earth oven to cook. Kitty could not help but laugh as she told of the unsatisfactory results of both these experiments.

A short time after the white people came to Honey Lake Valley a band of Wadátkuht people, including Joaquin (Kitty's father), was on a hunting trip to Eagle Lake (Kitty stated on another occasion that they had gone to the lake to escape the soldiers). A group of soldiers, augmented by a number of Maidu men, were also in the vicinity. Hog-die Jim (Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}..."Feces to wipe"), Joaquin's uncle, was afraid that the soldiers and the Maidu would attack the Wadátkuht camp so advised Joaquin and the others to move their camp. Joaquin, however, felt that there was no real danger so was not willing to move camp. Hog-die Jim then took the dried meat, a rabbit skin blanket and all the horses and left.

The soldiers and the Maidu attacked Joaquin's camp and killed everyone except a baby in a cradle board, two women who jumped into the lake and swam to safety, a half-grown girl, and Joaquin. Joaquin, too, jumped into the lake to

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escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body 175
by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was 648.
Joaquin's brother. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by
the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his
long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the
Maidu.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

The boundaries between native groups, both in California 131
and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our 114
own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get
precise boundary locations from informants of one group he 115
will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide
with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary
lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate

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131 114 115 his claim. For example, one Wadátkuht informant said repeatedly that the Susanville area belonged to them, yet she could not give any camp or village names within the area. Maidu informants, however, gave the names and locations of a number of Maidu villages in that area. On another occasion a Washo informant stated that the Washo territory extended as far north as Susanville, yet could not give the names or locations of any Washo villages in that area despite the fact that he did know the region south of Doyle. Similar conflicting statements were recorded from various informants. so one cannot always rely upon what an informant claims for the territory of his particular group; instead one must rely upon names and locations known by the informant.

In most cases the informants were sincere when they gave what they considered to be the boundaries of their group's territory. But it seemed to be a rather common occurrence for an informant to consider as his group's territory those areas of his neighbor's in which the first group made hunting and gathering forays. In drawing the boundary lines for the Wadátkuht an attempt was made to avoid these pitfalls. I did not include those peripheral areas periodically visited by the Wadátkuht and for which they had no camp or village names and for which they could provide no names for the physiographic features. I have tried, however, to note the use of these areas by the Wadátkuht.

131 The eastern boundary of the Wadátkuht territory can best be placed on, or in close proximity to the California-Nevada state line. The eastern neighbors, thus, would be their relatives, the Kuyuitkuht. The southern tip of the Wadátkuht territory extends to Doyle where Washo territory begins. Proceeding northwest of Doyle along the crest of the Sierra the boundary extends to the vicinity of Thompson Peak where it turns directly north. Although some groups of Wadátkuht crossed the summit, or crest of the Sierra into Dixie Valley, Plumas County, to gather products growing there they did not claim this area because it was only used for relatively short periods of time. They called it Tasu^{p}, meaning "Wild game place". This region can be considered to be an area of mutual use by both the Washo and the Wadátkuht, and possibly by the Maidu. Gladys Mankins said that it belonged to the Washo.

At Thompson Peak the boundary line runs north to Horse Lake with the Mountain Maidu territory lying to the west as far north as Antelope Ridge a few miles northeast of Susanville. North of Antelope Ridge the Pit River people are the

Wadátkuht

western neighbors of the Wadátkuht. From Horse Lake the boundary line proceeds northeasterly to McDonald Peak and then east to the state line. The Kamötkuht are the northern neighbors and relatives of the Wadátkuht.

In essence, the boundary locations presented here agree with those given by Stewart (1939). The disagreements are primarily ones of greater refinement here of the territorial boundary lines. I give all of the Honey Lake peninsula and the lower reaches of Long Valley Creek north of Doyle to the Wadátkuht, while Stewart assigns this region to the Washo. It is true that this area was somewhat used by the Washo, but my information rather clearly indicates that this region belongs to the Wadátkuht.

Stewart states that the tasiget tuviwarai ("in between dwellers") were to the east of the Wadátkuht (ibid., p. 138), but my informants stated a number of times that the region east of Honey Lake and the state line was uninhabited and that the first people to be encountered to the east were the Kuyuitkuht. The most easterly Wadátkuht village was located [361] almost at the present state line. When closely pressed, however, Susy Buster seemed to recall the "in between dwellers" but could give no details of them.

It is without hesitation that I assign most of Secret Valley to the Wadátkuht, although I have no information concerning the area west of Secret Valley in the vicinity of Snow Storm Creek and Petes Valley. It seems more or less arbitrary which group should be assigned to this latter region, the Atsugewi or the Wadátkuht. At the present state of knowledge I am inclined to agree with Merriam (1926) and consider this region as belonging to the Wadátkuht, particularly since they have been allotted Horse Lake by both Merriam and myself.

To the north of Secret Valley is Madeline Plains, the eastern half of which was utilized by the Wadátkuht. The western half belongs to the Pit River people. The Wadátkuht western boundary, from Horse Lake to McDonald Peak, is in agreement with that presented by Merriam (ibid.). Stewart agrees with both Merriam and Kniffen apparently without realizing that they are not in agreement (Stewart, 1939, p.137). Stewart, however, gives this as the western boundary for the Kamötkuht, whereas I am inclined to credit it to the Wadátkuht. Actually, both ways may be correct for as Stewart says, "...the Kamö band was allotted that territory which others did not claim" (ibid.).

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131 claim" (ibid.). Apparently the Wadátkuht shared the eastern half of Madeline Plains with the Kamötkuht. The Wadátkuht admit only to having used this area for periodic hunting and gathering. They said that it was too cold to have any winter villages there. It seems likely that the Kamötkuht may have felt the same way about this area. The Kamötkuht appear to have been rather close friends, and often relatives, of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, thus a boundary would have slight significance to either group. At the present stage of information it seems proper to represent a boundary line between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains as a broken line to indicate that little or no boundary was recognized by the Paiute people utilizing both areas. The eastern half of Madeline Plains will be considered to be a region of mutual utilization by both the Kamötkuht and the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Large archaeological sites in Madeline Plains indicate considerable occupation in some pre-contact time. These sites need not represent winter villages, however.

McDonald Peak seems to be an outstanding boundary marker between the Pit River people and the Paiute. Ike Northrup even told of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake, which are about eighteen miles northeast of McDonald Peak, being jointly used by Paiute and Pit River people. However, McDonald Peak can certainly stand as a major pivot for the Paiute-Pit River boundary. The use of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake by some Wadátkuht appears to be the exception rather than the rule. It seems worthwhile to mention, however, that Ike stated that Red Rock, about ten miles east of McDonald Peak, was as far as the Pit River people came.

161 A population estimate is rather difficult to make for the Honey Lake Paiute but an estimate of 200 persons made by Gladys Mankins would appear to be about as close a guess as can now be made. My informants gave me a complete census of the two groups of Wadátkuht as of circa 1880-1890, at least far as their memory served them. The Honey Lake group had somewhat more than 30 persons living at the village of Matá. The Secret Valley group had about the same number living together in one of their villages at this same time. Assuming that possibly as many as 25 more individuals were living elsewhere in the Wadátkuht territory at this same time we have a total of nearly 100 Wadátkuht Paiute living circa 1880-1890. This number may be slightly excessive but is probably not too much out of line. Since introduced disease, warfare and accident claimed a great number of Wadátkuht victims it does not seem incorrect to suggest that the aboriginal Wadátkuht

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population was approximately 200 persons. This number could be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of the expectable decrease in population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group. 161 [177]

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The following is a listing of the names and a description of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names. 103 133

1. Wago' yamos^{a} ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos^{a} by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is [137]

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103 given this name. This feature is not in Paiute territory
133 but is probably on the Mountain Maidu-Atsugewi boundary. Worley Mountain is plainly visible from Honey Lake Valley and was probably visited on occasional hunting trips, particularly since nearby Eagle Lake was visited for hunting and gathering purposes.

[137] 3. Guha kaive ("Guha Mountain"). Bald Mountain several miles west of Honey Lake has this name because of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) growing there. This small, treeless range of rounded hills has a growth of bitterbrush, grass and sage covering it. Its origin is documented by a Wadatkuht myth.

4. T' kwanguhd ("Tower"). This name refers to Thompson Peak which has a tower-like rock formation in association.

[546] 5. Padotsa dawakuhd ("Bubbling Hole"). This spring is located on the hillside behind (south) of the Bird Flat schoolhouse. The school is approximately a mile west of Herlong Junction on Highway 395.

6. Pasia novi ("Bald Eagle House"). An old pine tree beside Highway 395 a distance of 5.4 miles southeast of Milford was given this name because of a pair of bald eagles who made their nest in it many years ago. When Ike Northrup was a young man he went by this tree with Joaquin who told him about the nesting birds in the tree and the name for it. The eagles had long since ceased nesting there by that time so Ike never saw them. The tree is still standing but it was killed in the summer of 1950 by a brush fire.

[726] 7. Numu wunud^a ("Indian Stand Up"). This name was given to a conical rocky hill about four miles northwest of Doyle (T25N/R16E/Sec. 3). This hill received its name as a consequence of a fight between some Pit River and Paiute men. The fight started at Doyle with the Paiutes attempting to escape to this hill. The Paiutes, with the Pit River men in pursuit, gained the sanctuary of this hill and began to roll boulders down on the Pit River men. A Pit River man was killed during the fighting and was stood up by the Paiutes who did it "to be onery". The death of this one man was enough to stop the fighting; "Maybe the headman killed, rest run away".

8. Moguṕ^a kudak^w("Sharp Mountain"). The range of mountains just east of Doyle is given this name because of its rather jagged appearance.

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9. Moa mutsakian^{o} ("Rough Point") (moav^{a} - "rough"). This rocky point is about five miles northeast of Doyle and may be considered a northern extension of the previous feature. Rough Point is located in T25N/R17-18E and got its name from the rough granitic rock of which this feature is composed.

10. Babáktud ("Big Mountain"). The large mountain a few miles southeast of Flannigan, Nevada, is given this name. Neither this feature nor the following one is considered to be in Wadátkuht territory, but are said to be in an uninhabited region rarely visited due to the scarcity of water. Archaeological sites recorded at several places in this general region testify that the area was not always unoccupied. [172]

11. Kaibak^{u} mutsakian^{o} ("No Wet Point", i.e., "Dry Point"). This is a range of mountains a few miles northeast of Flannigan, Nevada. This feature, as with the preceding one, is said to be in an uninhabited region. The name for this feature gives the reason for the lack of occupation.

12. Tusí katu' ("Bunch Grass Mountain"). Hot Springs Mountain east of Honey Lake bears this name.

13. Hunuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). The flat at the western base of Hot Springs Mountain was given this name. The Wadátkuht had a camp on this flat but the informants could not recall its name, or if it had one. [361]

14. Paí dupid^{a} ("Rocks to Bottom"). This is the name given the rock formation on the west face of Hot Springs Mountain. The nearly vertical rock faces of this feature have a pyramidal shape. A snow slide here before contact times killed a herd of deer which was utilized by the Paiute people.

15. Tuhu' ta ("Wildcat Hole"). This point of land which has distinct Lake Lahontan wave-cut terraces on its slopes is located slightly more than two miles north of Wendel. Wildcats are said to have inhabited the caves in the rocks on this point. The track of the Southern Pacific railroad goes around the base of this point.

16. Tukwí mutsakian^{o} ("Burned Rock Point"). This name is given to a sort of lava shelf, or tableland, partially surrounded by low cliffs, or rimrock. This feature is located about two miles northwest of Tuhu' ta and apparently got its name from the lava rock. The Southern Pacific

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passes but a short distance from this feature in T29N/R15E.

17. Páhino mutsakian^{o} ("Limestone Rock Point"). This point, which exhibits wave cut terraces from ancient Lake Lahontan, is but a short distance west of the Gibson ranch. Highway 395 passes several hundred yards south of this feature. It got its name from the rocks that are covered with calcarceous tufa from the waters of Lake Lahontan.

18. Atsa kaduhk^{w} ("Red Mountain"). Shaffer Peak and its integral domes and peaks, including the peak just north of Litchfield and the dome north of the Gibson ranch, are given this name. The latter, however, is said to have had a name of its own but is now forgotten. The south side of this dome, or rounded peak, was a favored area for gathering atsá seeds (probably Sophia sonnei) for food. (The Gibson ranch is about two miles east of Litchfield on Highway 395).

19. Tubisha muha ("Red Adobe Moon"). This feature was so named because of the color of the soil there and because this saddle-shaped pass resembles the moon when it is in its crescent phase. This low pass lies between Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley and is utilized by both Highway 395 and the Southern Pacific. The area is located in T30N/R15E.

20. Wahahu ("Hay Flow"). Smoke Creek was given this name because the aquatic plants appear to flow downstream as they undulate in the current. Smoke Creek rises on the east side of Shinn Peaks and flows into Nevada.

21. Pakwí patutspuh ("Fish Splash"). Rush Creek, about five miles south of Smoke Creek, was given this name because of the fish that jumped in this stream. As with Smoke Creek, Rush Creek also flows into Nevada.

22. Pasö katuduh ("Willow Set"; "set", in this sense, means "place", or that something is "situated"). This is the name for Mud Spring, or Bull Flat as it was later called.

23. Tubihsha nõna ("Red Adobe Set"). Mud Flat was given this name because of the color of the mud in this playa lake. The lake bottom is covered by a blanket of wild sunflowers after the water dries up each year. This made it a favorite place for the Wadátkuht to collect sunflower seeds. This [222] feature is situated at the south side of Secret Valley and is bisected by Highway 395.

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24. Nadu' pikwa ("Rocky"). Shinn Peaks at the north 103
end of Secret Valley are given this name. 133

25. Sawa nōna ("Brush Set"). Secret Valley is given this name. Susy Buster stated that both the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht used this area. It is true that the villages in Secret Valley had some Kamötkuht people in them, but the villages were Wadátkuht. It must be kept in mind that the [648] Secret Valley Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht were apparently quite neighborly.

26. Sawá kudak^w ("Sagebrush Mountain"). This mountain, Snowstorm Mountain, is located about five miles north of Karlo in T32N/R14E.

27. Hudzí kudak^w ("Sagehen Mountain"). This low sage-covered hill is about four miles east of Karlo and one mile east of Highway 395 in T31N/R15E.

28. Suhngavi ("Cottonwood"). Stoney Creek, a tributary of Secret Creek, has this name. Stoney Creek is about five miles east of Karlo.

29. Masaida patsóna ("Watercress(?) Spring"). This spring is about one and a half miles north of Karlo and a short distance north of the archaeological site Las-7, also known as the Karlo site. This particular spring was not visited with my informant but is probably located in Section 5 or 6 of T31N/R15E.

30. Saga' patsóna ("Willow Spring"). This is a spring at the Shinn ranch (in T33N/R16E) where hunting parties went for deer and groundhogs (marmots) in the spring. This feature [224] was not visited with my informant so the exact location was not recorded.

31. Atsa' tukatud ("Red Dome"). This is the name for Red Rock (a mountain or hill) near (in T35N/R15E) the Red Rock post office on the northeastern side of Madeline Valley. A more exact location for this feature was not obtained since it was not visited with my informant.

32. Saib ("Tule"). Cold Springs, located about three [137] miles north of Red Rock in T36N/R15E, bears this name because of the tules growing there. Both this feature and the previous one might properly be said to be in Kamotkuht territory, however, the Wadátkuht had access to them as if their own. My

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103 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features
133 belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudak^{w} ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudak^{w}. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch" in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring provides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28. [312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter [224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley. In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline [172] Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht. Evidence in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pówhanun° ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain, Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and [224] Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular significance because deer were hunted here.

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39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian^{o}, "Point"). 133
This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern 103
extension of Pínaktud (Item 37 above).

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name [224]
for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt.

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú nuhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name [137]
given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules
grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The [361]
Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north end of the lake.

44. Wada banú nuhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for
Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from [137]
the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named [101]
The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm.

45. Kukwa^{P}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly [789]
opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E.

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). [262]
This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering.

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term [136]
refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey

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133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo
[136] trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south
through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals
into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to
Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of
Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway
crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured
two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the
relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its
name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that
place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wuhg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
[251] were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the
Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu.
Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly
aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following
section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to
conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their
locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
174 suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon
an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture
even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

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361 of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructi
of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in
[174] the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately
clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about
1925.

It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following
villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the
same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only
occupied seasonally. The Wadátkuht, similar to the other
[221] Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and
gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home"
for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed
nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only
village so termed by my informants, although other winter
villages may by definition be given this term.

It has been difficult to decide which of the following
named habitation sites were villages and which were camps.
Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not
[114] apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the
terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous
unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considere as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

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361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SE$\frac{1}{4}$ of NW$\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

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103 picking chokecherries nearby. The informants reported that
361 he was never successful.

[172] This site was an occasional winter village for Joaquin and his group of Wadátkuht composed primarily of his own family. Aboriginal occupation is indicated by chipped stone projectile points, flake knives of stone, thermal fractured stones and similar evidence. This village site has the archaeological designation of Las-34.

Parker Creek, which flows by the site, apparently has the same name as the village. In the vicinity of the village and along the creek chokecherry bushes grow abundantly, thus an important source for chokecherries for the Wadátkuht.

2. Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} ("Oak Tree Row"). This camp is located about 1½ miles south of Buntingville among pine and oak trees (T28N/R13E/Sec. 23). The Wadátkuht gathered acorns here and the bedrock mortars in the area attest to the same use of the area in earlier times. In more recent times a group of Maidu lived in this area until about 1930 which seemingly demonstrates a modification in the aboriginal occupation pattern.

3. Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o} ("Oak Tree Point"). This camp, as with Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, was situated among pines and oaks where the Wadátkuht could take advantage of the acorns. It got its name from the fact that a timbered spur, or point of land, extends eastward toward the shores of Honey Lake (T27N/R14E/Sec. 8).

A family of Pit River Indians lived here circa 1910 to parallel the occupation of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} by some Maidu people. It would seem by these two examples that observance of inter-tribal boundaries ceased shortly after the arrival of the settlers.

4. Sawa katud^{a} ("Sagebrush Set"). This village near the mouth of Baxter Creek was inhabited by the Wadatkuht until after contact times. As indicated by the name this [172] village is in a sagebrush region and marks the site of an archaeological habitation area as shown by the numerous stone artifacts recovered from here over the years by local collectors. The culture deposit of this site (with the archaeological designation of Las-93), however, is shallow. The site is located in T28N/R14E/SW¼ of NW¼ of Sec. 17.

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103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
[162] least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designa-
tion for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^a ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp
at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife.
This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sóhud^a as

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103 361 Ike Northrup visited the site with the author but knew nothing concerning its occupation.

7. Pagúshuhad ("Warm Spring"). This most eastern Wadátkuht winter village receives its name from a spring of warm water that pours out from the base of a series of spire-shaped rocks. It is said that east of this village [312] there were no camps or villages until one approaches Pyramid Lake. Lack of water is given as the reason for this region being unpopulated. This village is a desert village, being some 10 or 15 miles east of the timbered Sierra. It is located at the High Rock ranch east of Honey Lake and just west of the Nevada state line. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-88 (T29N/R17E/Sec. 36).

[412] Pagúshuhad was a winter village for Joaquin and his band of Wadátkuht. Informants report that there is a bedrock metate at this village site.

8. Ishuhpa ("Wolf Water"). This winter village was so-named because the spring here was a favorite place for wolves to obtain water. It is located about five miles northwest of Pagúshuhad, and similarly, has considerable archaeological evidence in the form of stone artifacts which have been recovered from the surface. The archaeological designation for Ishuhpa is Las-46 (T28N/R16E/SE¼ of Sec. 18).

9. Pam^{u} ("Hot Springs"). This name is given for both the hot springs at Amedee and at Wendel. The Amedee site has the archaeological designation of Las-99, the Wendel site, Las-28. Both of them were winter villages, although Ike Northrup said that the people could not remain at the Amedee Hot Springs in wet weather, or when the snow was melting, because the surrounding flat country became too muddy. They had to move to high ground about one mile to the east. This probably meant that the archaeological cave site, Las-90, approximately one mile east of Amedee was used when the area about the hot springs became too muddy.

10. Numúta ("Indian Hole"). Both Tommy Tucker Cave, Las-1 (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956), and Amedee Cave, Las-90, were given this name. It would seem that any cave utilized by these people might be given this same name. Amedee Cave was used by Kitty Joaquin when she was a small girl. She and her family (Joaquin's group, primarily) [172] camped there upon occasion. Recent archaeological excavation in this cave by the author has revealed numerous manos and

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103 361 [172] metates, as well as a number of chipped stone projectile points. Tommy Tucker Cave, on the other hand, was not used as a habitation site in recent times. Joaquin had warned Kitty and the other children not to enter the cave, nor did he do so himself as far as Kitty ever knew. Excavation of this cave produced only one mano and no metates, a decided contrast to Amedee Cave, Tommy Tucker Cave yielded numerous shell beads and ornaments, sandals of twisted sagebrush bark, a large number of game counters used in gambling, bone tools and ornaments, basketry fragments and numerous other articles. The upper levels of both caves must be considered to be quite recent, particularly since both are recognized by living informants and one was said to have been occupied. Metal objects occurred on or near the surface of both caves, a fact which tends to substantiate some use and/or occupation in post-contact times.

11. (Name forgotten by informants). During some winters a village was maintained on the flat below and north of Tommy Tucker Cave. The flat was called Hunuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). This was a favorable place because there usually was not much snow. Archaeological sites on this flat include Las-2 and Las-18.

12. Pahodö duhak^{a} ("Sand Creek"). This camp site is situated just east of Viewland and Highway 395 in a sort of sand dune and sagebrush area (T30N/R15E/ center of Sec. 34). Very little information could be obtained concerning this camp which may have, upon occasion, served as a winter village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. A burial was excavated at, or near this site circa 1930 when an irrigation canal was dug.

A Maidu village on the south bank of Sand Slough was located just west of the Susanville Municipal Airport at Johnstonville. The Wadátkuht called this village Pahodö duhak^{a}, also. It was a historic site and cemetery with no evidence available as to the length of occupation there.

[172] 13. Tupí' twaba ("Rock Under Water", i.e., a spring under the rocks). This name applies to the archaeological sites Las-15, Las-45 and Las-91, apparently. These archaeological sites (T29N/R15-16E/ Secs. 13, 14, and 24 of R15E, and Sec. 19 and 20 of R16E) belong, in part, to the late archaeological period as demonstrated by the recovery of clamshell disc beads, dentalia shells and glass beads. Evidence of ancient habitation is in the form of a burial with beads ascribably to the Early Lovelock Period dated between 3000 and 4000 years ago.

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361 The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91, and it is at this spring that certain persons would see [787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more [776] than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg^{o} tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg^{o}, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas [226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers [251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidü dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16 [412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said [231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that [417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

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103 361 17. ᵏTávi wanud ("Fir Tree Basin"). The informants said the name meant "Cedar Basin", however, the name for cedar is pawap^1, that for juniper is wap^1, and for fir is ᵏtavi. This village was located at the north end of Horse Lake, the remains of which are presumably represented by the archaeological site Las-13. The village took its name from a cedar (sic) tree which was growing in a sort of basin where the village was located. The region about Horse Lake is a juniper/sage environment so a cedar tree would be exceptional in that region. Susy Buster gave the name for this village and additionally stated that the lake belonged to the Wadátku

[172] Judging from the archaeological remains the village here must have been of considerable importance, and/or of long occupation. Numerous artifacts and at least one burial have been recovered from this site.

18. Sigu patsóna ("Sagebrush Spring"). This was probably the major village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, and was Ike Northrup's home village. His father, Nunu' kai (nunu', "snake"; kai, "no"), was a shaman and was headman for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. The village was occupied until around 1900 and the houses were of native construction. One of these houses burned one winter with a complete loss of personal property. It was Ike Northrup's house and he lost his bow and arrows, rabbit skin blankets, some moccasins and other gear.

[439] Sam, or Nunu' kai, raised potatoes at this village for sale to the store in Janesville operated by Jim McClelland. He would trade the potatoes for food.

The archaeological designation for this village is Las-104 (T31N/R15E/Sec. 1). The site is among low sandy ridges about one mile east of where the county road turns west off Highway 395 to go to Karlo. There is a spring and a tall poplar tree at the site.

Although this important winter village may be classed as a nogat, a primary winter village, as is Matá at Milford, there were several other sites which substituted for this winter village. When a winter was too cold the Secret Valley group moved to Honey Lake Valley in the vicinity of Gibson's ranch several miles east of Litchfield. Another winter village was located about one mile west of Sigu patsóna on a sandy ridge overlooking a large meadow. This village, however, seems to have been a recent post-contact village

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and is discussed in a following section.

19. Pamaha woiyuad^{a} ("Wiregrass Patch"). This is a temporary hunting camp at Spanish Springs, in the hills between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains. Hunters would camp here in the fall for about five days. This site has the archaeological designation of Las-106.

20. Papát son^{a} ("Springs"). This is a camp at some springs at the west base of Observation Peak where the Madeline ranch is now located. It was not visited with the informant so a precise location was not obtained.

21. Kamö pana wuina ("Rabbit Trail Coming Down"). This is the village at which Ike Northrup was born and is located at the north end of Secret Valley about one mile north of the Secret ranch at a point where Highway 395 leaves the valley and starts toward the summit. An archaeological site, Las-20, has been recorded several hundred yards northwest of this village site (T32N/R15E/SE¼ofSE¼ of Sec. 26).

22. (Name forgotten). As noted in item 18 above the village one-half mile northeast of the Gibson ranch (T29N/R15E of Sec. 7) which is two miles east of Litchfield was a major winter village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Before the Gibson family took up the present ranch the native village's headman was Sani zha, Rawhide Henry's father. Sani zha later in life lived at Matá.

After the establishment of the Gibson ranch the Secret Valley group would occasionally spend severe winters here. When the opportunity afforded itself they would work for the Gibsons.

It must be stressed that all, or nearly all, of the preceding described habitation sites were occupied within the memory of the informants, thus need not necessarily represent the aboriginal Wadátkuht habitation pattern. The additional evidence, however, indicates pre-contact occupation for most of these sites. Often the verbal testimony of the informants is substantiated by archaeological evidence. It can be assumed with considerable certainty that the above described habitation sites include a majority of the more important aboriginal Wadátkuht village and camp locations, at least for that period of time just before contact with the white settlers.

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POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

361 [177] Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites.

[182] The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained.

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. [312] It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^a ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. [551] He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death.

[525] The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). [172] These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. [224] The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with

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361 [224] their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuum from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

[881] 4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

361 464 [221] The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361 5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.

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Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching for the native houses constructed at this village. Except for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not. 361 [824] [342]

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family getting there first expecting to have no competition unless they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often invited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn-rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility. 22 [171] [423] 22 648

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only among those families too improvident to secure and store an adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households that worked diligently collecting food during the other three 22 185 735

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22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
735 enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735
476 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost their food supply through no fault of their own, or those people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and children) were given more consideration than those whose hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

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identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^{a} (a plant said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion") and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they occurred. The tops of padus^{a}, which had a white blossom and looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this plant to grow was under willows along streams. [226] [251] [262]

It was not until summer, however, that the products of the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months. The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds, however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly. Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald Mountain. [252]

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^{w}). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [101] [251] [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

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222 winnowed to remove foreign material, then reduced to a flour with a mano and metate and made into a soup. Flour from the atsá seeds could be mixed with snow in the winter to make "ice cream".

In the summer currants, called pokóp^shia (Ribes sp.), were picked near Standish. In mid-summer red raspberries (Rubus sp.), called atsá pui, were gathered on Parker Creek and behind the 42 ranch (between Milford and Buntingville). Raspberries were eaten fresh or were dried for winter use.

About the beginning of August, before sunflower seeds were harvested, yapa and moa roots were dug in the Last Chance Creek area in Plumas County. Dixie Valley, in that area, is called Tasu^P ("Wild Game Spot") because it was a good place to hunt deer. Although the Wadátkuht went there to gather roots and presumably to hunt the region belonged to the Washo according to Gladys Mankins.

222
252 The moa bulbs (unidentified), after having been unearthed with a digging stick and washed in a basket sieve, called yuhtá, were put in a large pile in a preheated pit lined with flat stones. Hot stones from a second fire were put on top of the bulbs and covered with oak leaves or fir branches. The oven was opened "after several days". The bulbs were removed from the oven and mashed with the hands and made into patties which were dried in the sun. A flat stick was used to turn the patties over as they dried.

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[251]
[415]
[482] The Joaquin family remained in the Last Chance area for about a month each summer gathering roots and drying the patties. At the end of this time the patties were loaded into conical burden baskets, called túma, and carried back to the main winter camp of Matá at Milford.

[252] While in the vicinity of Last Chance and Indian Creeks in Plumas County wild rhubarb was gathered at about the same time as yapa (possibly Carum sp.) and moa. This plant was eaten raw but was not too well liked because it was too sour.

[413]
[251]
[252] Seeds of two kinds of sunflower, pákuh and akí, were gathered after wada was harvested. A seed beater, called tsiku, was used to knock off the heads of the sunflowers into a burden basket. The heads were taken home and beaten in order to knock out the seeds. The seeds were stored away to be hulled and ground as needed. The ground seeds produced a flour, called akí, which was eaten without further preparation, or could be cooked into a mush.

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222 [251] Seeds of the sunflower were parched oftentimes before being stored away. Parching, called sagá, is differentiated from heating seeds somewhat like popcorn, an action termed kutsí kwu'^{t}. Flour from these seeds was considered to be more a dessert than a staple. An important place for gathering sunflower seeds, particularly for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, was at Mud Flat (Tubisha nõna).

[252] Chokecherries, called ta'shabui ("deep-red chokecherry"), were picked before going to gather pine nuts. The chokecherries were prepared by being pitted in a sieve. This was done by rubbing the flesh of the chokecherries through the interstices of the basket leaving the pits in the basket. This action was called tudá kwid^{a}. The mashed chokecherries were made into patties and dried for winter use. When the patties were soaked in water "they become fresh, they taste good". A favorite place for obtaining chokecherries was along Parker Creek near the village of Kasawihnaid.

[251] Elderberries, called hubú, were gathered at the village of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, or at least in this vicinity, when they became ripe in the late summer or early fall. The berries were gathered by picking the complete stem, or bunch, then drying them that way. An energetic person might pick the berries from the stem.

Late in the summer níshu (apparently Mormon crickets) and kúa (locusts), when they occurred in great numbers, were gathered for food. Good places to collect níshu were Secret Valley and in the vicinity of Doyle. They were collected by being scraped into a container with the hands, or by being picked from sagebrush where they would be clustered in great numbers. The gathering had to be done early in the morning before the insects became warm and active. After they had been gathered a pit would be dug into the ground and a fire [252] built in the pit. When the fire was reduced to a quantity of hot coals the insects were dumped into the pit and immediately covered with earth. From time to time they were [251] sampled to see if they were done. When cooked the insects uncovered and removed from the pit and laid in the sun to get perfectly dry. After drying they were sacked for future use. Before they were eaten, however, their heads and legs were [252] pulled off and discarded. The body was ground into a flour with a mano and metate and eaten dry, or made into a soup which had a flavor somewhat like that of dried deer meat. [263] (Deer meat also could be ground into a flour coarser than acorn flour and made into soup.) Flour made from níshu could be salted to taste when eaten.

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222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

[224] Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab^{1} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this [177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

The most important single food plant product in the [137] Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered in large enough quantities some years to last for two or [251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

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222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh°), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungít pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 [223] Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohít), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa). Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (mōhü or tsagúd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidü). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

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224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the
informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Tóka
kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud),
the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of
Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at
Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at
the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants
did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and
butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any
case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide.
The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped
from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was
taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the
sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were
eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being
roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done
with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove
the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better
meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
[237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair
from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
[192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the
Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

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281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 439 262 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamŏtkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

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222 The buckberry (wiápui, "iron seed", Elaegnus sp.) was enjoyed by the Wadátkuht but does not grow in their territory. These berries had to be gotten to the east about Gerlach, [439] Winnemucca and Yerington, Nevada. They were undoubtedly obtained through trade and visits to the areas in which they grew.

The buckberry was good to eat fresh and "tastes like fresh huckleberries". One person held the limb of the bush [251] down while another person beat the berries off into a basket. The berries were dried and stored to be used as needed. [252] Dried berries were boiled for about fifteen minutes and then strained through a basket sieve to remove the seeds.

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342 Habitations. The relatively permanent, or winter type of house was the conical, tule covered structure called káni. Susy Buster said that no excavation was made for this house but Kitty Joaquin and Gladys Mankins said that a pit about one foot deep was excavated. Whether a pit was dug or not was probably left up to individual preference. The ground plan was circular and ranged from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. Vertical willow poles (Susy Buster said juniper poles were used) were sunk into the ground in a circle, and at the rim of the excavation. The willow poles were about ten feet long and were lashed to a hoop of willow at their upper extremities. The willow hoop was about eighteen inches in diameter and served as the smoke hole. The vertical uprights standing in a circle had, of course, to be bent inward to be lashed to the ring. Several, Susy Buster said three, horizontal elements of willow encircled the vertical, or rather upright elements to give additional stability to the house. The structure was then covered with tule matting (not mentioned by Susy Buster) and then with shingled frames of tules. These frames, called sikwat, consisted of two poles about eighteen inches apart with tules attached to a depth (thickness) of about six inches. These frames of tules were put on in such a way that they provided a shingled pattern. That is to say, both the frames and the underlying tule mats were first attached to the bottom of the house. The dirt from the excavation was banked around the outside of the house and brush piled all around the house for a windbreak and fuel supply for the winter. A ditch also was dug around the house to carry away rain water and melting snow.

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342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house. called típugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. It seems quite likely [177] that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupínabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

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343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame df such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called saínovi.

285 [177] **Basketry**. Kitty Joaquin made various types of busketry and would copy Maidu baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come from the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsikú, or tsaíyun. The tsikú was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munísh, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called síoshà ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was covered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

[482] 352 177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakono'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was taínope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "slingshot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

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352 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both
177 the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was
that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the
bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle
and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children
were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle
was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her
as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term
nutugwish^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going
to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called
nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow
splints used for the active element were píwung. The bone
[413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as
witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from
that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys
Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and
its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants
had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string.
Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who
[824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from
a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark,
[237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide).
Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said
to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse
hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger
around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part
[492] of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they
[525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

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283 [114] was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience.

285 The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section.

227 [501] The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above.

291 [281] Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}.

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. [824] Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark.

[292] [881] A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded

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291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[881] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi, and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands. Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab^1 (after naká, "ear")
[304] and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pishuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

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to produce powder which was mixed with water before being applied. Black paint, yadubi, was dug from the ground. 386

Skin Dressing. Deer's brains were boiled and dried and put away in a bag and kept until needed for use in tanning hides. When a deer was skinned the hide was left to dry for a bit and then soaked in water for about a week, until the hair began to slip. It was then taken from the water and a deer rib knife, pöwhanuhn°, was used to scrape the loose hair off. 281

The dried brain, which had been stored, was dissolved in warm water and then the hairless hide was put into the solution and rubbed with the hands. This rubbing continued intermittently for several days until water would run through the hide. It was then removed and one end tied to a post and a stick put through the other end and twisted to wring the water from it. The damp hide was then warmed near a fire while it was stretched and pulled with the hands and feet. This latter action thinned and dried the hide. It was then placed over a smokey fire ~~with~~ the skin forming a sort of conical tent over the fire. The smoking process took about one-half hour, and the hide had to be carefully watched at this time until the color was just right. Willow or cottonwood was used for fuel, although oak was sometimes used.

The act of tanning a hide was called tusung oiya. White buckskin was made the same way as was the smoke-tanned buckskin except that the smoking process was not done.

When the hide was first removed from the carcass a rough stone about the size of a mano was used to clean the inner surface. This same stone was used during the tanning to "clean the skum off". Tanning a hide took at least three days, with softening the hide while drying it being the most tedious. The tanning of hides was done by both men and women. [413] [462]

Kitty said her father, Joaquin, smoked hides by sewing a piece of canvas to the skin along one edge. The canvas was pegged to the ground around a smoking fire-pit and the skin pulled up to a cone by a rope thrown over a limb.

Weapons. The best information with respect to the manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, as might be expected, was obtained from Ike who had used them when he was young. The bow was called adúh and was generally made of juniper, wap^{i}. It was usually about three feet long, or as Ike said, 411 [115]

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411 "pretty short". The juniper was cut and left to cure before it was made into a bow. Ike never mentioned backing the bows with sinew, so the assumption is that the Wadátkuht bow was a simple one.

[283] Bowstrings were made from sinew, tihiya tamu', "deer string" (Kitty called deer tuhu'^{ya}). Kitty said that bowstrings were made from sagebrush bark and sinew twined together. [824] She also said that bows were made from split willow (sagap^{i}) which was bent and dried. She said that chokecherry wood also could be used for bows.

[824] Arrows, pamos^{a}, either could be made of serviceberry, taúbui, or arrowcane, wakokob. When serviceberry was used a straight limb was taken and dried with the bark on. When the limb was dry the bark was scraped off. Crooked serviceberry limbs were straightened with one's teeth and mouth. The arrowshaft was sighted along its length to determine its straightness. The arrowshafts made from serviceberry had the undesirable propensity to return to their original crooked condition. When this occurred they had to be heated by holding them close to the fire, or by heating them on hot stones. They were then held in the teeth and bent straight again. [413] Arrowcane arrowshafts were better than serviceberry shafts because they remained straight. Arrows from arrowcane were straightened on a rounded stone that had been heated in the fire. It was not stated whether the stone was grooved, or not. Kitty said that arrows were heated near the fire and straightened with either the teeth or the feet used as the fulcrum point. The act of straightening arrows is called tapat^{u}, "to straighten".

[237] Kitty and Ike were in agreement that all arrows had three feathers, although if a person did not have enough feathers he could use two on the arrow. Three feathers "carry arrow straight". Duck wing feathers and sagehen tail feathers were best for feathering arrows. Though not stated, it is presumed that the feathers were radially attached.

[824] Greasewood and serviceberry were used for foreshafts of arrowcane arrows. The foreshafts often were rubbed in sap running from a freshly broken juniper limb. This sap was smeared on one end of the foreshaft, the foreshaft was pushed into the arrowcane shaft, and sinew then was bound around the base of the shaft to securely bind the foreshaft into the arrow shaft.

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When shooting Ike held the bow vertically and used the primary release, that is to say, he gripped the arrow at the nock with his thumb and the second knuckle of his forefinger. He said that the Pit River men held the bow at a 45° angle, with the top of the bow to the left. 411

Kitty said that the quiver, called hugut^{na}, was a tanned wildcat, coyote or similar-sized animal skin which had been case skinned. The exterior of the quiver might be decorated with beads. Ike spoke of seeing a Pit River man with a coyote skin quiver. [415] [531]

Arrowheads were called daká, and according to Kitty were chipped with another piece of "flint". The use of stone against stone suggests percussion flaking, ordinarily not suitable for flaking delicate arrowpoints. [324]

With respect to slings Kitty was in no way familiar with them. Ike, on the other hand, was able to give a fair description of this weapon. It was called pagas^{i} tutabin^{o}, "String hit", and was made entirely out of leather. The leather patch was diamond-shaped, and one thong had a loop to go around the middle finger. The end of the other thong was held between the thumb and forefinger.

Stone Implements. Both the portable mortar and the bedrock mortar were used. The two names given for mortar are tutábin and pahá, and may or may not differentiate the portable from the bedrock mortar. The pestle was called poduhń. Long, cylindrical pestles with rounded ends were used at the bedrock mortars at the winter village of Matá. 415 412

The metate was called matá and the mano was called tusu. The mano was held with both hands and pushed back and forth with a snappy wrist action. When a metate became too slick through use a sharp, broken stone was used to peck the surface. This purposely roughened area on the metate was called tapongin. The stone used to peck the pits into the smooth surface was called tutápongin. Once the metate was sharpened it was "good for a long time, good for all winter".

A special biscuit-shaped hand stone for removing husks from seeds on a metate was called tutákongin. The action of rubbing the husks from certain seeds (e.g., the inner skin of acorns, and hulls from sunflower and other seeds) was known as tutakong.

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412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^w, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called süukumtu'wa. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht. [137]

[302] [237] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhds, or wunuhds^u.

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534 [821] Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^u, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother

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and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because 534 to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called [821] the wind.

Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snowshoes 481 and said they were a circular frame strung with strips of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet.

Ike was able to give some additional information on snowshoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. [482] The snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's back until soft snow was encountered.

Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from 501 the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while [824] using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959.

Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was 534 kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub[1], was used to make willow- [824] bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used. Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles were blown by boys just for the fun of it.

The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrowcane [824] and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin, a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. [755] She also said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring.

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534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 **Fire**. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 **Tobacco**. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] **Horses**. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

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more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 231 [177]

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone. [262] [825]

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Kí maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English. [552]

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people. 500

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated. 843

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults. 845

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer of formula?). 826 [789]

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was 854 826

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854 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so used to being in it.
826.

Punishing Children. If a child pretended to cry he was apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her. 861

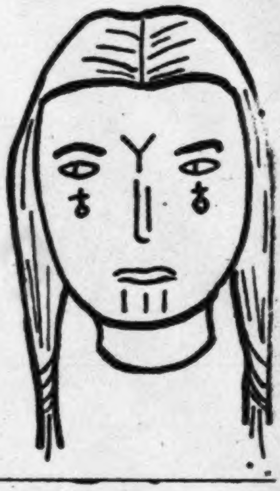
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

593 **Sibling Rivalry**. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

[682] One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

304 **Tattoos**. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks. A tattoo was called naboidz. [531]

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "111" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



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Endurance. An example of endurance is shown by the ten mile run Kitty and several other girls made from Litchfield to Kasawihnaid on Parker Creek. They left with some women to pick chokecherries, but the girls ran on ahead and filled their baskets before the women arrived, and immediately returned to Litchfield. (They got a ride in a wagon part of the way back.) This sort of activity parallels the great endurance shown by the girls at their puberty ceremonies where they had to run long distances and were allowed little sleep, and little to eat and drink. 147

The stamina of the men is demonstrated by the long distances they were capable of traveling by foot in remarkably short time (see the section on "Supernatural Helpers").

Standards of Beauty and Intelligence. People were not judged by their physical beauty, but on their abilities. Good looking or exceptionally intelligent individuals did not live to a ripe old age. 156 [165]

Standards for the Differentiation of Several Indian Groups. 186 A Paiute could tell a Maidu by his snag teeth. The Paiute had better teeth. A Washo could be told by his voice, as could a Pit River. That is to say, when these two peoples were speaking English, as they could obviously be known when they spoke their own languages. A Washo had a rather high pitched voice. The Pit River people had a different sort of voice..."you can tell". A Paiute usually could be told apart from the others by his tattoo marks.

Methods of Sitting. Joaquin is said to have sat in a position natsɨ kwunt ^{katö}, "to sit with your knees up". He could sit in this position for hours, but when Gladys tried to do it she found it very difficult. Joaquin's back was straight, his heels against his butt, and his knees at his chin when seated in this manner. He did not need to use his arms to hold his legs against his body, but would have his hands free to work, and he had no backrest when seated in this position. 516

Women sat cross legged, dapatni^{katö}, "double up set". To sit with one's legs out in front was muda katö. With one's knees on the ground and butt resting on heels was sidá^{katö}, "kneel set". To kneel was sidákwun^{a}.

Personal Cleanliness. Kitty said that Joaquin had a propensity for taking cold baths in the morning, but she did 515

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515 not indicate whether the other Wadátkuht shared his enthusiasm
for a daily plunge into cold water.

Girls' Puberty Ceremony. When Kitty began her first
881 menstrual period the family was working at the Will Dill place
in the slough region of Susan River near where it flows into
Honey Lake. From here she had to run to the round hill
behind the Gibson ranch, a distance of four or five miles
to the northwest.

The girls' puberty ceremony was called muhatanowani,
from muha, "moon", and tánowani, "to run". It was also
called punug. Each morning Kitty had to make her run to
Gibson Hill and return on the run in the evening. While on
the hill she had to work all day collecting sagebrush for
[313] the fire. Her aunt, whose name was Beowuhbi, also was on
the hill and remained there during the puberty ceremony.
Each morning Kitty ran up to the top of the hill with approximately
ten other girls who helped her gather sagebrush for
the fire. Most of this fuel had to be left on the hill, but
Kitty took a load back each night. The girls also gathered
brush on their way back to the ranch, and around the ranch.

When Kitty returned to camp each evening the dancing
would begin and she would have to dance all night. During
the days she was able to get some sleep but was awakened by
her aunt before she slept too long. She also got some food
and water from her aunt when she got up on the hill each day.
This kept her going, but no one was supposed to give her food
back at camp. In fact she was guarded to see that no one
[856] slipped her any food. The reason a girl got so little water
was so that she could, in later life, go a long time without
[826] it, a decided virtue under the existing desert conditions of
the Wadátkuht environment.

During the dance each night Kitty wore a shredded sagebrush bark skirt and cape which she had made herself. The cape hung half-way to her knees. However, in deference to new standards brought in by the whites she wore the sagebrush clothing over her cloth dress.

Kitty had to dance all night without stopping. Other people would dance with her but as they got tired others would take over, but she got no rest. The dance ended before sunrise each day and she would leave for the run to the mountain with her escort of girls. These girls and young women had been through the puberty ceremony and were the

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same ones who went with her each day.

Before Kitty's ceremony was completed, however, the family moved over to the village of Matá because the haying was finished at Will Dill's ranch. At Matá Kitty's aunt built a fire up the creek above the village and Kitty ran up there and jumped over the fire twice. Her aunt then took her and bathed her in a big tub and gave her a lecture on not being lazy, and on being good. At this time Kitty's family left a lot of new clothes, blankets, shoes, handkerchiefs... "a whole new outfit"...to pay for the time and effort Kitty's aunt had spent on the ceremony. While being bathed Kitty was scrubbed with sagebrush, sawubi. She and her aunt returned to camp together after Beowuhbi had packed up all of her presents. When they got back to camp there was a big feast, and Joaquin gave presents to all assembled, which included Washo, Maidu and Pit River people as well as the Paiutes. In fact, the man who sang for Kitty's puberty ceremony was a Pit River man by the name of Katkat. 881 [574] [431]

Gladys also went through the puberty ceremony at the onset of menses. During the ceremony she was attended by girls who had been through the ceremony as well as by some who had not yet reached puberty.

On the first day of her menses Gladys moved out of the house with her bedding as she was considered unclean. Her mother went with her. She was not allowed to eat or drink out of any utensil which might be used by anyone else, she had to wear old clothes, keep away from people, and got very little to eat or drink. She did get some soda crackers, however, because that was about all they had on hand at that time which she was allowed to eat. The family was camped at the De Witt ranch near Wendel at this time.

On the second day, the family was in Susanville and Kitty, with Gladys, went to see Big Rosie George, a Maidu woman, who was related to Gladys' father, who was a Maidu. Other people were notified that a ceremony was to be held and they all went up to where the Indian Mission now stands at Indian Heights (in Susanville) to look over the dance ground. People prepared abalone shell pendants, deer hoof rattles and other things necessary for the ceremony. There was a "pot luck" dinner in the evening of the first and second nights at the dance grounds. The dinner was followed by dancing. As for food, Gladys was not supposed to get anything to eat but someone sneaked her a slice of white bread. [797] [574] [535]

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881 On the first night Gladys had to run about one-half mile at night under the new moon and repeated it the second night.

[535] There was dancing on each succeeding night, as on the first night, and Gladys had to make the usual run. She would grab the deer hoof rattle from the singer, Big Rosie George, and run with it. A group of young people, both boys and girls, would run with her, although only one or two would go some nights.

The third to sixth days and nights were essentially the same as the first two days and nights. During the night of the sixth day, however, everyone danced until dawn. Gladys then ran from Indian Heights east to a place just west of the new cemetery (which is just north of Susanville).

She then ran back to Indian Heights, but not to the dance ground as she had on the previous nights. Instead, she ran to a spring on Indian Heights where her aunt, Helen Joaquin, was waiting for her. Helen had a fire going on a red ant hill near a sagebrush plant. As Gladys came running up she jumped over the sagebrush and the fire in a single jump. The fire had been built next to the sagebrush purposely.

As soon as Gladys had jumped over the bush and the fire Helen told her to take off her clothes. As soon as this was done her aunt threw a bucket of cold water on her. Since it was in the fall of the year, and the weather cool, the water hit her as a shock. While she had been taking her clothes off Helen had put some green sagebrush on the fire, and then some water. Gladys stood upon the green brush over the fire after she had taken her clothes off, and the steam rising from the doused fire felt good to her since she was cold from having been splashed with the bucket of cold water. Her aunt threw dippers of warm water over her as she stood over the steaming fire. Sagebrush had been put into the warm water that was thrown on her. After Gladys had been bathed in the warm water she dried herself and put on clean and/or new clothes. The old clothes were left behind with a dollar in one of the pockets and Gladys never saw the old clothes again. She then went up to camp where her Aunt Helen told her what she could have for breakfast; it was bread, cereal, and coffee, but no meat. This was the end of the puberty ceremony.

[152] All during the time of her puberty ceremony Gladys felt ashamed, guilty and afraid, and was glad when it was over. On the first day she cried some but stopped when she was told

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that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologically for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for 881
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch [413]
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eli- 881
gible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening. [574]

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in 165
camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and 177
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{A}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medi- 757
cinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A [752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds.

[232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because [182] the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part [124] of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two [683] other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

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When anyone died his "camp" (house) was burned.

764 Personal Names. Men's and boys' names included the following: Sagwúda, "Porcupine"; Muhu'^{k} dosa, from muhu'^{a}, "owl", and dosa, which had no meaning, but was an ending a little boy put on the word for owl to name himself; Pongádz, "Mouse", because he looked like a mouse when he was a boy; Wádanatzi, a Paiute name for a Pit River (Atsuge) shaman which may have had reference to wada (Suaeda depressa) and nátzi, "boy"; Baba kuhku^{a}, "Big Feet"; Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}, "Feces to Wipe"; Idzákad, "Loose"; Kwidu'^{u}, so-named because he constantly broke wind; Wöhudi'^{i}, "To Carve"; Matad^{u}, "Crawler"; Wawa'^{a} bob, "Stranger Bob"; Tupaskima skia, "Mouth Crooked"; Tabök, "Cottontail"; Kubuts, to grind one's teeth; Nana'^{a}, "Younger"; Baba'yu dzim, "Big Jim"; Numunana, "Indian Man"; Tusi^{yu}naná', "Little Man"; Kasi no uhd^{a}, "Train Haul"; Nunú'kai, possibly from nunu', "snake", and kai, "no". 551

Women's and girls' names included the following: Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl"; Nunu' biawuhb^{i}, "Snake Old Lady"; Kwidapino'^{ya}, "Feces Carrier"; Kaiyaguht, "Never Cry"; Ptaitnat^{yu}, "Thin"; Atsábona', "Woodpecker Old Lady"; Tunuhpiuts, "Nighthawk"; Soiyeza biawuhb^{i}, "Soldier Old Lady"; Babayu sait', "Big Pit River"; Bababui, "Big Eyes"; Udőyu biawuhb^{i}, "Tall Old Lady"; Kwiduk^{w}ti'^{i}, "Excrement Shoot"; Tsi tsi, ("Sissie"?) she was called this because she was about ten years old before she stopped nursing; Wukwits'^{i}, "Throw", so-named because this fat woman had considerable movement in her posterior as she walked; Muid^{i}, from muhibi, "fly" (insect).

Some personal names, as demonstrated in the above lists, tended to be derived from physical traits, while others stemmed from some episode in the individual's life. Others were obviously meant to convey the humor of some action or situation. The informants also gave a number of names for which they had no translation.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

821 The sun was of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht and his religious expression, since it was common to find instances in which the individual in times of stress prayed directly to the sun for aid. Repentance of guilt might be [782] made in prayers to the sun. Guilt feelings in an individual [626] appeared often to be associated with strong social pressure for the person to "repent" and admit his "guilt". It is

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also quite likely that the individual did not realize that 821
he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to [626]
become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends
and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to
the sun at sunrise. To pray was naníshtuhai, and one had to [782]
pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the
evening.

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost 775
of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take
his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the [753]
story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht
camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking
sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid
that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp
had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could
still hear them if one was to go around that place.

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with 776
certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. [756]
Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary
babies except that they had long hair.

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north 756
of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there
was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain 778
was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was
a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father,
Nunu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in
order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to
keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter
of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was
Wadátkuht.

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

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obtain power, or whether they had a place nearer home. 756

778

At Nabogin men slept on top of the rimrock but "if you have a weak heart you will wake up thinking the rock is falling into the water below. If you have a strong heart you never wake, you have good dreams, get something; that's what they claim".

Ike's father began to be a doctor at Nabogin and later he had to learn doctoring songs. "He could cure smallfox (smallpox) pretty easy. He knew about many diseases but couldn't cure them. He lost his flint rock (an ovoid chipped stone knife) and lost his doctoring power". He kept smallpox away from his camp, according to Ike. [533]

Another place where power could be obtained was at a mountain located about three or four miles out of Dayton, Nevada, on the way to Fort Churchill. This mountain was called Muhan°, "Moon Turn". Located in this rocky peak was a cave in which young (?) men stayed overnight to try to get doctoring power. If the person did not become afraid and leave he could get power from his night's stay. In the morning as the man left the cave his power was put to a test when a boulder came crashing down from above. If the man had found power from his overnight stay he could avoid being crushed by the boulder.

Again it was not specifically stated whether any Wadátkuht men took advantage of this cave to obtain power. However, it seems likely that the pattern of obtaining power was one that the Wadátkuht men would follow. It is possible that Tommy Tucker Cave, Mumuota, was used as such a place. At least the cave was not used for ordinary domiciliary purposes (cf., Riddell, 1956).

In 1953 a young woman (from Nixon?) was being bothered by dreams and was being called to go to Muhan° to obtain songs and power. She tried to fight it off because she did not want to become a doctor, but she would have to give in, especially if she became ill. Apparently women as well as men got doctoring power from visiting these lonely places and remaining all night for dreams and instruction. Additional data given in a following section tend to corroborate this.

Types of Shamans. The Wadátkuht name three types of shamans: 1) Numuhgumuhd, 2) Nutaígut, and 3) Nuhpud. The 756

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The
756 first type cured such minor things as headaches and used
massage as a major means of making cures. The second type
[755] seemed to be closely related to the first since he also used
massage, but in addition rubbed medicine into the patient.
The third type had a more complex method of curing. To become
a Numuhgunuhd (and presumably a Nutaigut) a person might dream
for several years that it was necessary for him to become a
doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as
he did not want to become a shaman, for being a doctor entailed
considerable responsibility and effort as in our own society,
but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought
to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The Numuhgunuhd, however, did not have to go out alone to some wild and lonely spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the Nuhpud, did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he tried out being a Numuhgunuhd. If he was not too successful as this type of doctor he had to try to become a Nuhpud.

Gladys was treated once by a relative, Tsudi ("Judy"),
[755] for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a Nuhpud and
used an eighteen inch long arrowcane to suck a clot of blood
from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming
a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's
dreams. It is also said that the mother probably wished her
[428] dreams to her daughter. This would suggest that doctors
tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a shaman
Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both
a Numuhgunuhd and a Nuhpud.

753 Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the
ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's
[775] soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a
sorcerer, who "poisons" (puha') people. It has also been
[754] shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a
call to become a doctor. Unpleasant dreams made people sick;
753 also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be
828 applied to the Wadatkuht, these dreams could have crippling
effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a cave
in which she was trapped. To escape she had to walk over the

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753 snakes, much to her horror. She could not escape from the dream
828 until she awoke in the morning, and at that time she found she
was paralyzed from the hips down. She was in this condition for
755 two months and was treated by white doctors who were unable to
828 help her. Finally her parents called in a Paiute doctor who
made her think back and discover the dream which had caused her
crippled condition. She told him of the dream of the snakes in
the cave which she had to walk over. When she told him the dream
he had her bathe in a creek before sunrise one morning. Her
family lifted her into the cold water while the doctor sang over
her, a treatment sufficient to cure her. Gladys said that the
woman should have told of her dream earlier and she would have
gotten well sooner.

754 Sickness Caused by Sorcery. A malevolent doctor might
put a curse on an individual, or his children, by making such
a statement as: "May you get sick and die from a cough". If
the individual being cursed had too much power for the sorcerer's
curse to take effect the shaman would put the curse on the person's children. A description of such a curse on a child is
the following account by Gladys of the curse put on her when she
was a baby. One night when Gladys was still a baby in the cradleboard, a woman doctor, Hadómuhdi, "Hello Mattie", came into the
house and warmed her hands over the stove. Nearly everyone was
in bed and Gladys was in her cradleboard on the bed playing with
the beads hanging down from the hood. As the woman warmed her
hands over the stove a baby was heard to cry on the stove, whereupon Hadómuhdi left the house. Kitty immediately sent Gladys'
754 brothers after a man who was just becoming a doctor, and then
755 took some burning rags and followed the doctor to her door,
praying as she went. The doctor, whom Kitty sent for, arrived
and observed Gladys who was crying long and loud. This man,
Sagyeh', advised that two important and experienced doctors be
called in to handle the case, which was done. When the two men
came they started treating Gladys immediately. Hadómuhdi, the
one who had made Gladys sick, came each night of the curing
ceremony and was told to go outside and pray "if she still
wanted to walk around" (i.e., to live). Her son also came to
the ceremonies, but her husband, a doctor at Pyramid Lake
named Wunu'yaga', would not attend the curing.

Hadómuhdi did not want to pray at daybreak because she was ashamed. The doctors working over Gladys told Kitty, however, to "get after" the old woman doctor on the third night. The two doctors told Hadómuhdi: "Pua'tua' wumuhna", "Friend's baby turn it back over". Everyone urged her to do this, including her son, so on the third night she agreed to

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754 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two
of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors,
755 and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at
home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed
Gladys got well.

754 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as
follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was
[841] detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not
[262] accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was
due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed
[787] with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to
make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on
754 the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the
woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a
783 curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might
die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip, hakí^{nukpa}, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'^{yu} Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

The following account describes what might happen to a
754 sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two
683 children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai,
Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai' house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and
another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

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frightened and ran away. Just as the buckboard was passing over a bridge the vehicle's tongue broke and both boys were thrown into the dry creek bottom. The two severely injured boys were taken into camp and a Pyramid Lake woman doctor worked on them. They were laid on the ground side by side with a can of eagle feathers between them, and each boy was separately encircled by a horse hair rope. The doctor, Tsudi, "Judy", Kitty's father's cousin, sprinkled water on the boys' heads, and also sprinkled black pigment in powder form on their heads. White chalk was mixed with water and given to them in a spoon. Two rings were drawn on each boy's chest with red paint, and a red circle was drawn on each boy's forehead. Since the eagle feathers in the can moved and did not droop the shaman got the sign that the boys were going to recover. The term for trying to bring a sick person back to health was tumánog. 755

A number of years after the accident Tsudi doctored Gladys' brother again, this time for headaches presumably stemming from his previous serious injury. Kitty, Gladys and Gladys' brother went over to Nixon for the treatment. The patient was very weak. Kitty asked Tsudi if she would take the case, and the asking had to be done before sunrise, since that was the traditional time to ask. Tsudi accepted. 757 755 [821]

Gladys did not entirely trust Tsudi, so watched her carefully. The shaman told them all to go outside if they did not have strong stomachs, and to leave her alone with the patient. Gladys started to leave with the others but turned back in order to watch out for her brother. The shaman had assured everyone that everything would be all right when she sent them from the room.

The doctor felt around on the patient's head until she found a vein to open. When she cut the vein with a knife chipped from bottle glass dark-colored blood spurted out. When the blood looked better, more red-colored, she put a quid of chewing tobacco from her mouth on the cut. Later a second quid replaced the first one - it was a "clean" one. After this second wad of tobacco was put on it was tied in place with a horse hair rope and then with a rag. Gladys' brother got better and was never bothered again with the headache.

The knife the doctor used was chipped from bottle glass by striking off flakes with a stone. She "cleaned" the knife with tobacco "juice" (spittle), mud and water. She [413]

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757 755 also rubbed the knife with sand just after she had finished chipping it.

When a patient was taken to a doctor who was already doctoring someone the term was natzata. Apparently the shaman would treat both patients at the same time.

755 [821] Doctoring a Sick Person. As noted above, a doctor had to be called in early in the morning before sun up, that is, he had to be asked if he would take the case at that time. He was usually given a gift at the time of asking.

The doctor worked on the patient for four days, usually in a darkened room where everyone had to be quiet. Smoking was not allowed except when the doctor lit up; then everyone lit up. This was prayer time.

The patient lay on the floor and the doctor sat beside him and blew smoke into his face (this action was called háhi), prayed and then began his song (this last action was called tumanagi). An eagle feather was put upright in a can at the patient's head (this action was called tubihi). This was a specially prepared feather as it had down around its base, and the doctor had a decorated eagle feather in his hair. There was money for the doctor in the can with the eagle feather. Putting the money in the can was called astuwunai.

The doctor sang his song and everyone present sang it with him. He sang and prayed for about three hours.

The shaman had an arrowcane stick, or tube, he put against the patient's body to suck out the sickness, an act he did several times. Sucking out the sickness was called pumu' tumuhamuhn, "something to touch with your lips". The doctor sucked during the period when he sang and prayed. He had to clear his own throat of the "sickness" sucked from the patient and spit it out into a pan. It usually consisted of phlegm and clotted blood, and sometimes a worm. The act of spitting out the "sickness" was called ci'ihn.

A close relative of the doctor saw to it that the doctor's rules were carried out. This person "thought the world of the doctor", and was the one who took the pan outside and dug a hole a considerable distance away and buried the sickness that the doctor had extracted from the patient and had spit into the pan. The duty of the helper was to tumaiyoho',

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"carry out his orders", while he nuhpu, "doctors". 755

The doctor sucked several times then hummed, tunikihm, while all the other people sang his song loudly. When he stopped his singing to hum, the other people sang on. The humming indicated the approach of the spirit, nosihp. His nosihp talked to him while he hummed. His helper interpreted while he hummed. Meanwhile, the people continued to sing. [776]

The doctor sang different songs, very pretty songs with pretty words. He sang of the mountains, the sun, the moon, and of the springtime. It was a good sign if the patient broke into the doctor's song. [533]

The doctor eventually got up and danced; the women (and
sometimes the men) got up and followed behind him. As they
went around in a circle the interpreter got up and danced with
them. "The dance was like a conga line." Everyone kept in
step with the doctor's song. They circled to the left about
three times around the patient while singing the doctor's
song. The doctor began to stagger and spin in a circle, but
before he dropped several men grabbed him and laid him down. [787]
At this time he was stiff and unconscious, and while in this
condition he spoke. He remained in this state for about
one-half hour during which time everyone continued to sing
his song. When he came out of his sleep the interpreter
helped him sit up. He now talked about his dreams and how he
argued with the devils and spirits for the patient's life,
and sometimes he told the people that the patient was going
to die.

As soon as the doctor awakened the people asked him such questions: Will the patient get well? What is bothering the sick person? The doctor gave instructions to the child's parents (or in the case of an adult patient, to some close relative) on the care of the patient. Usually the close relatives were to go to a spring and wash themselves and pray.

While the doctor was unconscious and the patient lying
ill, everyone watched the eagle feather in the can. If it [787]
fluttered the patient would get well, if it drooped he would
probably die. The feather usually took either course on the
fourth night.

Doctoring for a Rattlesnake Bite. The woman who doctored 752
Joaquin when he was bitten by a rattlesnake was Tuna'^{k}sua, [278]
"Short Girl", Tsudi's mother. The name of the plant whose

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752 roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the
swelling was pagákinup^{a}. It was first cooked and then tied to
[278] the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^{a} to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to
756 make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced
789 by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand
[825] down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with
[821] a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, KukwaPta, if one knew the correct words.

821 **Eclipse of the Sun**. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^{b} - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was
[789] afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather.
[177] The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 **Sleeping Charm**. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily.
513 Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the
825 baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

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Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men. 832

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, sinup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^a nu^u maiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return. 224 789

Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands. 223 789

Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov^1, of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier. 539 776

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

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539 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob
told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would
776 give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack
said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon.
It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or
vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater
than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 __Petroglyphs__. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai,
"magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they
meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her
sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy,
had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about
Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common
name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy
said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them
on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an
[756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that
petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to
[881] themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in
any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 __Headmen__. Little information was obtained with respect
to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was
the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that
Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains"
and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the
same time and seem to have had an equal status within the
group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times",
and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them
to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They
[692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within
the band. The situation of having other people work for them
[177] as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

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historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). 622 [177]

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given. 421 [648]

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed. 428 [764]

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor. [756]

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method. 762

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink. [757]

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762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her. As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to drink some cream and saved her life. [557]

561 192 Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded: baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi; young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman, biawuhb.

838 Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment, however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white standards. [177]

648 Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred long before white occupation of the region. [754] The Pit River people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however, and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean". Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one) in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

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Kitty said the Paiutes never fought the Maidu, but they did fight the Pit River people who were called Sai'^{t} numual hu uhd, "People's insides hung up". They got this name because they killed and eviscerated some Paiute people at the Paiute village of ^{t}'Pog on Pyramid Lake. This village was at a spring on a hillside on the Simon ranch. The Pit River people wound the intestines of the slain Paiutes on the sagebrush. This fight took place about 1851 when the whites first began to come into this area. 648

The Pit River people also killed some Paiutes near Likely, Modoc County, at about the same time as the fight at Pyramid Lake. During various other fights, however the Paiutes were able to kill some Pit River people.

Kitty had never heard of fights between the Washo and the Paiutes. However, the Washo and the Maidu never could get along together, and often fought.

The informants gave several accounts of stealing women by the different groups. Pit River men returning from fishing trips, and on their way back to their own country would capture Maidu women. Dick Wright, a Wadátkuht, captured a Maidu woman, Ginny, and kept her for his wife. Joaquin's father's brother, Baba Kuhku^{a}, captured a Maidu woman for his wife. A small Paiute man named Wihibigo'gai^{yuh} had two wives. One of them was a Pit River woman he captured during a fight with the Pit River people at Likely around 1850.

Ike told a story about the capture of a Paiute woman (from a band he did not identify) by the Bannock. The man who stole her already had a Bannock wife and the Bannock treated the captured woman badly. The Paiute woman had a son by the Bannock man. 648 539

The Bannock man's mother took pity upon the Paiute woman and made her several pairs of moccasins and told her to steal away and return to her own people. One day when everyone else was away hunting, the mother-in-law gave the Paiute woman a big dog upon which she had tied packs of food for the trip of the woman and her boy back to her own home. The two were able to make good their escape. When the boy grew up he went back to the Bannock to steal horses and on one trip was captured; at that time he discovered his father. [492]

Ike also gave information concerning horse stealing by the Paiutes. The only Paiutes who had horses in the early 648 425

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648 days were those individuals who walked north to the Bannock country and stole horses from them. One such man was 425 Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Köpadkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiute man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse stealing was one such element. [492] The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

727 535 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'öpökama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaka', "that"; ö, "your"; pö, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

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Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhö","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuö", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each 525 [172]

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525 player was provided with a stick which he used as a marker. The marker was placed between two of the upright sticks in the semi-circle, the exact spot depending upon the number of points the player had just made. If the player happened to get points which allowed his marker to be placed between the same two upright sticks in the semi-circle that held the marker of the opponent, the opponent had to take his indicator stick back to the beginning. The object was for each player to try to get enough points to allow him to go all the way around the semi-circle and back to the starting point before the other player. The one who first reached his starting point in this manner won the pot. Sometimes as many as 80 sticks were used as uprights in the semi-circle.

[172] If Kitty's son has been correct in his identification of the pointed twigs recovered archaeologically we have evidence of such a gambling game being played in prehistoric times in the Wadátkuht area. It was not stated, however, if the Wadátkuht played this type of gambling game. Kitty's son played it in Nevada and may have learned it there rather than as a traditional game at home.

[789] The hand game in which bones were used is called na iakwi. The bones were "filled with something" to give the owner power, or luck in gambling.

525 439 It was pointed out by the informants that trade was actually carried out by gambling as such things as deer hides, baskets, and beads were at stake. Dentalia, called pahuka, were brought in and gambled for such things as horses. The Washo and the Paiute commonly traded with one another with the Washo bringing rabbitskin blankets and the Paiute deer skins. What was not gambled away was then traded.

526 Boys about eight years old played a game in which arrows were shot at a bundle of grass thrown on the ground about 25 feet away. Ike and about six other boys would take two shots apiece, unless one of the boys should hit it first. After the bundle was hit it was then propped against a bush and the boys stood back about ten feet and shot at it. Each was allowed two shots until the target was hit. The target was then put on the end of one of the bows and pushed back and forth on the ground in a V pattern. Each boy, again, was allowed to take his usual two shots until the target was hit. The boy who hit the target (most often?) became the winner and won all the bows and arrows from the other boys.

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Ike said that the boy who won the bows and arrows from him and the other boys was good at target shooting, but had a hard time hitting game. The name of this game was wusokoi. 526

A game in which a "little wheel is rolled on the ground" was called pa isi'^{i}. Ike thought the "wheel" was shot at with arrows.

Women's shinny is called tapiko, and the invitation to it is called nazits^{k}. The game is played by four women, two on each side. Each woman had a stick about four feet long, and the ball was of buckskin stuffed with deer hair. The women first stood in a circle, a position called sipidik^{u} wunus, with their sticks on top of the ball. Each woman then tried to catch the ball with her stick and knock it to the goal. This was called tsiwinai. The field was about 400 yards (sic) long, and the goal was a circle drawn on the ground. The game started in the center of the field, and the observers bet on one team or the other.

Football, called wutsímu, was played by both men and women, but never together. A round buckskin ball filled with deer hair was used by the players. A number of players traversed a course about 400 yards long kicking the ball from the starting point to the finishing point. The winner was the individual who kicked the ball to the goal first. Bets were laid on who would be the winner.

Another version of the game of football was one in which there were two teams and two balls. The team which kicked their ball from the beginning of the course to the end, and returned to the starting point, first, won the contest. The football game played with two teams was called wutukoi. When Ike played the two team game the field was about one-quarter mile long and was not cleared. It simply was a course over which the two teams had to go and return. At a signal each team would kick their ball from the starting point and go to the end of the course and return. The first team, of four boys each, to return was the winning team. He said the game was played for enjoyment.

Kitty's sister and sister's friend made mud dolls and models of kitchen stoves in mud. The dolls and stoves were quite well made, for the stove had circles for the stove lids and the dolls showed action. They played house with these toys and the women dolls would be using the mud stoves. The toys would be arranged to represent domestic activities and 524

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524 Kitty, who was younger, would take advantage of the temporary absence of the other girls and destroy all of the toys. She also broke her sister's toy cradleboards and her beadwork. For doing this her sister would beat her up.

MYTHOLOGY

538 [821] Story telling was reserved for stormy days, therefore, presumably during the winter. To do otherwise would cause it to storm. Ike seemed to know many myths and enjoyed telling them, unfortunately in Paiute. When he was getting ready to tell some stories he would say "Na'isha dukwi", "Let's tell a lie". Despite the fact that it was not possible to obtain the myths as he told them the essence of several was gotten and is given below.

539 Why Dove Makes a Mournful Sound. A brother and a sister were the last people left in the world, and they were very attached to one another. The brother died and his sister was very sad. She told her distant relatives that she was going to turn into a dove. She mourned and became very thin. She finally turned into a dove (ihov^{i}) and is still mourning for her brother. She said that anyone who heard her would be lonely.

Why People Die. At one time Bald Mountain (Guha kaive) stood vertically, on end, on top of Diamond Mountain, and at the top of Bald Mountain there was a spring. One day Wolf and Coyote had a violent argument. Wolf wanted to continue to allow old people to climb up to the top of the mountain and bathe in the spring so that they could regain their youth. Coyote was of a contrary mind and thought that old people should die. During the argument Coyote got so angry that he kicked Bald Mountain and it toppled over into the valley below. The force of the fall flattened the mountain as it is today. The water from the spring splashed out forming Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, Eagle Lake and several other lakes in the region. Since then the old people cannot bathe in the spring and become young again.

Coyote Digs Potatoes. Young Coyote went out with a group of old women to help them dig Indian "potatoes". He straggled behind the women and urged them to stoop over to dig potatoes. They had heavy packs on their backs but he urged them to stoop over even further. Finally Coyote took advantage of the position in which the old women had put

Wadátkuht

themselves and had intercourse with them. From this the old women bore coyote pups.

Coyote and His Frog Wife. Coyote was married to old Frog Woman who got more ugly as she grew older. Coyote was always good-looking so he "stepped out" on his wife. He told her that he was going to a dance with some other woman. Frog Woman let him go but she dressed up very prettily and went to the dance herself. Coyote did not recognize her as she had put on a mask and looked so pretty in her nice clothes. Coyote always kept an eye open for any pretty women so he was greatly attracted by this new woman. He danced with her all evening and told her how beautiful she was. Later on when Frog Woman took her mask off Coyote was very unhappy to find that he had been tricked.

Coyote and the Doe Deer. Coyote met a beautiful doe grazing in a meadow so he began to follow her and tried to get her to stop with him for awhile. She would not oblige but kept ahead of him until they reached the edge of the desert. Coyote then told the doe to come south with him, for if she were to continue she would soon be out in the desert without grass or water. Rather than go with Coyote the doe went on out into the desert. Even today if you see deer you will soon see a coyote following them.

Coyote and Mrs. Squirrel. Coyote saw Mrs. Squirrel out gathering nuts and asked her to come closer and "visit" with him, but she stayed out of his reach and continued to gather nuts. Finally when she had finished her gathering she ran up a tree. Coyote ran over to the tree and leaned up against the trunk with his forefeet and looked up the tree to see Mrs. Squirrel. He kept begging her to come down but she would not come to him. While he was looking up the trunk and talking Mrs. Squirrel ran down the back side of the tree trunk and walked up behind Coyote and smeared two hands full of pitch over his eyes.

Cottontail Tries to Catch the Sun. Cottontail tried to catch the sun by climbing through the notch in the Sierra called KukwaPta. (Plate 3-c). Each time he almost got through he was blown back by the wind which blows through this notch in the mountains. After many adventures and by playing tricks on Buzzard he was successful in climbing through the wind hole. (The details of this myth were not obtained as the interpreter forgot them when she tried to retell it.)

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute

Washo NT20

APPENDIX A

WASHO ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC NOTES

103 [U15] [U14] The following ethnogeographic notes were obtained from a Washo shaman, Harry Wilson, whose home was near Doyle, California. The native name for the former Washo village at this place is Mehltútumi wadaiyo ("Shady Place"). These notes were made during a visit of several hours on the 27th of July, 1951. Harry Wilson died in 1954.

1) Dihsuhm - the name for Honey Lake, and has reference to the seeds gathered there. It is quite likely that these seeds are the important wada seeds of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

2) Tahalálak - Hot Springs Mountain.

3) Weodalak - "Warm Mountain", the name for Ft. Sage Mountain. The word for mountain is dalak.

4) Gewuhtmuhláhat - "Coyote Jump Across", the name for the creek on Jim Miller's ranch near the Red Rock Canyon turn-off.

5) Hemogosuhm - no data were obtained for this term, but it may be a place name lying in the vicinity of the preceding and following named places.

6) Daowonga - "Lake", the name for the playa now called Alkali Flat where Scott's Station is located.

7) Mashoni - the name of a creek located on a hillside on the east side of Reno junction.

8) Utsudalak - the name for a mountain northeast of Hallelujah Junction. Utsu is a weed that is unbreakable when green.

9) Tsemiungadalak - "Sand Mountain", on the east side of Hallelujah Junction.

10) Dawioshuhdima - the name of a spring on the east side of the county road where it crosses the summit on the Red Rock road.

11) Bokodalap - this is the name for the mountain on the west side of Winnemucca Valley, and on the east side of

Pyramid Lake. This mountain is now called Tule Mountain.

12) Sesmiht tsihlgonga - "To Dig In", the name for the area of the Evan's ranch near Purdy's.

13) Watíh - the name for Alkali Lake on the Nevada side of the state line, and on the east side of Highway 395.

14) Petsumalidíma - "Wild Rose Water", a spring on the north end of Watíh.

15) Kobihsih' - the name for Lemmen Valley.

16) Kopodíma - "White Rock Spring", the name for White Rock Spring in Lemmen Valley near a chicken ranch.

17) Himu dihasho - the name for Dog Valley, on the west side of Peavine Mountain. It is named after a white rock.

18) Matasikaka - "Upside down", the name for Peavine Mountain.

19) Daobeumawa' - the name for Reno.

20) Balaloa - "Valley", the name for the valley east of Sparks, Nevada.

21) Daobiosho - "Water Through Canyon", the name for the Truckee River Canyon on the Reno side of Sparks.

22) Imgih malim - a place two miles below Lawton Springs where a creek comes into the Truckee River.

23) Daoagawaka - the name for the Truckee River.

24) Daoála - the name for Lake Tahoe.

25) Daogulanga - the name for some hills on the Reno side of Steamboat.

26) Himo gosuhm - the south side of Brown's Station where creeks come down from the west.

27) Dimadatsúsu - "Sweetwater", the name for a spring near the top of a canyon on the east side of Steamboat.

28) Dimatagápopos - "Alkali Water", a spring on top of and

103

on the south side of Dimadatsúsu.

29) Mehltútumi wadaiyo - "Shady Place", is the village site near Doyle, California, near Harry Wilson's place.

30) T'ashuh' awawa - "Rustling Cottonwood Leaves". This place is about two miles south of Harry Wilson's place and is at a bend of the road, and on the south side of Sam Boni's ranch.

31) Tedehmge - "Metate", the name for the area east of the Nevada State Prison.

32) Pehtsumalidíma - "Wild Rose Spring", refers to a spring southeast of the Nevada State Prison. There is some mining going on in this area.

33) Kabadima - "Gooseberry Spring", is located east of Item 32.

34) Maokápa - "To Break Something". The location of this place was not obtained but is in the vicinity of Item 32 and Item 33 as Harry Wilson was naming the places he knew in the general order in which they occurred geographically.

35) Himomalaiko - "Willows Moving Back and Forth", a place south of Item 33. The name for willow is hímo.

36) Damlihn - a hill a little east and south of Item 35.

37) Himowáka - "Willow Creek", the name for Willow Creek somewhere south (?) of Item 36.

38) Daotishitalak - "Burned Hillside". This is also the white name for this area. It is near Item 37.

39) Tangíshitalak - the name of a mountain which has a mine upon it and is presumably beyond (south?) of Item 38.

40) Daoldima - a spring southeast of Item 39.

41) Wehtsapalónga - Where the WPRR track passes about four miles southeast of Harry Wilson's Place. It is just below Mr. Evan's field along the west side of the creek at a place where the sagebrush is high. This place was named because of the sagebrush bark which was gotten for clothing.

W

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for 103
the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen
from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off.

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for
Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on
the county road. W

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geo- 103
graphically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada 124
State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true
for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him
to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physi-
cally. For these reasons these geographic places are not more
accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley W
or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake. N

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to 114
substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that
their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins 131
at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of
Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe W
that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact,
special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to [124]
give any information concerning names for villages and physio-
graphic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was
limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs
Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic
features near his home. Village names and locations are N
conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not
deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake [423]
Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with W
the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the N
region. [648]

1

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Wadátkuht

[P. 88]

115
291
142

Plate 1

a. Kitty Joaquin

b. Kitty Joaquin and her daughter Gladys

c. Lena Joaquin Cable

d. Grant Sevillian

e. Gladys Mankins, Kitty Joaquin, and Ike Northrup

[End Plate 1]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern, Paiute NR13
Wadátkuht

[P. 89]

Plate 2

291
[115]

b. Kitty Joaquin, Gladys Mankins, and Ike Northrump at Matõ

d. House pit at Matõ

361

857

a. Village of Matõ

c. Slide at Matõ

[End Plate 2]

Wadatkuht

[P.90]

Plate 3

343 ←

291
222 →

b. Frame of sweat house

d. Gathering atsátua

415
291 ←

133 →

a. Bedrock mortars at Idatá

c. Kukwa'ta or "Wind Hole"

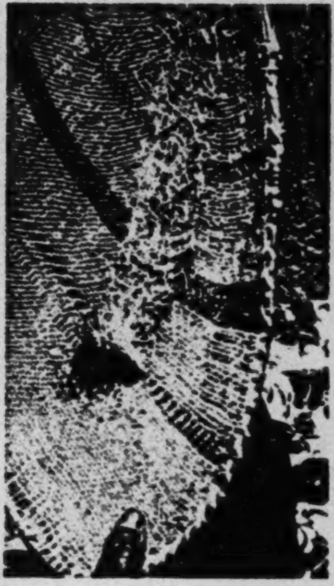
[End Plate 3]

Wadatkuht

Plate 4

412
415
←
285
→

b. Metate and mano



d. Winnowing tray

516
252

a. Grinding with metate and mano

c. Winnowing meal

[End Plate 4]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadatkuht

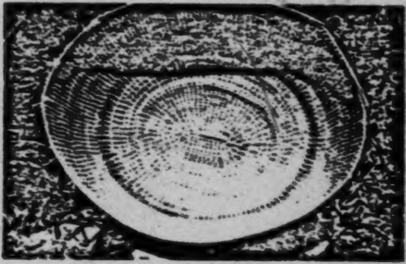
[p. 92]

Plate 5

285

[252]

a. Washing "wild potatoes" with palm, "sieve"



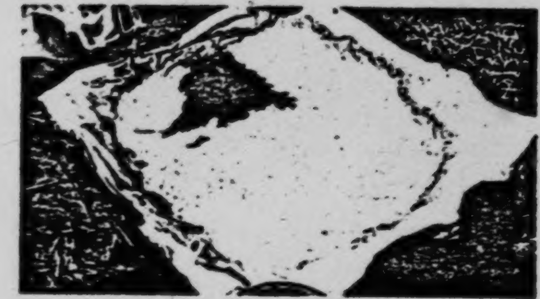
b. Coiled basket

291

222

c. Digging "wild potatoes"

252



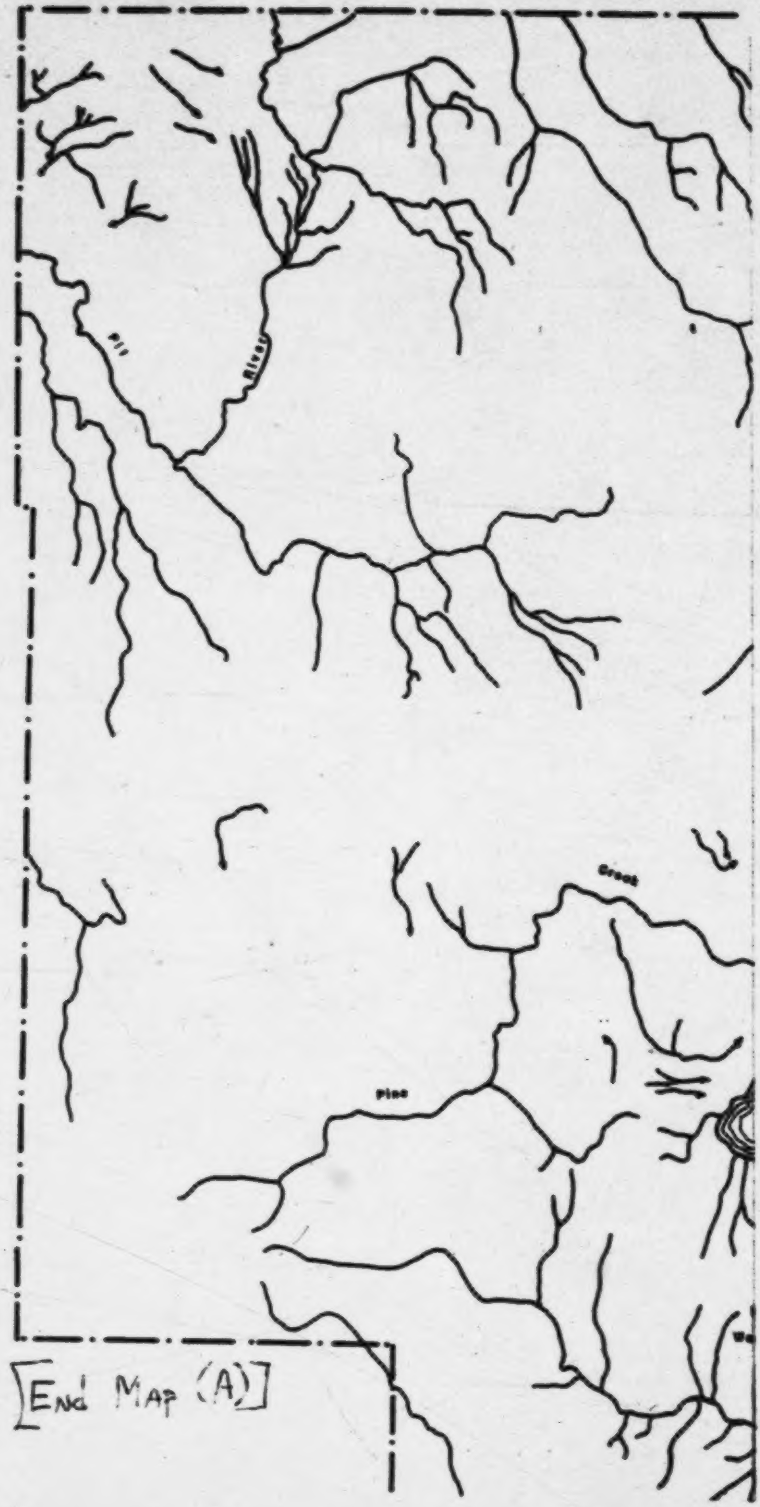
d. Leaching acorn flour

[End Plate 5]

Chart of positions of 2nd map following p. 92.

A	B	C
D	E	F

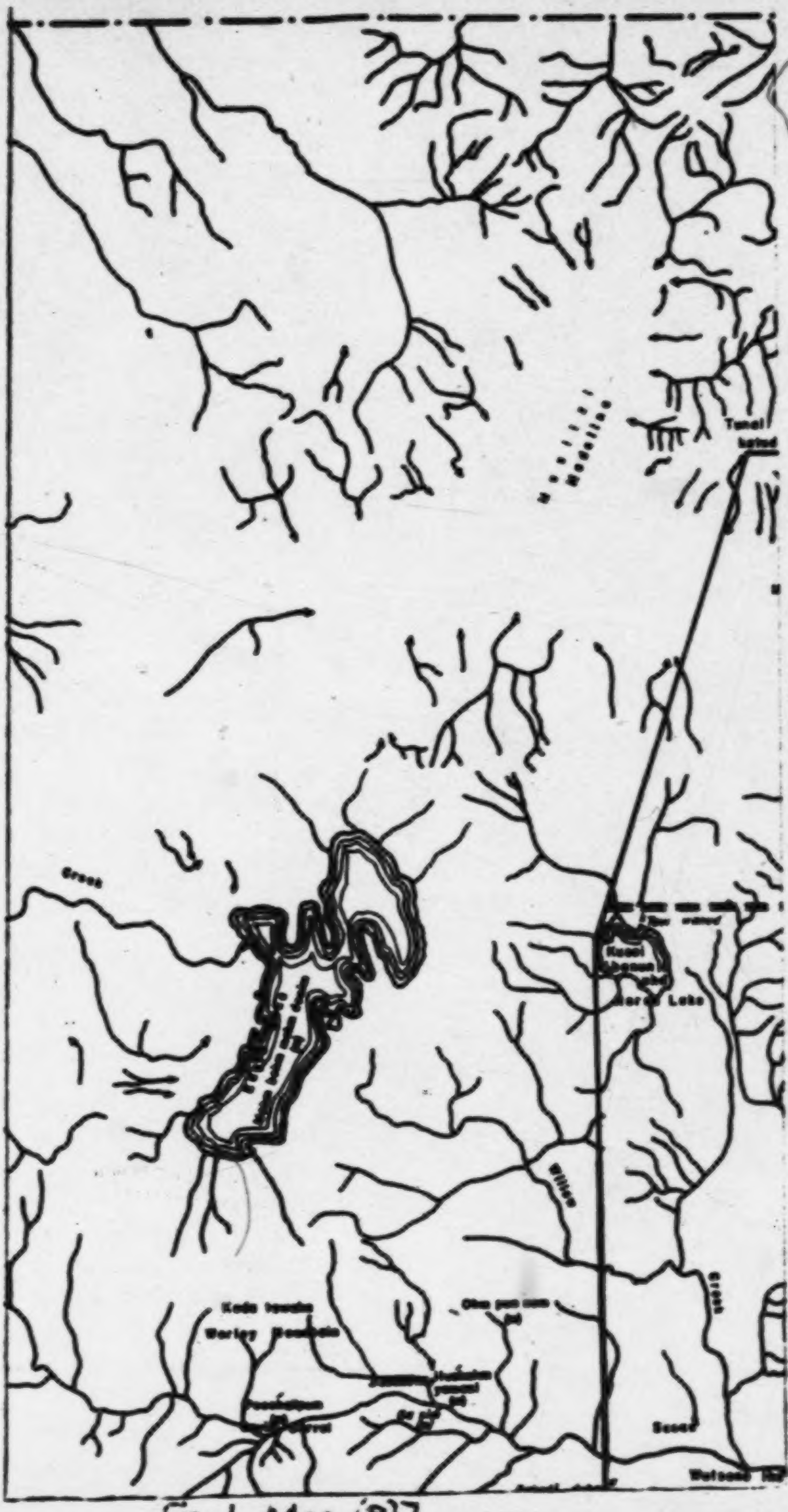
103
102
133


Pit
River
Creek
Pine

[End Map (A)]

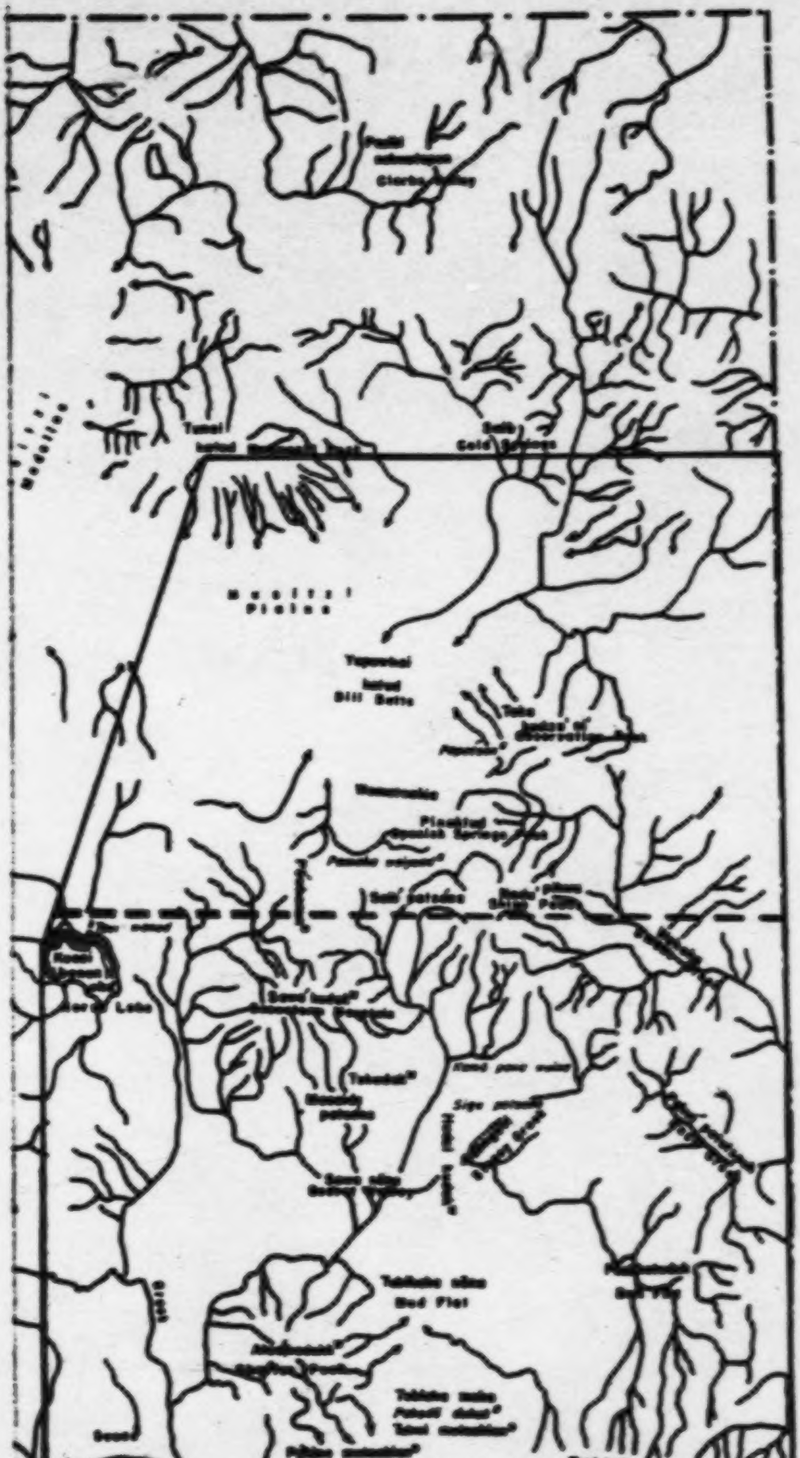
15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
103
133


Creek
Horse Lake
Willow
Creek

[End Map (B)]

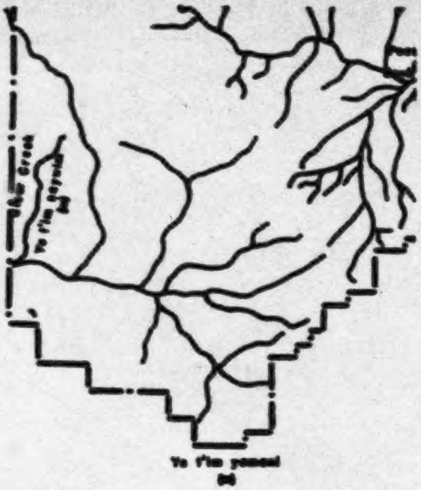
102
103
133


Gold Springs
Plains
Bill Betts
Spanish Springs
Mud Flat
Mud Flat
Hot Springs Mountains

[End Map (C)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
103
133


Ash Creek
Yo t'im yomosi
(x)
Yo t'im yomosi
(x)

MAP
TERRITO

HONEY L

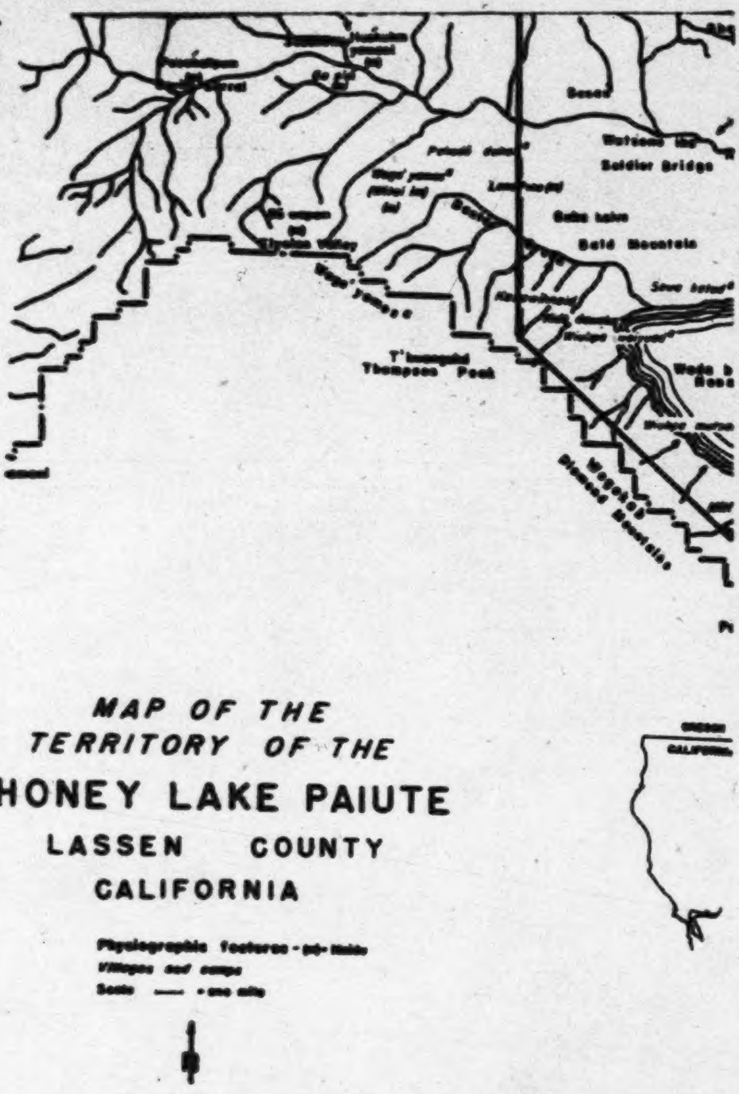
LASSEN

CALI

Physiogra
Villages a
Scale —

[End Map (D)]

102
103
133


Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
T'
Thompson Peak
Diamond Mountains
OREGON
CALIFORNIA

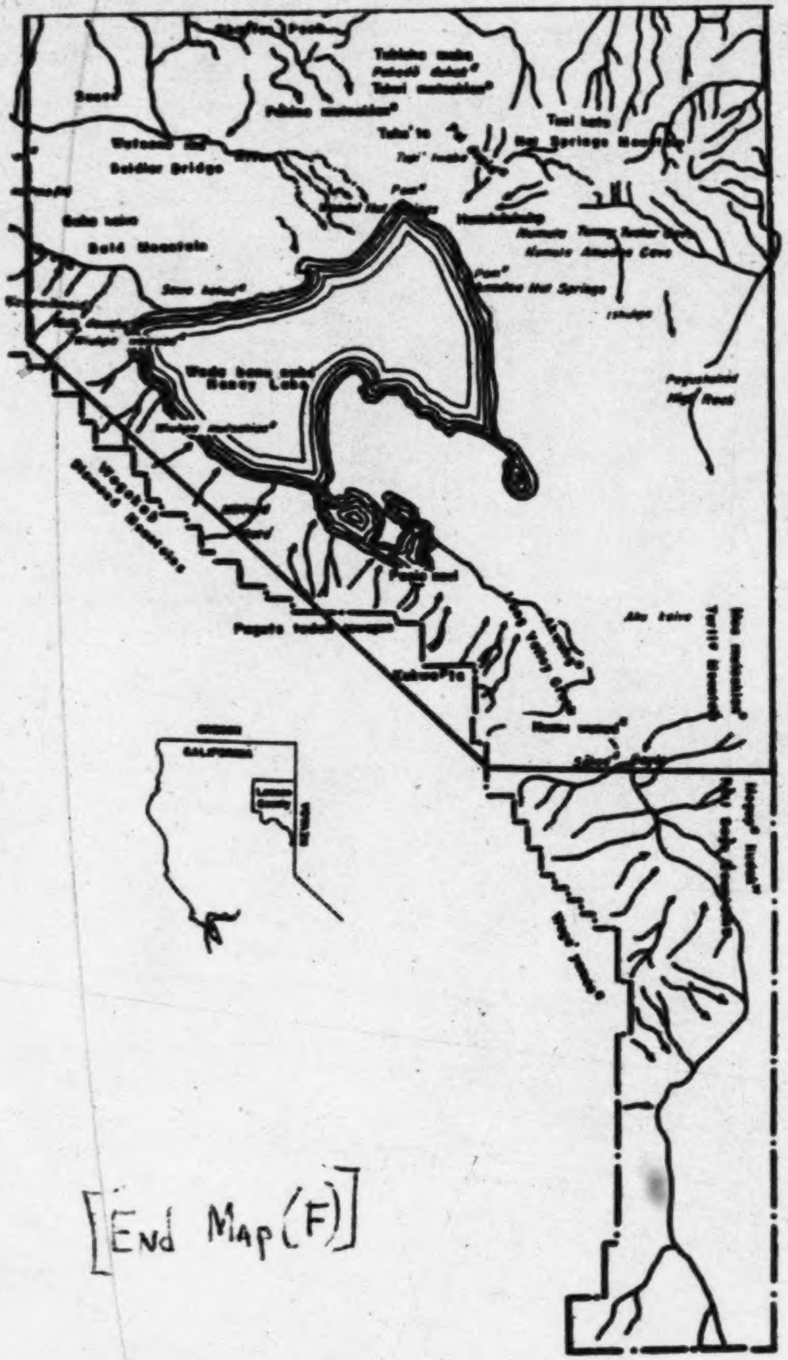
MAP OF THE
TERRITORY OF THE
HONEY LAKE PAIUTE
LASSEN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Physiographic features - Native
Villages and camps
Scale — = one mile

[End Map (E)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
103
133


Tosi kaba
Hot Springs Mountains
Tuba'to
Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
Hot Springs
Honey Lake
Alu kaiva
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA

[End Map (F)]

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By Jaime de ANGULO and L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort 114
Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a num-
ber of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are [101]
congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray
who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in
that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all [102]
possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in
touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of [115]
their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During
the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged
around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George 115
Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on
the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he
was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible
for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very
valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit 121
my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the
point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the
Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion
of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more
and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior 114
Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a 191

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[1] I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

[2] For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

114 171 typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite ● [121] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value howere, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

101 [131] The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

133 This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or
absence of certain elements of culture in repre-
sentative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Infor-
101 mation from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi
131 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose
of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the
Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer
137 is the coincidence of the western or northern
tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically
on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and
136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 194] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; ǵ, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ŋ, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p.361(A)]

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 131 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the 226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring 262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of 222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, 224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together 621 in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, 648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall 527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic 755 treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among 755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of 754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among 756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion 182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Vol. 3 No. 1 ETHNOHISTORY Winter 1956

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 3, Conclusions

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

4. Conclusions. In the introductory section of this study the 121 specific results of ethnohistorical research on two so-called aboriginal Northern Paiute "bands" were briefly summarized. We do not propose, in the final section, to enlarge on these specific findings, but instead wish to discuss some of the broader implications that a detailed ethnohistorical study such as this one holds.

The majority of ethnological reports on North American Indian cultures that were written by American-trained ethnologists 114 121 during the period 1910-1940 were couched in the "ethnographic present" (tense), and purported to describe the "aboriginal" cultures of various Indian groups. Yet few if any of the ethnologists who authored these reports had gone into the field to study a tribe, equipped with any except the most rudimentary knowledge of that tribe's early post-White contact background. Lacking command of this ethnohistorical data, it is small wonder that the monographs which these ethnologists produced, although written in the ethnographic present, are curiously divorced from reality.

By 1945 the possibility of doing "memory ethnographies" of so-called aboriginal North American Indian cultures was generally recognized as a thing of the past. Even ethnographers concerned with western North American Indian tribes perforcedly had to admit this. Interest among North American ethnologists then began to shift to Central and South American "primitive (?) peoples,"

114 and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl
121 War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethnologists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures —has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions about North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in
114 the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under
121 field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs with-
177 in the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

177

had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the [114]
peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central [121]
Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, [648] and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, 177
the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes 167
in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our 114
example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, 115
in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to 121
those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in 114
our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 177
many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
177 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun-
[648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burn-
ing their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them cap-
tive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the
direct influences operating on their mode of living and political
organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching
influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the
emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley,
beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make
114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of
121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal
culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could
ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been
quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that
North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in gen-
eral to a period coincident with the early years of the informants
who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based.
Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example,
we note that the field work which this study is based on was done
in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants
used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's
material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in
parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley
Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a
predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were
on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr
was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the
Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political
organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictu
of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th
Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times.

However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnog- 114
raphies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, 121
would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology.

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Notes

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648 1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

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648 2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognised or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

INTRODUCTION

THIS monograph was written with three purposes in mind: first, to present 121 a descriptive analysis of the way in which social control operates among the Harney Valley Paiutes; second, on the basis of this intensive analysis, to formulate hypotheses concerning correlations between certain conditions and types of social control; and third, to test these hypotheses cross-culturally.

The concept of social control, as used in this paper, includes all mechanisms which regulate the interpersonal relationships of individuals within the Paiute families and bands. Most anthropologists assume that behavior between individuals is defined by custom; that each society dictates the behavior which is acceptable and that which is unacceptable; that customs are transmitted from generation to generation and are relatively stable. Anthropologists, however, have given less consideration to the problems of why people obey custom, how they learn the customs, and what happens to those individuals who fail to comply with the social regulations, than they have to the description of the customs themselves. It is these problems of obedience, learning, and punishment which in this paper are grouped under the concept of social control.

In considering the problem of social control I have assumed that: (1) In any society individuals must co-operate in order to survive. They must live peacefully with other persons. (2) An individual cannot act according tp the dictates of his basic drives alone and live in peaceful relations with other persons. His desires may conflict with the desires of other individuals and therefore necessitate a compromise. (3) He must learn to co-operate and, since he must give up certain satisfactions which conflict with the interests of other members of the society, he must be forced to learn;[1] further, there must be continuous pressure which forces him to maintain these learned habits. (4) In any reasonably stable society there is a tendency for customs to be set up in such a way that a minimum of conflict exists between the drives of individuals and the needs of the group. (5) In any society, individual asocial wishes will break through custom, will cause friction, and will have to be punished.

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[1] These three assumptions are embodied in William Graham Sumner's theory of antagonistic co-operation as stated in *Folkways* (New York, 1906), pp. 16-17. Malinowski has also pointed out that an individual, civilized or savage, does not submit to custom automatically. It is "contrary to human nature to accept any constraint to human nature as a matter of course"—and—man does not "ever carry out unpleasant, burdensome, cruel regulations and taboos without being compelled to." *Cf.* B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932), p. 10.

121 Until recently American anthropologists have thought of customs as habits which are learned by imitation or some other mechanism and which then continue to be performed without any external pressure. These theories assume that habits are autonomous and that imitation is automatic. The first of these assumptions has been invalidated by the followers of Pavlov, the stimulus-response psychologists. Furthermore, imitation has been shown by Miller and Dollard to be a learned response.[2] It is the basic assumption of these psychologists that all habits must be learned and subsequently maintained by rewards and punishments. Furthermore, they have found that the more a habit conflicts with the basic drives of an individual, the more difficult it is to teach and maintain. If one accepts these findings and the five basic assumptions presented above, it is obvious that in any society there must be mechanisms of social control to teach and maintain customs which, although they may conflict with an individual's drives, are essential to the welfare of the group.

Sumner recognized this problem in his concept of the mores. He saw customs as growing out of the needs of the group. Some of these customs were pleasurable to the individuals; others, though painful, were found to be necessary for the welfare of the group. These customs he called *mores* as contrasted with *folkways*.[3] He recognized that all custom had to be sanctioned but that the degree of sanction varied with the importance of the interest.[4]

Within societies there are usually sub-groups. The more closely knit and interdependent these groups are, the more essential that peaceful relations between the members be maintained. It is my hypothesis that in such a group customs essential to the avoidance of strife will be taught early in childhood and that control of asocial behavior will be more strongly internalized than in a larger and less closely integrated group. The threat of loss of support and help from the group will be a constant deterrent to behavior which is contrary to custom. There will be less need for direct punishment or specialized agencies of social control.

A similar contrast may be made between the type of social control found in different societies. The more interdependent the individuals of a society and the greater the need for cooperation, the more internalized will be the forces of social control. The size of the group and the economic relations between the members will also be essential determinants in the type of control which will be most efficient. The larger and more complex the interrelationship between individuals, the greater will be the need for formalized social control.[5]

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[2] N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

[3] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (New York, 1906), p. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[5] Linton makes a point similar to this in his discussion of the local group. "Moreover, the extremely close relations existing between all the band's members make it possible to deal with offenders effectively yet at the same time informally." Cf. Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 222.

Cross-cultural analysis indicates that there are six main types of mechanisms of social control.[6] Some are found in all societies and some are found only where the social, economic, and political organization is complex.

One of the most basic and universal mechanisms of social control is the superego or conscience. As Freud has pointed out, this internalized mechanism which controls the individual is developed in early childhood as a result of parental discipline and example, and the identification of the child with the parents. However, even this deeply internalized mechanism must be constantly backed up by other social control agencies, particularly as the individual grows up and is less dependent on his parents.

Another type of social control mechanism which functions in all societies is public opinion. Linton[7] and Lips[8] speak of the fear of ridicule as a strong deterrent to asocial behavior. In my analysis, however, this fear of ridicule is successful only if it implies a threat of loss of help or the threat of ostracism or mob action.[9] Public disapproval as a mechanism of social control varies in effectiveness with the strength of the threat implied. However, if the fear of disapproval is strongly internalized, it may be effective in controlling behavior even if the punishment implied in the threat is never executed. In a similar way public approval is an incentive to social behavior; its strength as a motivator varies with the type of reward implied.

Reciprocity is a third important type of social control and one which has been elucidated by Malinowski and his students.[10] These anthropologists conceive social relations to be composed of a series of give-and-take obligations. Each partner in these reciprocal agreements guards his rights and threatens to break the relationship if the bargain is not fulfilled.[11] An individual's work is rewarded by the repayment he receives from his reciprocating partner. Inasmuch as the fulfillment of both sides of the bargain is essential to the well-being of the individuals, positive and negative sanctions are constantly functioning.

The fourth type of sanction, and one which is found in varying degree in every society, is the religious or supernatural sanction. Sumner has called this type of pressure toward social conformity "ghost fear."[12] Whiting, in an analysis of supernatural beliefs among the Kwoma, has discussed the problem of the inculcation of these fears and the way in which they function in social control. He has shown that the teaching of these beliefs takes place in early childhood primarily through the mechanism of warning and that the feared supernatural agents resemble realistic agents, and therefore a child's fear of real dangers generalizes to the unreal dangers postulated by the culture. He also points out that these supernatural fears, although they are taught early in life, must be maintained by other sanctions, and that both direct and chance punishments serve this purpose.[13] The analysis of supernatural sanctions in Paiute society indicates that most of the customs which are controlled in this way are taught early in life and that the fear of punishment is internalized and becomes part of the conscience. It also confirms Whiting's hypothesis that other types of sanction are applied to maintain the supernatural sanctions. The analysis of Paiute society also suggests that this type of social control works best where there are small numbers of people living together and where the social and economic organization is simple.

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[6] The most complete analysis of social control is that presented in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*, prepared by the Cross-Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, 1938, category 42.

[7] Ralph Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

[8] Julius Lips, "Government," *General Anthropology*, edited by Franz Boas (New York, 1938), p. 496.

[9] Lips says that "the individual cannot escape unfavorable public opinion, for he cannot leave the local group and join another community." *Ibid.*

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1932). H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934). P. M. Kaberry, "Law and Political Organization of the Abelam Tribe, Sepik District, New Guinea" (*Oceania*, vol. XII, no. 1).

[11] The concept of breaking relationship is an elaboration of the theory of reciprocity developed by Whiting. See J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 97-98.

The fifth type of sanction is retaliation. The basic idea of an eye for an eye seems to be present in some form in every culture. Individual or kin retaliation are the simplest forms. If a man is murdered, it is the duty of one of his relatives to see that the murderer or one of the murderer's relatives is killed in revenge. Retaliation, however, must be controlled. Were there no way of stopping feuds the situation would be similar to the legend of the Martins and the Coys, who continued revenge killings until only two representatives of the clans were left. This aspect has been overlooked by many ethnologists in their descriptions of social control.

The substitution of payment in goods or currency for blood revenge is one of the most usual checks on retaliation. However, to insure the acceptance of such settlements other types of social control forces must operate. There must be some pressure which forces the wronged party to accept the payment as full recompense.

Retaliation may also be indirect or symbolic. In societies where there is a belief that an individual may kill or bring illness to somebody by using supernatural power, retaliation may be in the form of sorcery. In this case it is the fear of supernatural powers rather than direct revenge which keeps an individual from committing an offense. However, as in the case of other supernatural sanctions, there must be a real threat implied or the fear will be extinguished.[14]

The sixth type of sanction includes the institutionalized types of social control. These include all agencies to whom authority is delegated to make laws, settle disputes, and execute punishments.

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[12] W. G. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[13] J. W. M. Whiting, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII.

[14] For definition of principle of extinction see N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-42.

Of these six types of social control all but the last may be said to have functioned among the Paiute. Within the family the conscience, developed by direct punishment, identification and the fear of loss of support and help, was the strongest force for social control. The fear of being accused of sorcery and punished accordingly maintained the strength of the conscience. Within the band, the most important mechanisms of social control were retaliation and the fear of sorcery and accusations of sorcery. In analysis, these fears represent a combination of public opinion and supernatural sanction with an implied threat of retaliation and mob action. The concept of reciprocity was found to be basic to all the types of social control in so far as the need for support and help from others motivated individuals to maintain peaceful relations with their neighbors.

121 [681 754]

The literature on social control in primitive societies is not extensive. Ethnographers are apt merely to describe the political organization of a tribe. The political organization, however, may or may not include agencies for social control. The function of the governmental bodies may be executive, advisory, administrative, fiscal, military, or religious as well as legislative and judicial. The danger of this confusion of social control and political organization may be seen particularly in societies such as those found in the Great Basin, which have no formalized government, lacking even chiefs and rudimentary councils.

Failure to recognize the functioning of social control in primitive communities is also due in part to the fact that anthropologists have looked for legal systems similar to those found in Western civilization. Finding neither legal codes nor court systems, they have assumed that there is no social control at all. It is stated that the members of the community are so bound by tradition and custom that laws are not necessary. Malinowski has pointed out the fallacies of these assumptions,[15] and in his studies has defined primitive law as any rule which is sanctioned by a duly constituted authority. From this point of view, law exists in all societies whether or not they have a legal system similar to that found in our own society.

Social control in the broadest sense is any pressure exerted upon an individual which makes him behave in relation to other individuals in a socially approved way. In this paper, however, it is used particularly to cover the control of any offense which causes friction in the community. Consequently, simple breaches of manners or etiquette are ignored, unless such breaches carry further and more serious connotations. If, for example, failure to speak politely to people is interpreted as an indication of sorcery power, the custom is considered as being more than etiquette. In this work I have stressed the conformity to customs which are considered essential to the welfare of the group. The method of teaching and maintaining economic techniques and minor rules and regulations has not been considered.

The most common sources of friction in primitive tribes stem from aggression and from competition in attempting to satisfy basic needs. Offenses against life and person and some offenses against property fall in the first category, whereas sexual offenses and some types of property offenses, such as theft of food, fall in the second category. Indolence and non-fulfillment of obligations are two other important causes of friction.[16]

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[15] B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*

The field work on which this dissertation is based was done during the summers of 1936, '37, and '38, among the Harney Valley Paiute in Burns, Oregon. During the first year the purpose was to acquire historical material, and most of the time in the field was spent with old informants who were questioned primarily on material culture and folklore. The second summer was devoted to an analysis of the social organization, which had been described in the literature as "amorphous" and "unformalized." I felt that although the organization was seemingly without form there must be definite rules which regulated the composition of groups and the interpersonal relationships of the members of the band. On the subject of social organization and also on the subject of religion I found that I could use younger informants and that in these fields much of the old culture survived in spite of the drastic changes which had occurred in the life of the people, particularly in their economic life. The material on social organization checked closely with the findings reported by Julian H. Steward in his monograph on *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, published in 1938.[17] During the last weeks of this second stay among the Paiutes I began to get more detailed material on religion and the concept of good and bad power.

The third summer my husband, John Whiting, accompanied me to the field. He had just returned from New Guinea, where he had been particularly interested in the problem of social control. Influenced by him, I devoted most of this summer to the subjects of social control and sorcery. I spent less time using the question and answer technique and more time recording gossip and observing the interrelationship of the members of the community. I devoted considerable time to gathering what Hoebel and Llewelyn have called "trouble cases."[18] For example, besides questioning informants about murder and recording their theoretical statements I asked them to describe actual murders and the circumstances preceding and following the incidents. I gathered as many of these cases as possible.

In analyzing the material on social control I used a modification of the system used by C. S. Ford in his analysis of "rules" presented in an article on "Society, Culture, and the Human Organism."[19] All cases of conflict were recorded in terms of the type of sanction, the customs sanctioned, and the sanctioning agent. This analysis indicated the importance of supernatural sanctions, particularly the strength of the fear of sorcery as an agent of social control. This fear was found to be important in controlling aggression within the family and in supplementing and checking retaliation within the band. 121

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[16] *Outline of Cultural Materials*, Cross-Cultural Survey, New Haven, 1938, categories 423, 426.

[17] See Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120.

[18] E. A. Hoebel and K. N. Llewelyn, *Cheyenne Way* (Norman, 1941), *passim*.

[19] *The Journal of General Psychology*, 20 (1939), p. 151.

In presenting the description and analysis of Paiute social control I have started with a detailed discussion of the religious beliefs and the theories of sickness and therapy because these beliefs and theories are essential to an understanding of the analysis of sorcery as a method of social control. In conclusion I have summarized the types of social control found in Harney Valley and have stated some of the conditions which seems to be correlated with the presence of sorcery as a method of control. Finally, I have attempted to test the validity of these correlations by a study of a sample of other societies. The material to test these correlations was taken from the files of the Cross-Cultural Survey. [125]

THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS

AS has been shown, there are four major causes of illness recognized by the 755 Paiutes and diagnosed by the doctors. It is formally stated that the doctor [753] decides with the help of his power which type of disease is responsible for the condition of a patient. When asked, informants said that there was no way of diagnosing from symptoms and that no layman could predict what a doctor's power would tell him. They refused to recognize the fact that often the relatives and the community as a whole have definite ideas as to the nature of the disease before they ever summon a doctor. They refused to recognize that doctors do not choose at random from the possible explanations, and that their choice is usually in accord with, and influenced by, public opinion.

I have attempted to discover the unformalized criteria which both the laymen [121] and doctors use in diagnosing disease. Cases which were complete enough to give an analyzable segment of the social events preceding the sickness were selected for study and it was found that there were similarities in the life events, in the ages, and in the circumstances surrounding the onset of sickness of people who were said to suffer from the same diseases.

A study of the cases where the patient's own power was given as the cause of 753 illness suggests that this diagnosis is given when some of the following conditions [755] are present: when the patient is young; when one of the patient's parents or close relatives has power; when the patient is known or rumored to have power or when he can remember recurrent dreams; when the patient has special talents which he does or does not use; or when some major affliction, such as blindness, occurs when the patient is still young.

Helen's illness at the time of the birth of her only son, Bill, is an example of a case of sickness caused by one's own power. Helen's father died when she was a year and a half old, and her mother was held responsible for his death by her in-laws. According to Helen he fell from a wild horse which he attempted to ride [752] when drunk. In any case, his family made it so unpleasant for Helen's mother that she set out all alone on one of her husband's horses for Fort Bidwell. There she married J. Smith, a cousin of her deceased husband. The children were brought up by their grandparents and Helen did not see her mother until six years later when she and her two youngest brothers were sent to the Indian boarding school at Fort Bidwell.

Helen was the youngest child in school and does not seem to have been very happy except during vacations when she stayed with her mother. She was fond

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 593 627 681 [208] IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the bystanders witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive violence.

● 121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

[754] The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

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[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

person's group; hence, by the principle of anticipation,[2] a person learns to expect punishment as soon as he has wronged another, and, by the same principle, he also fears punishment as soon as he wishes to wrong another. Now since, because of the conflict of interests between the members of a society, any person at times will wish to wrong others, it follows that he will at these times fear retaliation.[3] Most primitive societies have no adequate realistic theories of disease. Sickness and punishment both cause the individual pain, and, by the principle of generalization,[4] sickness is viewed as similar to punishment. Hence, if a person is sick and at the same time fears retaliation, he will assume that the sickness is caused by an enemy. It should follow, therefore, that in societies where the fear of retaliation is great, the fear of sorcery should also be great.

In attempting to test this hypothesis, the author first went through the Cross-Cultural Survey files, recording the presence or absence of sorcery and of coordinate control. This proved unsuccessful because, of the fifty tribes sampled, only two completely lacked the concept of sorcery. Since it was obvious, however, that sorcery is far more important in some societies than in others, the files were rechecked in order to determine its importance in each society. The following criteria were used and the data entered:

SORCERY

A. As an explanation of sickness:
   1. Only
   2. Important
   3. Unimportant
   4. Absent

B. Personnel
   1. Anyone
   2. Specialists—hiring
   3. Specialists—no hiring
   4. None

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[2] According to the principle of anticipation, responses near the end of a series which terminates in a reward tend to occur earlier in the series. Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 49-53, and C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena" (*Psychological Review*, 38, 1931), pp. 487-506.

[3] These basic assumptions are all embodied in Freud's theory of projection. For a discussion of the role of projection in sorcery see Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), pp. 305-309. Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, "Fear and Anxiety as Cultural and Individual Variables in a Primitive Society" (*Journal of Social Psychology*, 9, no. 1, 1938), pp. 25-47.

[4] According to the principle of generalization, similar situations tend to evoke the same response in individuals. Cf. C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory" (*Psychological Review*, 46, 1939), pp. 19-30, and N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 44-45.

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C. Punishment of sorcery
   1. Killing or ostracism
   2. Fining and other minor punishments
   3. Neither

Most societies have more than one explanation for disease, many having as many as four or five. The most common causes are: natural causes, ghosts, gods, spirits, sorcerers, and the infringement of taboos. Most ethnographers give some indication of the relative importance of these explanations and, if sorcery is one of them, often comment on the extent of the fear of sorcerers. If the ethnographer did not make such a statement, information as to the number and severity of cases attributed to sorcery as compared to other explanations was used as a criterion of its relative importance as an explanation for sickness.

The personnel of sorcery was recorded on the assumption that sorcery is more important in societies where anyone is a potential sorcerer or where anyone can hire a sorcerer to kill an enemy, the assumption being that there should be less fear of sorcery if only a few individuals are dangerous.

The information as to the punishment of sorcery was gathered on the assumption that an individual fears accusations of sorcery more if the punishment is death or ostracism, than if the punishment is a fine or some other minor penalty.

When it came to making the analysis, it was found that only criterion A could be used. In many societies where anyone could be a sorcerer and the punishment was death or ostracism, the author specifically stated that there were very few sorcerers. For example, in Lepcha society, specialists could be hired, yet Mr. Gorer found that only two cases of sorcery were remembered by living informants. Similarly, in several of the Polynesian societies, anyone could be a sorcerer but few cases of sorcery were reported. In some societies, on the other hand, the author stated that sorcery was important but could be practiced only by specialists who could not be hired. This seems to be particularly true of South American tribes, for example the Tupinamba. Therefore, sorcery was listed as important if it was an important explanation for sickness.

The type of social control in the various societies was determined by analyzing the treatment of serious offenses. The seriousness of an offense was judged wherever possible by the reaction of the members of the society as reported by the ethnographer. In general, murder, sorcery, theft, and adultery belonged in this category, and were used in determining the type of control if the ethnographer did not make a statement as to the relative seriousness of offenses. The treatment of murder proved the best criterion. It was found that in societies where murder cases are settled by a delegated authority, cases of adultery are often left to individual retaliation, and cases of theft are often settled out of court. Sorcery is considered a religious offense in some societies and is treated differently from other crimes. Hence, societies in which murder was settled by retaliation were classified as coordinate, and those in which murder cases were referred to a delegated authority as superordinate.

Using the above criteria the author made a tetrachoric correlation between the importance or unimportance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness and the presence or absence of coordinate control. The correlation between the importance of sorcery and coordinate control was significant (see Table I), but it was obvious that Africa was strikingly aberrant, all but three of the nine tribes sampled having sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and not coordinate but superordinate control.

TABLE I

24 (48%)	11 (22%)
1 (2%)	14 (28%)

R = .85 (reliable at .60)

	No superordinate justice (coordinate control)			Superordinate justice	
Sorcery important	Arunta Buka Dieri Dobu Kiwai Kwoma Lesu Murngin Orokaiva Trobriands	Apache Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Ifugao Kutchin Mala Maori Paiute Yurok Zuni	Barama Caribs Delaware Jivaro Witoto	Ashanti Azande Chagga Fiji Kamilaroi Tiv Venda	Hill Maria Gonds Kwakiutl Lamba Sanpoil
Sorcery unimportant	Lango			Bali Japan Karak Lepcha Masai Ontong Java Riff Tanala	Cayapa Cheyenne Crow Samoa Tikopia Tonga

The material on Africa was then analyzed in more detail to see if some other variables could be discovered. The author concentrated on Evans-Prichard's account of the Azande,[6] which had the best material on both sorcery and social control.

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[6] Cf. E. E. Evans-Prichard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (London, 1937), for most complete account of sorcery.

(2) When a major offense, for example injury by sorcery, is committed, the relatives of the injured person consult an oracle and if the oracle confirms their suspicion that sorcery has been practiced by a certain individual, they send a message to the chief's court and ask for a hearing. The case is presented before the chief's oracle, which acts as the judge in the case. If the oracle confirms the accusation, the chief gives the relatives permission to retaliate. The actual retaliation, however, is executed by the relatives and not by the chief or the members of his court. Adultery is treated in a similar way, and these are the two most common and serious offenses. In other words, there is an authority delegated to decide cases but there is no group with power to execute punishments. This was also found to be the case among the Tiv and Chagga.

The author decided to reclassify all the tribes, distinguishing between superordinate justice and superordinate punishment. If the members of a group avenged the murder of one of its members without securing permission from an individual or group of individuals, the society was listed as having coordinate control; if the group secured permission before it took action, the society was listed as having superordinate justice but no superordinate punishment; if the group presented its case to a chief or court and depended on them to punish the murderer, the society was listed as having both superordinate justice and punishment. In some societies there was an individual or group of individuals who settled cases, but it was stated that the complainants did not always abide by the decision. In cases of this kind the author attempted to evaluate the number of cases which were settled by the delegated authority, and, if they seemed to be in the majority, the society was listed as having superordinate justice. It was found that there were no societies which had superordinate punishment that did not also have superordinate justice. On the other hand, only seventeen of the twenty-five tribes which had superordinate justice had superordinate punishment as well.

Two tetrachoric correlations were then made, the first between the presence or absence of sorcery as an explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice (see Table I), and the second between the presence or absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment (see Table II). The tetrachoric correlation was used on the advice of Professor Carl Hovland, who recommended it for similar cross-cultural correlations made by Ford and Whiting.[6] The table of reliability computed by Hovland was also used.[7] Both correlations were found to be significant; r equals .85 in the first case (reliable for fifty tribes at .60); r equals .85+ in the second case (reliable for fifty tribes at .57). These correlations indicate that in the selected sample there is less than one chance in a hundred that the correlation between soscery as an important explanation for sickness and coordinate control is due to chance.

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[6] C. S. Ford and J. W. M. Whiting used this correlation in their cross-cultural analysis of identification. Cf. ms. of paper presented at the Monday Night Group, Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, 1942.

[7] The computing diagrams drawn up by L. Chesire, M. Saffir and L. L. Thurstone were used. Cf. *Computing Diagrams for Tetrachoric Correlation Coefficients* (Chicago, 1933).

Several criticisms of the above correlations can be made. There is the problem of the reliability of the judgment of the author as to the importance of sorcery in each society and the presence or absence of superordinate justice and punishment. Ideally several people should make independent judgements and a test of the reliability should be made. This was not feasible at the time the study was made. It was possible, however, to test the reliability of the author's judgements of the importance of sorcery as an explanation of sickness with the ratings made by the two judges for Whiting and Child in their cross-cultural study of the relation of theories of disease to child training practices.[*] The percent of agreement between the two sets of judgments in the thirty-three overlapping cases was eighty-one which is generally accepted as reliable.

TABLE II

30 (60%)	5 (10%)
3 (6%)	12 (24%)

R = .85 (reliable at .57)

	No superordinate punishment	Superordinate punishment
Sorcery important	Arunta Buka Dieri Dobu Kamilaroi Kiwai Kwoma Lesu Mala Maori Murngin Orokaiva Apache Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Delaware Ifugao Kutchin Kwakiutl Paiute Trobriands Yurok Zuni Azande Barama Caribs Chagga Hill Maria Gonds Jivaro Tiv Witoto	Ashanti Fiji Lamba Sanpoil Venda
Sorcery unimportant	Kazak Lango Masai	Bali Japan Lepcha Ontong Java Riff Samoa Tanala Cayapa Cheyenne Crow Tikopia Tonga

A second major criticism of the above correlations can be made on the grounds

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[*] See John Whiting and Irvin Child—unpublished manuscript.

● [2] that in selecting the tribes used in the correlation no allowance has been made for historical connections and diffusion. The question might be raised as to whether the connections between sorcery and coordinate control are not in many cases historical rather than functional.[9] From this point of view, including the Dieri, Arunta, Murngin, and Kamilaroi in the sample might be said to be counting as four cases what is really just one case. These tribes are all Australian and belong in an area that shares many cultural traits because of common origin and diffusion. Perhaps all these groups were originally members of the same tribe which had both sorcery and coordinate control or perhaps either, or both of these traits originated in one tribe and spread by diffusion to the others.[10] Similarly it could be argued that the New Guinea tribes—the Kwoma, Orokaiva, and Kiwai—or the Polynesian Tongans and Samoans should have been counted as one case.

The problem of factoring out historical connections is a difficult one. Unfortunately world ethnology has not reached the point where one can be sure of historical connections. Furthermore, with the exception of North America, the mapping of culture areas is only in its early stages. It would seem that the best possible precaution is to avoid counting two tribes from an area which is generally recognized as having cultural unity.

A selection of tribes was made on the basis of the above criteria and it was found that, of the fifty tribes, twenty-six could be said to belong to distinct culture areas. Although this is a very small sample, correlations were made and were also found to be significant (see Tables III and IV).

A study of the contrast between cultural areas within larger geographic areas gives additional evidence of the presence of a functional relation between sorcery and coordinate control. The general picture in Oceania is that of increasing superordinate control as one progresses from Australia into Polynesia. In Australia and New Guinea sorcery is the only, or an important, explanation for sickness and, with the exception of the Kamilaroi, who have a council of head men who sometimes decide cases, there is no superordinate justice. In Polynesia, on the other hand, the majority of the societies have superordinate justice and punishment, and sickness is usually attributed to punishment by the gods or the breaking of taboos rather than to sorcery. Melanesia and the islands on the western and southwestern fringes of Polynesia are transitional. In general, sorcery is important. Unlike Australia and New Guinea, however, there are chiefs. These chiefs, however, do not have the same type of power as the Polynesian chiefs. Their duties are primarily ceremonial and do not concern social control except when the offense is ceremonial or concerns them directly. Fiji is peculiar in that sorcery is important and the social control system is similar to Tonga and Samoa.

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[9] For a discussion of historical and functional factors in cultural correlations see Clyde Kluckhohn, "On Certain Recent Applications of Association Coefficients to Ethnographic Data" (*American Anthropologist*, 41, no. 3), pp. 359-366. See also G. P. Murdock, "Correlations of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Institutions" (*Studies in the Science of Society*, New Haven, 1937), pp. 450-453.

[10] Even if one accepts the hypothesis of diffusion, however, the question can be raised as to whether sorcery would diffuse to a society that has superordinate control or conversely whether a superordinate type of social control would diffuse to a society with a strong sorcery complex. Furthermore, if one of these traits did diffuse, one might assume that if the connection is a functional one a readjustment would take place in the culture. For example, if superordinate control was introduced, sorcery should eventually become unimportant.

TABLE III

12 (46%)	4 (15%)
0 (0%)	10 (39%)

R = .95 (reliable at .82)

	No superordinate justice	Superordinate justice
Sorcery important	Arunta Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Delaware Ifugao Paiute Zuni Barama Caribs Kwoma Trobriands Tupinamba* Witoto	Ashanti Azandi Hill Maria Gonds Kwakiutl
Sorcery unimportant		Cheyenne Japan Lepcha Masai Riff Tanala Bali Cayapa Kazak Samoa

* The information on the Tupinamba is scanty and for this reason the tribe was not used in the first sample.

Similar contrasts can be made between culture areas in North America. The Eskimo, Mackenzie-Yukon, Great Basin, and northern Californian tribes, and probably most of the northeastern tribes, have coordinate control and sorcery. In the southwestern pueblos and probably in some of the tribes of the southeast the sorcery complex is similar and, although the chiefs are more important, their duties are ceremonial and not directly concerned with social control.[11] In the Plains, on the other hand, there is superordinate control at least during part of the year—the season for hunting buffalo—and sorcery is unimportant. During the hunting season the warriors and chiefs have the authority to decide cases and to punish crime; during the other seasons of the year the control may be coordinate, although in

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[11] The Natchez were an exception. They had rulers with superordinate judiciary and executive powers. Cf. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), p. 383.

121 some tribes groups who have authority during the buffalo drives tend to keep their authority in the other season. The Northwest Coast and parts of the Plateau have both sorcery as an important explanation for sickness and superordinate justice and sometimes punishment. It has been suggested, however, that the importance of the chiefs is of relatively recent origin.

TABLE IV

15 (57%) 1 (4%)
2 (8%) 8 (31%)
R = .92 (reliable at .87)

	No superordinate punishment		Superordinate punishment	
Sorcery important	Chuckchee Copper Eskimo Delaware Hill Maria Gonds Kwakiutl Paiute Zuni	Arunta Azande Barama Carib Ifugao Kwoma Trobriands Tupinamba Witoto	Ashanti	
Sorcery unimportant	Masai Kazak		Cheyenne Japan Lepcha Riff Tanala	Bali Cayapa Samoa

At the time this study was made, there was not enough material on South America to give a clear impression of the distribution of either sorcery or types of social control.

The analysis of the culture areas of Africa[13] does not reveal any striking differences between areas. Of the two tribes in which sorcery is not important, the Riff are in the northern coastal area and the Lango in the transitional area between the semi-desert and the forest country.[14] However, since I have no other tribes in either of these areas, I cannot say whether or not this is typical. In the other areas included in the sample, sorcery is important and there is some type of superordinate control. There is some indication, however, that superordinate control was introduced at the time of the development of the large kingdoms and that many types of /121 offenses are still left to the small community groups to control in a coordinate manner. Neither Hambly's culture area mapping for Africa nor the sample of tribes used in the study is sufficiently adequate to make any further statement.

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[13] Culture areas used are those mapped by W. D. Hambly, "Source Book for Anthropology" (*Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, 26, Part 1), pp. 135-136.

[14] The author's rating of the importance of sorcery among the Riff was not in accord with the ratings made by the judges in the Whiting-Child study.

The sample of tribes in Asia is too small to make any general statements.

The above survey of societies suggests several other hypotheses which should be tested cross-culturally; one is that the belief that sickness is caused by the gods is correlated with superordinate control, as is seen to be the case in Polynesia. Whiting and Child, in their cross-cultural study of the relation of childhood training practices to theories of disease, made ratings of the importance of various explanations of sickness in eighty-five societies. Of the eighty-five tribes only thirty-three overlapped with the author's sample. Taking the judges' ratings on the importance of spirits in human forms or ancestors as an explanation of sickness and correlating it with the presence or absence of superordinate justice, it was found that the correlation, though not significant, was in the opposite direction from the prediction, more tribes having both the absence of superordinate justice and the presence of spirits in human forms and ancestors as an explanation for sickness. In as much as Whiting and Child in their ratings distinguished only between spirits of animal and human form and did not attempt to evaluate the status of the spirits, it might still be worth attempting to test the hypothesis with the latter type of rating.

A second hypothesis suggested by the survey is that superordinate control and the absence of sorcery as an important explanation for sickness is correlated with the size of the population of the community, small communities tending to have coordinate control.[14] A preliminary test of this hypothesis was run using population figures, collected by Murdock and Goodenough on the average population of the community of forty-two tribes.[15] Unfortunately there were only twenty of these tribes which were also in the author's sample. The mean population for the eleven tribes who had no superordinate justice was 114, for the nine tribes with superordinate justice 323. Applying a T test, the difference between these means is significant at the five percent level. In other words, the hypothesis that superordinate control is correlated with the larger group is substantiated.

[14] This hypothesis is similar to Redfield's. See "The Folk Society" (*American Journal of Sociology*, 1947, vol. LII), pp. 292-308.

[15] Unpublished notes G. P. Murdock and Ward Goodenough.

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PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 501
valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137
the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating 135
waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas. They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians 501
made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to 274
group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occasionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward, while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of 337
reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swimmer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsos of northern 342
Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical 274
houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule 121
balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater, Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P. 3]

Preface

The present study has developed from a dissertation presented /2/ for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University. That manuscript has been extensively revised with the inclusion of new and valuable comparative data. Revision has led also to a reformulation of the significance of the distributional evidence for the basic problems involved in the inferential reconstruction of native history in western North America.

The descriptive data on shamanism presented here were collected in the course of three summers spent in making an ethnographic study of the Paviotso Indians in western Nevada. Work during the summer of 1933 was made possible through the generosity of Mr. H. U. Brandenstein of San Francisco. I am grateful to him for making it possible for me to gain my first experience in field work and for continued encouragement and interest. Investigations during the following two seasons were made under the auspices of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The financial support which enabled me to add materially to my knowledge of Paviotso culture is deeply appreciated.

The gathering of the material and the preparation of this study have benefited from the suggestions and encouragement of my teachers and colleagues. Above all I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, who, by their inspiration, encouragement, and helpful suggestions in the course of field work and in the preparation of the present study, contributed materially to my understanding of ethnological problems. Dr. Melville J. Herskovits's many valuable criticisms during the course of revision, and his unfailing encouragement to publish this venture in the field of anthropological theory are deeply appreciated. Dr. Robert H. Lowie was kind enough to read the manuscript and make suggestions for improvement.

Many people have generously contributed to make up the serious deficiencies in the published accounts of shamanism in western North America. I wish to extend my thanks here to all who so kindly placed unpublished field notes at my disposal. Specific acknowledgment is made where these important additions enter the discussion.

[P. vi is blank]

I. The Problem

INTRODUCTION

For several decades the religions of the American Indian tribes /2/ have provided data for the anthropologist bent on reconstructing the history and interrelationships of New World cultures. Notable studies in this field have displayed a wide variety of interests and aims, ranging from an intensive investigation of growth in a single tribal religion to an analysis of the interrelationships, practices, and beliefs on a continental scale. Still others have sought to reconstruct the growth, including relative chronological sequences, of ceremonies or entire religions in a more or less culturally homogeneous area. Whatever the specific goal and scope of these studies may be, it is either explicitly stated or implicitly recognized that the empirical data of geographical distribution, in the absence of more direct evidence such as documentary accounts of past events, afford an important body of knowledge for inferring the history of religions along with other cultural developments.

The distributional study of even simple generalized customs and beliefs yields evidence of the various interrelationships of cultures during their growth. Just as in the reconstruction of the history of more complex institutions, it is not necessary, and in fact it may be impossible, to determine the chronological sequence of accretion. Knowledge of the divergent sources and spatial relationships of several elements forming the complex does indicate, however, the interconnections among localized unique cultures. Without any attempt to postulate time-sequences, this may be considered a legitimate approach to the problems of culture history.

Shamanism in the New World presents an example of relatively simple and undifferentiated practices and beliefs which have wide but differing distributions. Moreover, the nearly universal occurrence in the Western Hemisphere of this type of religion suggests a respectable antiquity, at any rate, for some of the elements of the complex. Possibly, as Kroeber[1] suggests, shamanism may have been part of the cultural equipment of the first settlers in the New World. This, however, does not argue that the simple elements forming the complex are identical throughout the Western Hemisphere. A merely superficial examination of North American shamanism reveals quite striking differences in content, in meaning, and in the way practices and beliefs are combined with other customs. Years ago, Dixon pointed out certain of these distinctions in the attitudes and customs of the New World shamans. The local variations evident in that brief survey include, among others, differences in means of acquiring supernatural power, the variety in the functions and the performances of the shamans, and their position and influence in society.[2] Important distinctions in practices clearly setting off one part of aboriginal California from another were recognized by Kroeber.[3] Again, Spier, in appraising recently the place of the Klamath in western North America, has precisely defined the distribution of certain of the elements in the shamanistic complex of this region.[4] It is evident that despite the possible considerable age and relative simplicity of shamanism in the New World, we are dealing with a locally varying amalgam of historically heterogeneous traits. Accordingly, a study of the practices and beliefs of a particular tribe in reference to their spatial setting should reveal at least some of the cultural relationships contributing to the development of the localized complex.

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[1] Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 349; *American Culture and the Northwest Coast*, 2.

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

The goal of the present study will be to ascertain those interrelationships of tribal cultures reflected in the geographical distributions of the elements found in a single localized shamanistic complex. The practices and beliefs of the shamans among the Paviotso or Northern Paiute of western Nevada will be considered in their distributional setting in order to indicate the cultural connections contributing to the growth of that complex.

In order to focus attention on the elements which are to be analyzed in their spatial relationships, an account of Paviotso practices and beliefs will first be presented. The distribution of these elements will then be traced among the neighboring tribes of the Great Basin, the Plateau, California, and several of the so-called Western Rancheria[9] tribes of the non-pueblo Southwest. The data thus presented will suggest some of the cultural relationships among the several tribes of this region. In addition, this evidence should enable us to appraise certain of the tribal and regional differences and similarities with reference to several important historical problems in western North America.

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[2] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman.*

[3] Kroeber, *The Religion of the Indians of California*, 327–334; *Handbook*, 851–855.

[4] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 224 f.

One of these more persistent questions in the cultural history of this region is that of the relationship of Great Basin cultures with those of the surrounding areas of central California, the Plateau, and the Plains. It is manifestly impossible to determine on the basis of only one phase of culture, such as shamanism, the interdependence or individuality of a group of cultures. Nevertheless, a precise statement of the Paviotso position, and so far as possible that of other Basin tribes, in shamanistic practices both in contrast and in relation to the neighboring areas will suggest more accurately than has been possible to date the extent of historical independence of and connection with the surrounding cultures.

It should be clearly understood that limiting the present study to a particular area of western North America carries no implication of historical autonomy for that region. Unquestionably, an appreciable number of the elements found in this area occur widely elsewhere in the New World and also in Asia. Thus the distribution of certain practices within this area will not exhaust all the possibilities of interrelationships. Although continental and intercontinental distributions yield evidence of suggestive historical connections, the growth of a local complex can be inferred from a detailed examination of more limited spatial interrelationships. In this study, therefore, I shall analyze the shamanistic phenomena of an arbitrarily delimited area, always recognizing

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[9] This term is used by Spier to designate the group which "includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river, i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others." *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai*, 214.

Not all the tribes of this group will be considered in this study, for data on shamanism from some are extremely scanty, whereas with others, as in the case of the Navaho, the heavy overlay of Pueblo ceremonialism as yet obscures the precise extent of shamanism in the religious life.

121 possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier
114 has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of
the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

121 Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an his-
177 torical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In
the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of
121 borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he
114 insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events
177 yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

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[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 239–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of 121
only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing 114
have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue 77
that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical 121
distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference 77
warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions. [114]

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

121 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely,
177 for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of
171 diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a /121/
judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important /171/
in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful /121/
history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at im- /114/
portant points. At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but

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[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

121/114 it is not apparent that shamans everywhere in the New World have performed this function to the same degree. Nevertheless, the changes in the shamanistic practices and beliefs have in each tribe resulted from the borrowing, the interpretations, and the inventions of novel ideas by individual shamans. A thorough study of borrowing processes must take into account such significant events and people. At the present time, however, knowledge of the contributions made by individual shamans to the totality of Paviotso practice is irretrievably lost to us. Therefore, although it is vitally important to bear in mind that these forces are ever present in making history, the limitations imposed on this study minimize the necessity for unverifiable assumptions of individuals, events, or chronology.

DEFINITION OF SHAMANISM

The great diversity of practices and beliefs presented by a survey of shamanism does not readily yield a clear definition of the term. In fact, shamanism usually has been defined descriptively, often in terms of the practices of a particular region. That this procedure is subject to error is evident when it is realized that in one society the shaman may have certain priestly functions, in another his duties relate only to curing. Laufer has shown that the word itself is an old term in the Turkish-Tungusian languages.[11] Frequently, we find that shamanism is defined largely by eastern Siberian practices. In clarifying the differences in current usage and in order to arrive at a definite formulation of the term for this study, it is interesting to review briefly several of the definitions prevailing in the literature.

Shamanism is defined by MacCulloch in terms of the functions of the shaman. According to this statement, the shaman is regarded as one who has undifferentiated priestly, prophetic, and magico-medical functions. Although it is recognized that the shaman exercises certain priestly functions, his main powers are connected with healing and divination. "He has direct intercourse with spirits and actual (bodily or spiritual) access to the spirit-world. All his magical arts are done by virtue of his power over

or influence with spirits."[12] The shaman is accordingly distinguished by his active relations to the spirit world, not by his knowledge of esoteric doctrines and rituals.

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[11] Laufer, *Origin of the Word Shaman*, 361.

Swanton distinguishes two classes of mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men, shamans, and priests. The shaman's authority is entirely dependent on individual ability. The priests are those who act "in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society."[13] This clean-cut differentiation of priests and shamans does not hold everywhere, for in some cultures, such as those of the Northwest coast, shamans exercise certain priestly functions, although in this respect they may be overshadowed by other officials, e.g., the chiefs who act as priests in the performances of the secret societies among the Tlingit, Haida, and Kwakiutl.

A similar distinction between shaman and priest has been made by Wissler. The priest is regarded as one who has knowledge of the rituals and leads ritualistic performances; his office is therefore primarily dependent upon learning, not upon direct personal experience with supernatural forces. The shaman, on the other hand, works by virtue of his possession of supernatural power. With this power he usually performs curative rites and acts as a prophet and seer.[14] This formulation likewise ignores the important points at which there is overlapping, for the appreciable body of knowledge gained by experience or apprenticeship is often an important part of the equipment distinguishing the shaman from his fellowmen.

One point is held in common by all these definitions: the shaman in all cases is one who has direct relationships with spirit powers in contrast to the priest who fills his office largely by virtue of his knowledge of rituals. Among some peoples, however, there is a certain overlapping of the functions belonging to the two offices. Some writers tend to regard as shamans all who experience personal contact with supernatural powers. A characteristic definition of this type is that given by Dixon, who applied the term "to that motley class of persons found in every savage community, who

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[12] MacCulloch, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, 441–442.

[13] Swanton, article "Shamans and Priests" in *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. II, 522–524.

[14] Wissler, *The American Indian*, 197, 200–201.

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are supposed to have closer relations with the supernatural than other men, and who, according as they use the advantage of their position in one way or another, are the progenitors alike of the physician and the sorcerer, the prophet, the teacher, and the priest."[15]

The possession of power alone, however, does not necessarily distinguish the shaman from other men. In some tribes, almost everyone has visionary experiences in which some power to control supernatural forces is acquired. Under these conditions, the shaman may be regarded as one upon whom more than the usual amount of power is bestowed, and is so differentiated in native thought. Usually, the recipient of the power employs it for desirable social purposes, such as the curing of disease or the charming of game. Here shamanism is but a matter of degree; the shaman has the stronger power which enables him to perform certain functions in contrast to weaker powers of the laity. Moreover, the use of power for the good of others differentiates the shaman from the man who manipulates supernatural spirits for selfish ends. Of course this is an arbitrary distinction, for it is often difficult to distinguish between social and purely selfish interests.

For the purposes of this study, the shaman is one who acquires supernatural power through direct personal experience. This power is generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of concern to others in the society. Accordingly, the practice of witchcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game in a communal hunt. We will designate by the term shamanism, then, all the practices by which supernatural power may be acquired by mortals, the exercise of that power either for good or evil, and all the concepts and beliefs associated with these practices.

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[15] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman*, 1.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, 101
belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking
peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related.
The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful
but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent.
Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of
California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern
Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the
Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

PREFACE

This report on the ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute has been little more than an objective recording of data as obtained from the informants. No correlations, comparisons or contrasts with data obtained by others has been attempted here. It is fully recognized that much more can be done with the data gathered but one's work must sometimes be arbitrarily terminated. The original concern of this endeavor was to chart the territory of this group of Paiute people as an aid to the archaeological investigations being carried out in their region. This was done, but, in doing so, an interest in other aspects of their society was whetted. As the investigator's interest grew so did that of the informants! If these investigations serve no other purpose than to give some measure of enjoyment and understanding of a past way of native life to those who may read, then I shall have been repaid for what effort I may have put into this work. Actually, I have been repaid many times over by the friendship and kindness that have been shown me by Kitty, Gladys, and the other Wadátkuht people I had the good fortune of meeting and visiting. I am ever-grateful to Kitty and Ike for allowing me to remove myself from the present and go back in time to a different world which is now gone forever. My glimpses into the past were fleeting and clouded by my own inadequacies, but none-the-less, very rewarding. My contact with the Honey Lake Paiute has given me much pleasure and I ask their indulgence in those areas of this work which lack the details necessary for providing a richer and more meaningful illumination of their history and former way of life.

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DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121 The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182 It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, *i. e.*, a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121 One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177 The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern 122
Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of
1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of
California and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used inter- 101
changeably in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all state-
ments apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the
Gidü'tikadᵃ, or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band [161]
are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, head-
quarters for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] 122
to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained 101
from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes,
Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty.

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained 174
is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little 105
of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are
gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods
have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be
seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried
in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole
reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing
to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information.
Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourish-
ing. At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the 105
older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to 124
the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very

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[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

105 marked reluctance with which informants discuss religious topics.
124 There is yet much to be obtained concerning beliefs and practices, but it will be a difficult matter to overcome the native reserve.

114 Comparatively little has been published on the Northern Paiute. Curtis has some material on the Nevada Paviotso as has Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. A twenty-page paper by de Angulo and Freeland, partly linguistic, concerns the Fort Bidwell Paiute but is avowedly incomplete. For comparative material I have drawn on Lowie's Northern Shoshone and Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. It is scarcely necessary to mention the very obvious debt to Spier's Havasupai Ethnography; and I am further indebted to Dr. Spier for the use of his Klamath material, still in manuscript form.[3] Dr. Kroeber has very kindly allowed access to the unpublished Walapai data which embody the results of the 1929 summer field course of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

122 Acknowledgment should be made to the residents of Fort Bidwell, who were uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but especially to Mr. Henry Kober and to Mrs. Chester Lowell, who with great kindness allowed specimens from their private collections to be brought to Berkeley for photographing; to Mr. L. Shotwell, of the local Indian school, for material assistance in procuring informants; and to Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Schmitz, of Beatty, Oregon, for extraordinary kindness in providing housing and in obtaining informants. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, for the examination of native tobacco specimens; to Mr. Morris Halperin, University Farm, Davis, for classification of several grasses; and to Mr. John Thomas Howell, of the California Academy of Sciences, for all other plant identifications and for incidental botanical information. Thanks are also due Professor E. O. Essig, of the University of California, for identification of insects and for use of manuscript material; and Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, of Lakeview, for data concerning the geography of southern Oregon.

115 A list of informants is given below. Initials following the names indicate the key by which statements will be identified with certain informants. This has been done when evidence is conflicting, or of particular importance, or derived from a single individual. Statements in which the interpreter plays more than his part are jointly attributed. The ages given below are no more than crude approximations.

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[3] Since published in volume 30, this series.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By Jaime de ANGULO and L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort 114
Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are [101]
congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray
who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in
that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all [102]
possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in
touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of [113]
their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During
the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged
around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George 115
Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on
the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he
was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible
for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very
valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit 121
my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the
point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the
Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion
of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more
and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior 114
Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a 191

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[1] I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

[2] For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 913, 916.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS paper was originally presented as a doctoral thesis in Anthropology to 114
Yale University in 1942. The material was gathered on field trips to Burns,
Oregon, in the summers of 1936, 1937, and 1938.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor George P. Murdock for
directing my dissertation, and to the Cross Cultural Survey for allowing me to use
their files. I also wish to thank the Department of Anthropology and the Institute
of Human Relations of Yale University, not only for helping to finance my field [122]
trips, but also for my training in anthropology and psychology. Finally, I wish to
express my gratitude to Geoffrey Gorer for his help in editing the manuscript, and
to the Viking Fund for its publication.

PREFACE

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A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

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My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

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I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

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Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

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I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

INTRODUCTION

114 As archaeological investigations in the Honey Lake region of Lassen County, northeastern California, progressed (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956; 1958) it became apparent that it was important to have an ethnogeography of the region in order to provide a base line for the archaeological interpretations. To obtain this information remnants of the indigenous Paiute band were visited intermittently over a period of several years. The results of these visits were a relatively complete ethnogeography of the territory of the Honey Lake Paiute and a fairly detailed account of the group's subsistance activities. In addition to this it was possible to get information on many other aspects of both their aboriginal and post-contact life.

115 Information concerning the ethnogeography of the Honey Lake Paiute primarily was obtained from Ike Northrup (Tabö̆k... "Cottontail"), who was born about 1870 at the native camp of Kamŏ pana wuina ("Rabbit trail coming down") at the north end of Secret Valley (see map, Territory of the Honey Lake Paiute).

Additional information and confirmation of Ike Northrup's data was obtained from Susy Buster who was born about 1860. Susy's mother was a Pit River woman who had been captured by Susy's father, a Honey Lake Paiute. Susy Buster, who also served as Stewart's informant (Stewart, 1939, p. 138), died at Susanville in 1951. Ike Northrup died in the same town two years later.

Most of the ethnographic information presented in this report was obtained from Kitty Joaquin with the aid of her daughter, Gladys Mankins, who acted as both interpreter and informant. Helen Joaquin, Kitty's sister, also contributed information at various times. Joaquin, who was the father of Kitty and Helen, was the last headman of the Honey Lake Paiute. He died in 1935 (Stewart, 1939, p. 138) and the two women in 1954.

122 The ethnogeographic data were obtained through a grant-in-aid by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, in the summer of 1951. My own funds were used to obtain a portion of the ethnographic notes given herein. Specimens collected are housed in the University of 126 California Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. Special thanks are here given to Dr. T. D. McCown, Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, and to Professor

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[8] Since published in volume 30, this series.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

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262 to what might be expected in such a desert region,
fish and waterfowl were an extremely important
dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless,
because of the inhospitable environment the available
food was so often inadequate that the Indians
learned to eat nearly everything which could support
221 life. Seasonal migrations in search of food
took Indians of nearly every band into the areas
recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

114 In the two and a half months available for
this study* it was impossible to visit all the
bands still represented by living Indians. Of
the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute
bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element
lists were obtained from eleven.

124 Since it was impossible to follow the conventional
methods of gathering ethnographic data,
that is, by indirect questions which force informants
to take the initiative in all descriptions,
some mention of the methods employed
should be made here. At the start of the inquiry
of each complex, such as deer hunting or house
building, a general question would be posed and
the informant was allowed to offer what information
he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary
to ask about particular details, or to inquire
whether something were done this way or
that. With the first informant Northern Paiute
names for various items and concepts were recorded;
subsequently, with the remaining Indians,
124 the native name was used in questioning. To supplement
115 the name, descriptions and pantomimes
were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance
was obtained from several hundred photographs
of material culture and a number of actual
specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games,
and the like. Informants usually identified
known types of material illustrated; consequently,
blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage.
The Indians seemed to appreciate
seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested
particular delight upon seeing representations
of their own types. Thus the pictures
had the double value of establishing friendly
relations between the investigator and the Indians
and provided a means of exact identification
of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

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*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[p. 361 (8)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
supplied the data or when several agreed, no in-
[128] dication is made in the list. An asterisk beside the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,[7] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers,"
131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[7] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 131 10, Sa, Sawa'waktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sawa. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupinatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sawa. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sawa list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 131 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. ● [124] She listened to the interviews and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101 131 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," centering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 *Informants.*—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit (SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life, visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to time. He went blind a few years ago, but his hearing was good, and he was alert mentally. [124] I talked with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Töngio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, BJ lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 365 (A)]

Birds Eaten or Used

262 299. Ts: The bird list was obtained by show-
825 ing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and
recording the Paiute names for birds he recog-
nized. Both English and Paiute names were used
● [124] in questioning subsequent informants. "Red
Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of
America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (1931, Whitman
Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for
these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax sinuatis.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

222 337. Tö: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piüga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262 338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with say-
825 ing "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred
114 in Walker lake, ... Pyramid Lake, and Soda lake,
near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food,"
222 as well as at Mono Lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Küpa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these Lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. Kl: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). To: Some old-timers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

[p.426 (D)]

N 285 [498] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes). W [285]

1039a. K2: JM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use. W [305]

1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker. N [174]

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120). N [177, 172]

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Ki: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

N 235 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [235] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

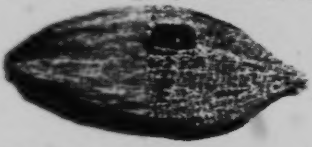
N [174]

Basket Forms

N 235 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idiwa, kusone.

N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

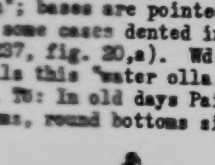


N [241] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868.) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.



Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heiser.

[p.434(W)]

[P. 5]
[P.4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 396 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toe-dokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

[182] Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Still-water marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 [482] Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 283 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another [521 223 825] set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

puhágəm or tunápuhágəm (tuná, antelope; puhágəm, shaman). 224 If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756 is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124] memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423] shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is frequently 224 provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756 string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was reported 533 by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few
decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by
15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined
[531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting
of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida.
Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the
[193] nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the
words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to
supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process
of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material
825 culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described
the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of
[291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten,
[262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our
language and know when they are being talked about even at a
distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet
773 high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipō or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See Category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

N That five or six years

114 175 *795 may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

N W 114 *795 To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo-Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

N W 124 *795 It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

First Contacts

N W 177 *795 The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

W 177 compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near
the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it
182 was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that
*795 cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers
N come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult
W population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely
177 on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have
554 no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly,
*795 judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks,
N activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree
W of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of
[124] Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Coleville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III,[1] show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been
N shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and
W peyotists were of mixed blood.[illegible]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members
157 and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in
177 meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within
*795 each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

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[illegible] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [1][see vol. 116, p. 123-Aw]

Wadatkuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds. [752] [232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 [182] ●[124] Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned. [683]

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

important in controlling aggression within the family and in supplementing and /121
checking retaliation within the band.

In presenting the description and analysis of Paiute social control I have [125] started with a detailed discussion of the religious beliefs and the theories of sickness and therapy because these beliefs and theories are essential to an understanding of the analysis of sorcery as a method of social control. In conclusion I have summarized the types of social control found in Harney Valley and have stated some of the conditions which seems to be correlated with the presence of sorcery as a method of control. Finally, I have attempted to test the validity of these correlations by a study of a sample of other societies. The material to test these correlations was taken from the files of the Cross-Cultural Survey.

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The following are Gidü'tikad^{ü} informants:

Pindy (P), born in Adel, Warner valley; aged about 75, perhaps more; the oldest and best of the Gidü'tikad^{ü} informants.

Joshua Brown (JB), born in Surprise valley; aged 65 to 70; also an excellent informant; blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), the present "chief"; born in Surprise; aged 65 to 70; remembers but little of the old life.

Bige Archie (BA), also of Surprise; aged 50 to 60; one of de Angulo's informants; unsatisfactory for ethnographic data but fairly well versed in tales.

Minnie Anderson (MA), of Cowhead lake, near Fort Bidwell; aged 75 to 80; chief informant on birth, marriage, crafts, etc.

Daisy (Limpy) Brown (DB), born near Plush, Oregon, and later of Fort Bidwell; aged about 60; good information supplementary to that of Minnie Anderson.

Nannie Ochiho (NO), of Fort Bidwell; aged 50 to 60; minor information, principally tales.

This completes the list of Gidü'tikad^{ü} informants. The following have different band affiliations:

Tom Anderson (TA), originally of a Nevada band (?) but has been in Fort Bidwell many years, aged 65 to 70; remembers virtually nothing of the old life.

Billy Steve (BS), also of Nevada (Summit lake, formerly of Pyramid lake); an occasional visitor at Cedarville; aged about 70; gave excellent tales and could doubtless have given good ethnographic material had time allowed.

Dr. Sam Wata (SW), of Beatty, Oregon; aged about 80; the best potential informant of the lot; a former shaman; vigorous, alert, intelligent, and willing to answer questions. Unfortunately his grandson was suspicious of exploitation and made it impossible to work with him more than two half-days.

Mettie Petty (MP), of Beatty, aged about 60; inconsequential information on a variety of subjects.

Nina Nanee (NN), of Beatty; aged possibly 50; principally tales.

Lizzie Godowa (LG), of Beatty, aged about 60; information on basketry techniques.

My interpreters were Nellie Townsend (NT) of Fort Bidwell, Susie Archie (SA) of Fort Bidwell and Beatty, and Nora Henderson (NH) of Alturas. They were all three intelligent women, averaging perhaps 35 to 40 years of age, and possessed of a good command of English. Their persistence and staunch support were largely instrumental in overcoming the well-known Shoshonean reticence, a characteristic which these people share to a marked degree. Joshua, Charlie Washo, and Bige Archie worked without interpreters; Nellie interpreted for the Andersons and for Billy Steve; Susie, for Nannie Ochiho and for Beatty informants, save for a half-day with Dr. Sam during which her brother, David Chocktoot, officiated. Nora interpreted for Daisy Brown and for Pindy.

An effort has been made to record native terms in the orthography employed by Waterman.

126

000 Lastly, it is with pleasure that I acknowledge the extremely large obligation due my wife, Susan Park. Her advice, assistance, and encouragement both in the field and in the preparation and revision that culminated in the present study have been invaluable to me. Her unpublished field notes on the Atsugewi and Cahuilla have also filled in a number of gaps in the literature. In all, her contribution to the finished work has been great indeed.

126 The phonetic symbols used in the recording of Paviotso terms
104 follow the simpler system of the *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916).

W. Z. P.

INTRODUCTION

As archaeological investigations in the Honey Lake region of Lassen County, northeastern California, progressed (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956; 1958) it became apparent that it was important to have an ethnogeography of the region in order to provide a base line for the archaeological interpretations. To obtain this information remnants of the indigenous Paiute band were visited intermittently over a period of several years. The results of these visits were a relatively complete ethnogeography of the territory of the Honey Lake Paiute and a fairly detailed account of the group's subsistance activities. In addition to this it was possible to get information on many other aspects of both their aboriginal and post-contact life. 114

Information concerning the ethnogeography of the Honey Lake Paiute primarily was obtained from Ike Northrup (Tabők... "Cottontail"), who was born about 1870 at the native camp of Kamő pana wuina ("Rabbit trail coming down") at the north end of Secret Valley (see map, Territory of the Honey Lake Paiute). 115

Additional information and confirmation of Ike Northrup's data was obtained from Susy Buster who was born about 1860. Susy's mother was a Pit River woman who had been captured by Susy's father, a Honey Lake Paiute. Susy Buster, who also served as Stewart's informant (Stewart, 1939, p. 138), died at Susanville in 1951. Ike Northrup died in the same town two years later.

Most of the ethnographic information presented in this report was obtained from Kitty Joaquin with the aid of her daughter, Gladys Mankins, who acted as both interpreter and informant. Helen Joaquin, Kitty's sister, also contributed information at various times. Joaquin, who was the father of Kitty and Helen, was the last headman of the Honey Lake Paiute. He died in 1935 (Stewart, 1939, p. 138) and the two women in 1954.

The ethnogeographic data were obtained through a grant-in-aid by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, in the summer of 1951. My own funds were used to obtain a portion of the ethnographic notes given herein. Specimens collected are housed in the University of California Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. Special thanks are here given to Dr. T. D. McCown, Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, and to Professor 122 126 0-Do

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
supplied the data or when several agreed, no in-
[128] dication is made in the list. An asterisk beside
the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate
information was received. The entry in the col-
umn is what I considered the most correct answer
when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with
Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published in-
formation disagrees with that in the list, an
asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a
note concerning the element. Some confirmatory
information from earlier sources is contained in
the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list).
The references to published sources are intended
to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,[7] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers,"
131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys
NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee
River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[7] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

127 114 scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received con-
128 flicting accounts. Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dökadö of trait number 2721a.

131 101 Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115 Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101 131 2, Kl, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

60. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 268; Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23. K 133 103

Upper Klamath Lake has an elevation of 4,000 feet; the upper Sprague River Valley around Bly, Ore., is 350-400 feet higher, and according to one Klamath witness, is called in Klamath "The Country From Where the Water Flows" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 114). The name for the present town of Bly is an Anglicization of Klamath p'lai (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 50); the Klamath name for Sprague River was plai or plaikni koke, literally, upland people river (ibid., p. 486).

61. The term used in 1896 by Motcunka'sket, or his interpreter (Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 16).

62. The English name used in 1926 by Dick Brown, Motcunka'skEt's son (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129). 000

63. See fn. 51 above.

64. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651.

65. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 646, 650.

66. McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566.

67. Official Report, p. 5; see also fn. 7, above.

68. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

69. Extended search has been made for the minutes in the National Archives. N 127

70. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651. Despite Huntington's assertion, legally this was an entirely separate treaty. N 648

71. Huntington's party camped "just east of the canyon or narrows" of Sprague River; "the narrows are about eight to ten miles northwest of Bly" (testimony of O. C. Stearns, Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 19). The present town of Beatty, Ore., is at the west end of the narrows, within the Reservation line; Bly is just outside the Reservation. K 131 644

72. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655.

73. Official Report, p. 5.

74. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H," pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865: "You acted as interpreter at the Council of Aug. 12, held in Sprague River Valley, and are fully informed of the results of that Council, and the stipulations entered into by the Snakes of the Woll-pah-pe tribe." N 648

75. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89.

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PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

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My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

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I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

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Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

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I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[illegible] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

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SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	B	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

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K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

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[illegible] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

050 a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women . . . 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 26a).

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127 W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

128
*795 Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

114 typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of
171 California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the
influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they
have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the
place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain
why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite
[121] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the
spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

●128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value howere, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with whom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

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[131] The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

133 This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid*. Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid*. Vol. II, No. 2, 1909.

124 115 [121] one informant in order to get information about certain aspects of culture. When one informant supplied the data or when several agreed, no indication is made in the list. An asterisk beside the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

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BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 131 1, Ts,[7] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers," occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[7] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

127 114 scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received conflicting accounts. 128 Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dökadö of trait number 2721a.

131 101 Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115 Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101 131 2, Ki, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

Notes

121 648 1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

● 128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

101 648 2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognized or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Klamath NR10

Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

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At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

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3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

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4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

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5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

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6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

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115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of
shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed
laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others
requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by
both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen
or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary
material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada
lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The
[[13]] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five
lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson
Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of
●128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture
were recorded from informants belonging to each of these
localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on
shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant
cultural differences among the bands. Differences that
appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data
on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation
rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the
loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not
to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing
these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso
756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances
[782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for
relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of
dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and
the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these
play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to
shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings
unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds,
and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains,
water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits
of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist
him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to
cure sickness.

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

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The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[illegible] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

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13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

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[illegible] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

800 a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women . . . 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 267a).

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127 W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

● 128 *795 Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES N

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with W
the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-
brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned 128
also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete 795*
genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations,
would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months. 602

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; ss, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, 171
daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

TERRITORY[4]

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The band of Northern Paiute known as the Gidü'tikad^{a}, or Groundhog-eaters, with whom this paper is primarily concerned, lived in the northeastern corner of California and adjacent parts of Oregon and Nevada, along the western fringe of the Great Basin. Their territory included the whole of Surprise valley and considerable of the hill country immediately to the east. Statements as to eastern extension are extremely vague, but their holdings included Coleman valley and probably Long valley, running well toward Summit lake in Nevada.

To the west Gidü'tikad^{a} territory extended over Warner range to include the eastern shore of Goose lake, south as far as Buck creek. The Paviotso-Achomawi boundary fell somewhere between this point and Sugar hill, the latter being indisputably Achomawi (Izi'sa'wi). My informant claimed Fandango valley and Lassen creek for the Paiute but said that both they and the Achomawi used to fish in the last mentioned stream. Save for a slight overlap in the Fandango region, this statement is in substantial agreement with Kniffen,[5] who places the northernmost Achomawi village on Lawson (i.e., Lassen) creek. The Paiute regarded all this region west of the Warners merely as hunting province, thus, "We didn't own it; we just hunted there." Hunting parties crossed into the Goose Lake country via Bidwell canyon, coming out near the present town of New Pine Creek.

To the northwest were the Klamath (Modoc ?), known as Pama'ha sai^{n}[6], or, more commonly, Sai^{n}, given once as Sa'ib^{a}tikad^{a}, Tule-eaters. Pindy gave Pakwi'tikad^{a}, Trout-eaters, as the name for the Modoc; all other informants failed to distinguish between them and the Klamath. Pindy seems, however, to have reversed the two terms, agreeing with other informants that the "Klamath" hunted on the western shore of Goose lake and placing the Modoc in the Klamath marsh district, the heart of Klamath territory.[7] It seems likely, there-

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[4] The bulk of this material is based on information given by P and JB.

[5] P. 308 and map 2.

[6] This is said to be a name given by the Yainax Paiute, and hence recent. My informant was not certain, but suggested that it might be derived from pa'mühab, water grass.

[7] According to Spier, Klamath, 3 and figure 1. See Bibliography for complete citations.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

p. 71

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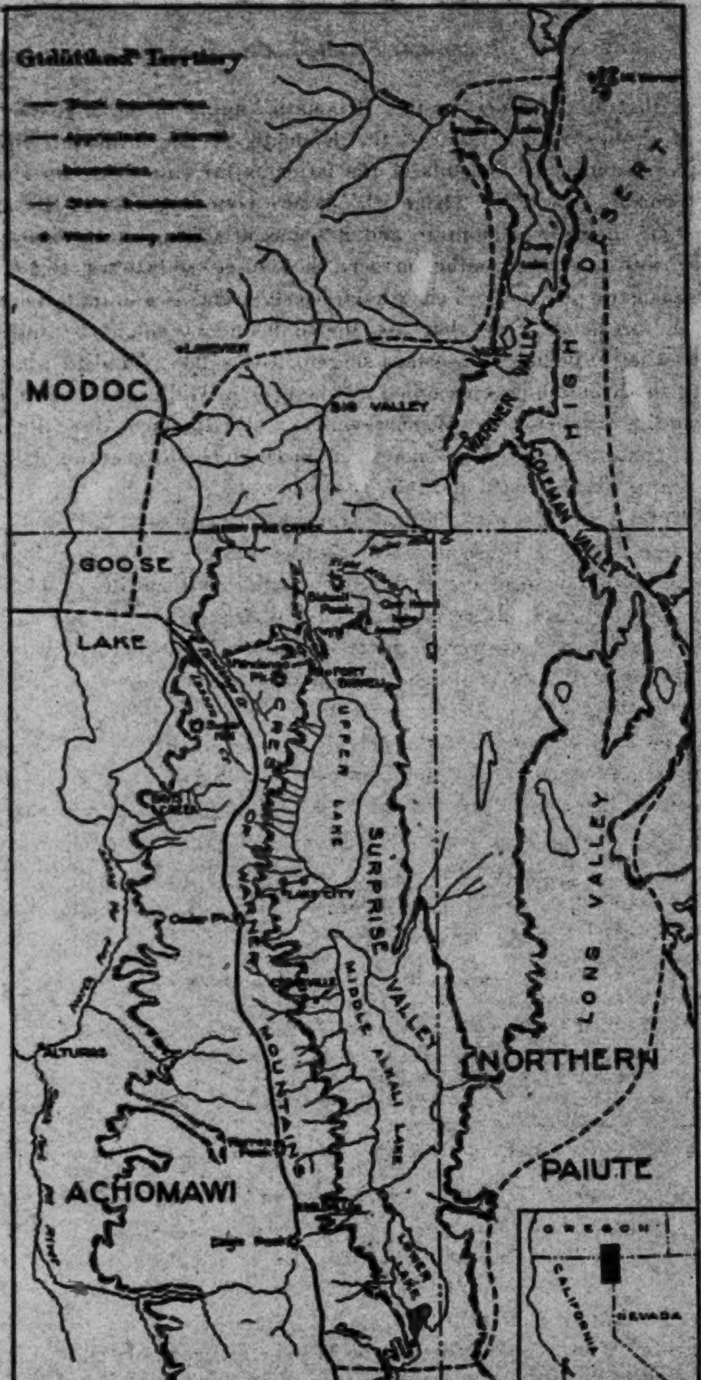
Gidütikadü Territory
MODOC
BIG VALLEY
GOOSE
LAKE
UPPER LAKE
SURPRISE
VALLEY
MIDDLE ALKALI LAKE
LOWER LAKE
WARNER
MOUNTAINS
WARNER VALLEY
COLEMAN VALLEY
HIGH DESERT
LONG VALLEY
NORTHERN
PAIUTE
ACHOMAWI
ALTURAS
LAKE CITY
CEDARVILLE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA

Map 1. Gidütikadü territory.

101 131 fore, that all references to the "Klamath" apply to the Modoc or to both groups rather than to the Klamath proper, although Spier reports summer settlements of the latter as far east as Sycan river. Informants placed the "Klamath"-Paiute boundary east of Bly and west of Gearheart mountain and it seems at this point to have run northwest, inasmuch as the northern shore of Goose lake was regarded as Klamath province. This northwesterly trend is substantiated by Spier's Klamath map, but his Modoc boundary might be shifted somewhat to include the eastern shore of Goose lake. Tradition has it that the Klamath once occupied all the present Gidū'tikad^{u} territory, including Surprise and Warner valleys. At this time these Paiute were living east of Steens mountain, in Oregon, but eventually they drove out the Klamath and took possession.

To the north the Gidū'tikad^{u} ranged more or less continuously through Adel and Plush in Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise. They seem not to have wintered north of Plush, but in summer they probably reached the head of the valley. To the north, south, and east, they were bordered by other Paiute, although most of the country between Plush and Burns is said to have been alkali and uninhabited.

The names of some of the neighboring Paiute bands follow, but anything in the way of detailed geographical distribution is not feasible. Informants are unfamiliar with distant areas, especially to the east.

Dūhū'teyatikad^{u}, Deer-eaters, Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon.

Go'ya'tikad^{u}, Crawfish(?)-eaters, Yainax and Beatty, Oregon. These Paiute were brought from Silver lake in recent times and the name is therefore post-reservation.

Wada'tikad^{u}, Wada'(seed)-eaters, Burns, Malheur district, Oregon; and Susanville, California.

Tūbu'iuitikad^{u}, (?) Berry-eaters, east of Steens mountain, Oregon.

Kwi'nadūva^{a}, Kwi'nodub, Smoke (?) Indians, McDermitt, Nevada. The country north of McDermitt is said to have been uninhabited.

A'ga'itikad^{u}, Fish-eaters, Summit and Walker lakes, Nevada.

Kuyui'tikad^{u}, Sucker-eaters, Pyramid lake, Nixon, Nevada.

To'itikad^{u}, Cat-tail-eaters (from toib^{u}, cat-tail), Fallon and Yerington, Nevada.

622] My informant did not know the name of the band immediately to the south but stated that their headman was named Sa'ihida^{a}. Similarly he gave Wobi'ñnūnabūgai as the chief of the Paisley Paiute but did not know the group designation. Paisley is known as So'ho. He stated definitely that two bands, those of Burns and Susanville, were known as Wada'tikad^{u} and that the Walker and Summit lake bands,

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although distinct, shared the same name. The Summit lake group bounded the Gidü'tikad^{a} to the east.

Two subnames were recorded. One, Saib^{a}tikad^{a}, Tule-eaters, applied to Adel in Warner valley. This name was given any persons camped there; in other words, it was associated with the site rather than with the people. The word, Saib^{a}tikad^{a}, is apparently in accord with the Handbook[8] which gives the Saidyuka as a group of eastern Oregon. Loud[9] has it "sai", short for sai-duka'a, 'tule eaters,' a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada." It should be noted that this is identical with two of the three versions for Klamath. The other subname is said to be of recent derivation. As the Bidwell Paiute were ridiculed by their neighbors for eating the flesh of animals dead from natural causes, they came to speak jestingly of the Cedarville and Eagleville groups as Itsü'natikad^{a}, they-eat-them-alive.

These band names must not be regarded as having serious economic significance. They are based, in fact, on natural resources rather than on staple foods and are certainly no more than convenient labels. For example, concerning the name given the Yainax Paiute, my informant said, "Go'ya'tikad^{a} is a new name given since the Paiute were put on the Klamath reservation.[10] It is named after the crawfish (?). There are many there; I don't know if they ever eat them or not."

The only one of the above bands not named according to the "-tikad^{a}" pattern is the McDermitt band. Informants could not explain this exception, nor could they give the exact meaning of the name. One translated it "Smoke Indians"; another said somewhat doubtfully, "It sounds like the word for smoke; I don't know why they call them that."

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[8] Handbook of American Indians, 1:932.

[9] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[10] Go'ya' is apparently a loan word as Spier, 15, notes a Klamath village called GoyEake'Egis, crawfish crawl out. It seems plausible that crawfish, foreign to the old Paiute habitat, were designated by the Klamath term.

000 further study. At Las Vegas, and other towns in southern Nevada, it may also be possible to get additional information on the Paiute.

Of the Ute, the Navaho Springs group, thirty-eight miles from Mancos, Colorado, seems to me by far the most promising. In 1912 they were so little touched by civilization that I had to leave after a short stay for lack of any even half-way acceptable interpreter. The enforced schooling of the children must in the meantime have created a more favorable situation from this point of view. I got the impression that these Ute were far less grasping than their congeners in Ignacio and Whiterocks.

The Paviotso are sprinkled over dozens of places in Nevada. The [131] Walker River Indians and those in neighboring towns ought to be studied and the Pyramid Lake Reservation should be revisited. Professor Kroeber does not consider the Oregon Paviotso worth while in their present condition. The Paviotso are not hostile but generally far from communicative, and while a great many have a smattering of English few have a good command of the language.

It is highly desirable to investigate the Ft. Hall Shoshoni, on whose reservation the Lemhi also are now residing. The Duck River Valley Reservation is unfortunately so difficult of access that it is a question whether it is worth while visiting the mixture of Shoshoni and Paviotso reported there; the nearest railroad point is probably Elko, Nevada.

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typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite [121] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value howere, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

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The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

To the north and to the south the range gradually
diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed 101
by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. 133
It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131]
Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like
Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by 648
both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by
both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit
Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different
groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits
did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must
have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and
Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that
intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [589]
both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [127]
home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed
to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them
them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of
culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between
these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely
separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact
that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful
chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their
ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother
to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good
deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101
through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 13
seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361]
eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as
Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River
territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316]
"mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention
between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears
strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes,
Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed
from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war.
Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner
Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of
Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133
northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

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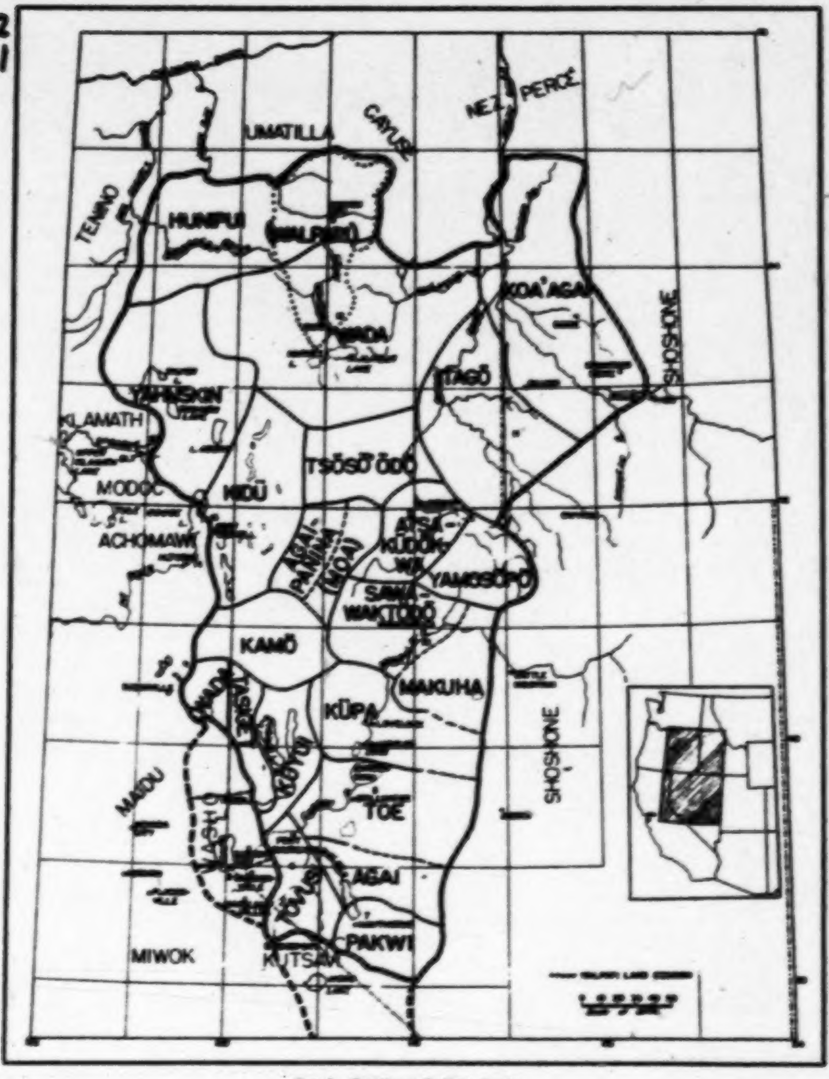
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ PERCE
TENINO
HUNIPUI
(WALPAPI)
WADA
KOA'AGAI
SHOSHONE
YAHUSKIN
TAGÖ
KLAMATH
TSÖSÖ'ÖDÖ
MODOC
KIDÜ
ACHOMAWI
AGAI PANINA (MOAI)
ATSA KUDOK WA
YAMOSÖPÖ
SAWA WAKTODÖ
KAMÖ
MAKUHA
WADA
TASIGE
KÜPA
KUYUI
SHOSHONE
MAIDU
WASHO
TOE
AGAI
PAKWI
MIWOK
KUTSAVI

Map 1. Northern Paiute Bands.

[p. iv]

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV

NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Information from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 101 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose 131 of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and 136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 149] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; g, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ŋ, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p.361(A)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
supplied the data or when several agreed, no in-
[128] dication is made in the list. An asterisk beside
the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127
114 While arranging the list for publication, I consulted the available literature dealing with Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

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● 131 1, Ts,[7] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers," occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

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[7] The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

127 scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check
114 on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received con-
128 flicting accounts. Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dökadö of trait number 2721a.

●131 Since the Northern Paiute area extends far
101 beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115 Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101 2, Kl, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters,"
131 lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

[p.362 (B)]

115 lethargic. He was less informed than ND and volunteered little except upon direct question. Although he also worked with Park, he seemed inclined to give an answer whether or not he was sure. Because his mail route required half of each day, I used his brother, Dick Mahwee, when he (DG) was not available, thereby obtaining a duplicate list (K2 in list).

101 3, K2, Kuyui-dökadö.

115 Informants.—Dick Mahwee (DM), age 59, born at Honey Lake; DG's younger brother. Except for visits to Virginia City and Reno, he lived at Nixon most of his life. Waterman,[8] who took DM in 1910 to San Francisco to use him in linguistic work, said DM spent his childhood in Long Valley near Honey Lake. When interviewed he was nearly blind, but was otherwise in good health. Having been a "singing doctor" for 20 years and "dance captain" at times, DM was an excellent informant for certain phases of culture.[9] For material culture his knowledge seemed reliable, but he refused to say anything about childbirth, puberty, and the like, professing complete ignorance. DM spent only four years in school, leaving in 1888. He spoke fair English. I worked with both him and his brother (DG) without interpreters. Ten days were spent in Nixon, slightly more time with DG than with DM.

Additional ethnogeographical data were obtained from Jane Holbrook, Kuyui, and Hattie Whitehead, Kamö. There were several other informants at Nixon who possibly could have given valuable information.

101 4, Kü, Küpa-dökadö, "ground-squirrel eaters,"
● 131 lived on the lower Humboldt River and near Humboldt Sink. In 1936 several lived in the Indian Colony at Lovelock, Nevada.

115 Informants.—Gilbert Natchez (GN), age ca. 54, born at Brown's Station, 20 miles SW of Lovelock, Nevada. Both his parents were Küpa. GN lived about 36 years at Nixon, but learned of "old Indian ways" from his mother and grandmother. He lived at Lovelock in 1936. He fell off a train when a young man, which left him badly crippled. His sight and hearing were good. He was forced to remain much of the time at home, which, he said, was spent in talking old Paiute lore. I was impressed by his breadth of knowledge and by his ability to express himself. His lack of personal experience with aboriginal culture limited his knowledge; notwithstanding, he surpassed anyone else I found at Lovelock. He was taken to San Francisco and used as a linguistic informant by A. L. Kroeber. He proved very apt and was kept three months. He learned to write his language in phonetic script and he has a paper published under his name.[10] He also supplied the culture data recorded by Loud.[11] I worked with GN four days.

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[8] UC-PAAE 10:13-44, 1911.

[9] ada (crow) is DM's power.

[10] Northern Paiute Verbs. UC-PAAE 20:254-259, 1923.

[11] Lovelock Cave. UC-PAAE 25:1-183, 1929.

[p.363(A)]

115 Skinny Dave, or Parviano, the "Küpa chief," proved to be an unsatisfactory informant. He had unlimited self esteem, but very meager knowledge.

Annie Lowry (AL), age 69, half-breed Küpa, has lived always at Lovelock. She was one of Lowie's informants for myths and had a ready answer for most questions. I asked her particularly about traits concerning women. She had lived too much with white people to be extremely well informed, and some of her information was obviously colored by European concepts.

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131 5, To, Toe-dökadö, "tule eaters," possessed Carson Sink, Carson Lake, and lower Carson River; now found on Stillwater Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, Indian Colony.

115 Informants.—Bob Springer (BS), age ca. 70, born at Stillwater and always lived there. Parents were Toe. He seemed very active and his sight and hearing were unimpaired, but he was not a willing worker. Although Lowie had used him, he refused to do systematic work with me. He seemed to know sufficient English to be a good informant without an interpreter. I spent four or five hours with him.

Little Pete, or Kupida (LP), age ca. 70, has always lived at Stillwater, as had his parents. LP could hear and see sufficiently, but his English was limited. His knowledge of aboriginal conditions was certainly not the best. He was aided by his wife (a Toe), who also acted as interpreter. About twenty hours were spent with them.

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131 6, Tö, Tövusi-dökadö, "grass-nut eaters," in Smith and Mason valleys and upper Walker River in SW Nevada.

115 Informants.—Maggie Wright, or Tugövino (MW), age ca. 75, born at Wellington in Smith Valley. Both parents Tövusi. MW's hearing, sight, and memory were good. She had lived much of the old culture and also had heard about it, and was well informed, but needed an interpreter.

Goggles Wright, or Povawotso (GW), age ca. 85, born near site of Fort Churchill; MW's husband. Father was Agai, mother was Wada of Honey Lake, but GW had lived most of his life at Smith Valley, where he had been a famous hunter. In spite of his age, his sight, hearing, and memory seemed good, and he was willing to tell all he knew. His knowledge supplemented MW's, and their information is combined in the element list. He also needed an interpreter.

Interpreter.—John Wright, age 39, son of MW and GW. John had traveled considerably, having been two or three years in Oklahoma and more than a year at Fort Hall, Idaho. He lauded the Peyote cult as the "Indian New Deal," but, although he desired to, he could not start it at Stillwater, because he did not have a drummer and the fire. Of all the Indians I met the Wright family seemed to be the most active participants in the old Paiute culture. They had just moved their house [768] and taken up new land because of a death on the previously occupied farm. Old Paiute superstitions and charms were carefully observed. The family lived at Stillwater. I spent three days with them.

[illegible]-363 (x)]

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7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

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Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother "half Pakwi, half Kutsavi" (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

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8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, are the present Washo centers.

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Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

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9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuviwarai, "red-butte dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

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Informants.—Pete Snap, or Nino'o (PS), aged ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

[p.364(A)]

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 131 10, Sa, Sawa'waktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sawa. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupinatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sawa. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sawa list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 131 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. She listened to the interviews
[124] and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

[p.364 (R)]

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101 131 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," centering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 Informants.—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit (SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life, visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to [124] time. He went blind a few years ago, but his hearing was good, and he was alert mentally. I talked with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Töŋgio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, BJ lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 265 (A)]

N 101 131 13, Ki, Kidü-dökadö, "woodchuck eaters," occupying Surprise Valley, California, and adjacent territory in southern Oregon and northwestern Nevada, were interviewed at Fort Bidwell, California.

N 115 Informants.—Bob Anderson (BA), age ca. 80, born near Gold Mountain; parents Kidü. BA started acting as interpreter and scout for General Crook and later worked in this capacity two years at Fort Harney, Oregon, and six years at Yainax on the Klamath Reservation. He lived at Fort Bidwell forty years. He was nearly blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), age ca. 75, born in Surprise Valley; present "chief"; parents Kidü. CW lived alternately in Susanville and Surprise Valley; was nearly deaf.

Key Henderson (KH), age 66, born near Warner; parents Kidü. KH spent life in Warner and Surprise Valley.

Joshua Brown (JB), age ca. 75, born at Surprise Valley; blind for many years; parents Kidü.

The first three informants combined their resources to tell as much of the old life as they knew; JB, better informed than the others, supplemented their knowledge, but he was too ill to work with me for long periods. Kelly[14] used all except Key Henderson for her monograph on the Surprise Valley Paiute, rating JB "excellent." Although informants told all they knew willingly, circumstances were far from satisfactory in obtaining completely reliable information. Twenty-eight hours were spent with informants.

A 101 131 14, AE, Achomawi (non-Paiute). Claiming the western slopes of Warner Range, the Achomawi were neighbors of the Kidü Paiute. Their principal area consists of the upper Pit River drainage, and there is still a rather larger colony in the vicinity of Alturas, California.

A 115 Informants.—Sam Fox (SF), aged ca. 80, born and reared near Likely, California; parents both of the Likely band of Achomawi. SF's sight and hearing were still good, and in spite of extremely poor health he was mentally very alert and willing to tell of old culture. His understanding and use of English were good.

Lily Chip (LC), about 60, SF's niece, born near Likely; could supplement SF's knowledge about such things as childbirth, girl's puberty, and other topics. I consider the Achomawi list among the best recorded: twenty-four hours were spent with informants.

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[14] UC-PAAE 31:69, 1932.

[p.365 (B)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

191 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of
a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the
Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores
of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on
the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before ~~their~~ confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
[226] spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
[262] and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
[222] their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
[224] antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
[621] gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
[648] the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
[529] and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance move-
ments would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
[955] tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

971 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
955 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
954 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
182 as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING[1]

Part 1

Erminie Wheeler Voegelin
Indiana University

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For several decades two so-called "Snake"[2] groups, the Yahuskin and Walpapi, have been accepted by ethnographers as two Northern Paiute-speaking bands which existed in aboriginal times and were located in definable areas within what is now central Oregon.[3] This acceptance and localization of the Yahuskin and Walpapi[4] has rested on the fact that two treaties were made by the United States in 1864 and 1865,[5] respectively, with the "Ya-hoos-kin Band of Snake Indians" and the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians", and that both "Yahooskins" and "Wollpahpees" are mentioned in Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and correspondence, for several years after the treaties had been negotiated. Analysis of heretofore unused documentary material shows, however, that neither one of these two so-called bands of Snake Indians had any aboriginal validity as definitely localized, organized groups. The treaty-signing Yahuskin of 1864 consisted of a score or so of Great Basin Northern Paiute, deriving at that specific date from the Surprise Valley-Warner Valley region in northeastern California and south-central Oregon. They

[Text continues on page 97]

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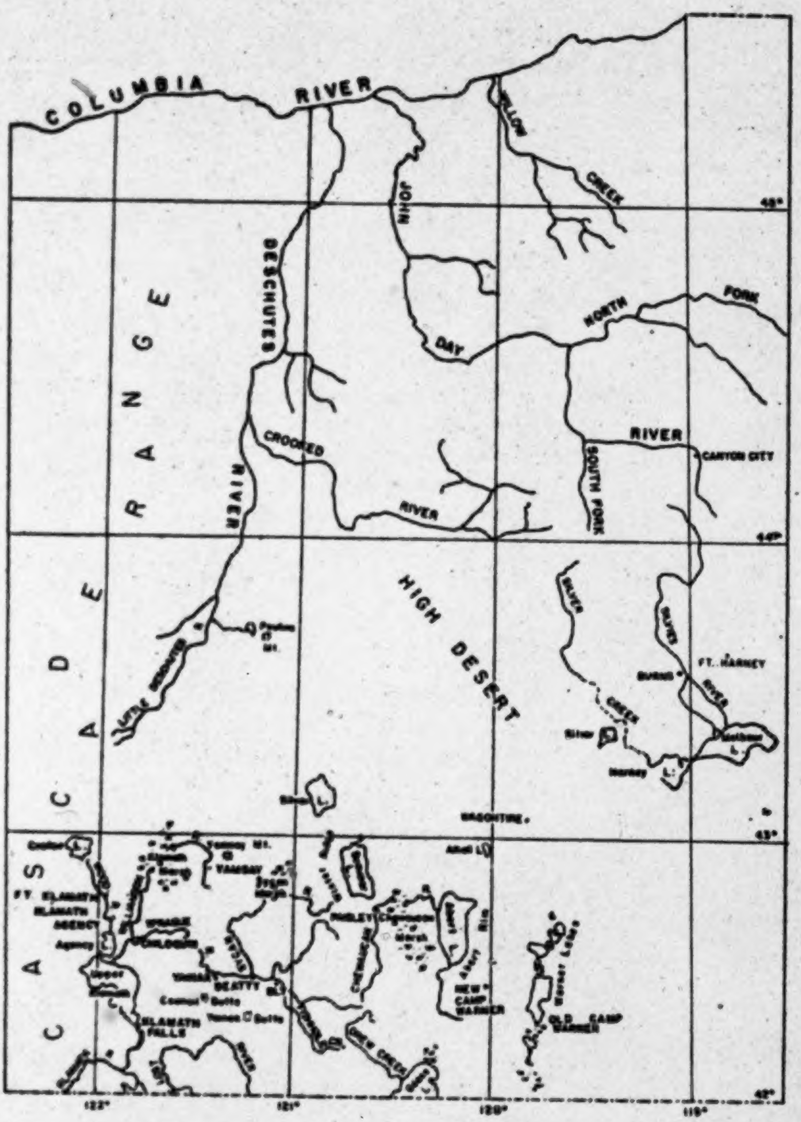
COLUMBIA RIVER
WILLOW CREEK
JOHN DAY
NORTH FORK
RIVER
SOUTH FORK
CANYON CITY
DESCHUTES RIVER
CROOKED RIVER
CASCADE RANGE
HIGH DESERT
SILVER CREEK
SILVIES RIVER
FT. HARNEY
Burns
Silver L.
Harney L.
Malheur L.
WAGONTIRE
Abert L.
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
Agency
YAMSAY MT.
YAMSAY
SPRAGUE
CHILOQUIN
YAINAX
BEATTY
KLAMATH FALLS
PAISLEY
CHEWAUCAN
NEW CAMP WARNER
OLD CAMP WARNER
Warner Lakes
DREW CREEK
45°
44°
43°
42°
122°
121°
120°
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Fig. I. MAP OF CENTRAL OREGON.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Sum- 101
mer-Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region 648
is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to
them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin
of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small 101
Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, 131
but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline 648
position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaiha (vars., Paulina, Pahnine, Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader. The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation; their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in 101
Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, re- 114
garding the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians 648
stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

101 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe
114 Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern
648 Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

2. 1. The Treaty Yahooskins. First specific mention of the Yahuskin,
648 as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades
131 to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance be-
648 low the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was
648 signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....."[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

648 in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and expressed a willingness to go upon the Klamath Reservation, when the treaty should be ratified"[23] (underlining ours).

So much for the material in Drew's Official Report. A letter from Drew, written in his camp at Goose Lake on July 18, 1864 to the Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., San Francisco, Calif., gives additional details about this incident and the Indians. The letter reads in part as follows:

> Yesterday the petty chief and two others of the band of Indians of this vicinity came into camp by my direction. . . . This morning, after gaining what information I could respecting their numbers, etc., I dismissed them and sent them from camp in company with the two Indian messengers who had brought them. Soon after their departure the messengers returned and stated that the other three [the Indian visitors] had been ambushed and fired upon by four of the party of citizens who came yesterday, and they thought all were killed. I immediately dispatched a detachment of ten men in pursuit....The object of the attack upon these Indians was to get possession of two horses, but the unarmed Indians being joined just then by armed comrades, the result is as stated. Both of the horses have been brought in....They are inferior animals and poorly repay the cost of getting them. No Indian depredations are reported to have been committed in this vicinity, though the principal traveled route from Red Bluff and Fort Crook to John Day's River and vicinity passes directly through the country which these Indians occupy..."[24] (all underlining ours). [131]

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That the three Snake Indians brought to Drew's camp were, in 1864, definitely associated with the region in which they were encountered, and that they and their comrades did not constitute one of the roving, predatory Snake groups of the 1860's which were operating under notorious war leaders and plundering pack trains, emigrant parties, and ranchers, seems evident from Drew's letter. [648] A few days before he encamped on Goose Lake, Drew had searched Sprague River Valley for just such marauders.[25]

It also seems clear that the Indians Drew met did not customarily live in Goose Lake Valley, which extends for some 10-15 miles north of

101 131 [428] the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, or that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[26] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[27] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[28]

101 648 That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty-signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[30] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[31] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[32] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[33]

101 Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre-

101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[36] Anglicised as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the Octo-
648 ber, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Kla-
114 math treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary
101 range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some
131 of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake
101 Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between
131 the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

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Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise — Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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423 with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improb-
648 able in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus
● 131 dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band"
[101] living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

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114 2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by ethnographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1865-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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Klamath NR 10

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N mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a
648 number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and
Yahooskins."[80]

K That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper,"
N although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident
101 from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he re-
131 marks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation un-
648 less we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort
721 Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rine-
N hart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River
648 Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:
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> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panaiʼna] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

N Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes
648 at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter sub-
166 sistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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fusion.[101] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[102]

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f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[103]

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g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[104] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[105] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No,' different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[106] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute).

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3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they?

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Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of

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648 579 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes.[107]

648 ●131 Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that [487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> [609] "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now.[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some sea- [224] sons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

Eleven years after Work had been at Abert Lake John C. Frémont 131
discovered Summer Lake, which Frémont named. Frémont and his 487
party traveled south along the west shore of Summer Lake, following a well-beaten Indian trail which led to Chewaucan River and Chewaucan
Marsh. At the marsh the ground appeared as though it had been ploughed; [222]
Frémont concluded that Indians had been digging tubers, but what these were he could not discover.[112] In the vicinity of the marsh Frémont also found "frequent trails, and fresh tracks of Indians," but encountered no natives.[113] From Chewaucan Marsh Frémont went eastward to Abert Lake, which he also named. On the eastern, or Abert Rim side of the lake Frémont found a well beaten Indian trail, which he followed southward,[114] but again he met no Indians. It was not until he was well out of the Summer-Abert lakes region and south of the 42nd parallel that he actually encountered "some Snake Indians"; by accident. members of his party almost rode over two huts of Snakes, in Long or Surprise valleys, early in January, 1844.[115]

From 1845 onward the Silver-Summer lakes region may have been 648
visited in its northern half by loosely organized companies of Oregon pioneers in search of the "Blue Bucket Diggings," but of such parties we know little, except that their members were often attacked by "Indians."[116] "Some morning about daylight, twenty or thirty red blanketed men, with hideous yells would attack the sleeping men. Then would result a stampede....The few cool heads would make a stand, while the savages after getting away with the horses, would beat a retreat, leaving the gold hunters to straggle afoot back across the mountains [Cascades] to the [Willamette Valley] settlements."[117] Such attacks, however, seem to have been mostly north of the Silver-Summer lakes region.

In 1853 "the lost wagon train of 1853" went south of the lakes (Malheur and Harney lakes, or Silver and Summer lakes?) instead of north of them, trying to reach the Willamette Valley, and had "a very hard time of it."[118] In that same year, as we have already noted, Superintendent Joel Palmer sent Indian Agent J. M. Garrison to visit the Indians between the headwaters of the Willamette and Fort Boise, but Garrison failed in this mission.[119] The next year Capt. Jesse Walker, commanding a company of California volunteer militia, campaigned in Surprise

648 and Warner valleys. From Warner Valley Walker marched his men across the Warner Range westward, to attack an Indian encampment on the west side of the Warners near the head of Goose Lake Valley. The volunteers "killed two Indians and took another prisoner" at the Indian camp; the company then returned to Warner Valley.[120]

From Ogden's time on, west-east travelers across central Oregon had used the Crooked River route north of Silver and Summer Lakes; in 1846 a more southerly road was laid out.[121] Neither of these "great thoroughfares leading to the States"[122] passed through, or even very near the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, however. Hence this latter region, bounded on the west by the 1,000-foot high Winter Ridge,[123] on the north by a wide expanse of barren high desert,[124] on the east by Abert Rim and the Warner Range, and on the south by mountains and Goose Lake Valley, remained until a relatively late date an isolated, unexplored pocket. By 1859, however, there was a north-south road leading from Yreka in northern California to northeastern Oregon and Washington Territory, which passed through the Sprague River Valley-Silver Lake country.[125] After the gold strikes around Canyon City in the Blue Mountains, and also in the Nez Perce Mountains and around Oro Fino, Idaho during the early 1860's,[126] this north-south trail was well traveled, and was popularly referred to as the "Canyon City Road."[127] Indian depredations on supply trains and mining parties using the Canyon City Road were notable in the late 1850's and early 1860's;[128] some of these attacks, as we have already seen, occurred on the Sprague River-Silver Lake [726] section of the road.[129] Such attacks, however, made by mounted Indians under a leader like Panai'na, who in the early 1860's was operating throughout central Oregon, furnish practically no clues as to whether any Indians were actually living in the Summer-Silver-Abert lakes basin ● 131 at this time. A map dated January 1, 1864 and signed by Huntington, which shows the location of Oregon Indians, does not assign any Indians to the regions north of Summer and Abert lakes, nor to the region east of Abert Lake, between Abert and Harney lakes.[130]

648 In the spring and summer of 1864 one scouting party and three major military expeditions took the field against the Snakes of central and eastern Oregon,[131] but none of these expeditions operated in the

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name. N 101 648

At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix. N 101 197 [131] ●

3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem). N 114 101

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used. N 101 128

5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). N K 648 113

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due K 101 114 131

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K 114 Two other valuable and fugitive documents, both Mss, are two letterbooks of official letters received, 1869-1872, and letters sent, 1870-1877, from Klamath Agency and Yainax Station; these are now on deposit at Klamath Agency. Nash seems to have been the only ethnologist writing on the Klamath who had consulted these letterbooks prior to 1952 (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1).

N 648 11. See fn. 5. The Indians gathered first at Kowasti, on Agency Lake, but after a few days removed to Council Grove, nearer Ft. Klamath (see fn. 18, below).

12. Huntington was the chief negotiator. He had been instructed to arrange with Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California A. E. Wylie who, since the Modoc lived partly in California, was to serve as the second commissioner, but Wylie was unable to attend. Huntington therefore appointed Warm Springs Indian Agent William Logan, of the Oregon Superintendency, to serve (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270; see also RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 256-259, and NA. NIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H" pp. 743-745, Huntington to Maltby, Salem, Ore., Oct. 28, 1865).

12a. For areas ceded and reserved see Royce, Indian Land Cessions, p. 834, and maps 8 and 51 (California 2, Oregon 1), areas No. 462, 463.

N K 114 ●131 648 13. According to plaintiff's Amended Petition in Docket No. 100 before the Indian Claims Commission the ceded area contained 13,700,000 acres, of which 1,650,000 acres were set apart for an Indian Reservation (Klamath Reservation). Since neither the Klamath nor Modoc groups had any settlements in the eastern half of the ceded area (Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region), ethnographers have taken for granted that this part of the total area was ceded on the authority of the twenty-two Yahooskin Snakes present at the treaty council — and then have further assumed that the Yahuskin were the aboriginal occupants of the 5,000 sq. mi. Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in aboriginal times (see Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and p. 131).

14. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864. Kelly's letter is dated Oct. 15, 1864.

15. RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 228-229, 256-259; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272; WR pt 2, pp. 991-992.

K 648 16. A. G. Walling says that Lindsay Applegate was an interpreter at the Klamath-Modoc treaty (History of Oregon, p. 523); Huntington states that "Dr. W. C. McKay and Captain Lindsay Applegate...acted as counsellors and interpreters to the Indians" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272). No Klamath and Modoc witnesses in the Court of Claims and Boundary Commission hearings mentioned Applegate or McKay when asked who interpreted at the treaty-signing. Witnesses spoke of

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N 648 21. The treaty is officially dated October 14, 1864, and will be referred to hereafter under that date. Actually however it seems to have been signed October 15; Kelly and Huntington both agree on this latter date (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 270, 651).

22. Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 386.

23. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8-9.

N [131] 24. WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 911. The "main traveled road" Drew mentions ran from Red Bluff, Calif., to Ft. Crook, Calif., thence along the eastern shore of Goose Lake to the head of the lake. From there it turned northeast "via the Malheur" to Ft. Boise, Idaho. See RCIA (CDS #1157) p. 412; Bancroft, Map of Oregon; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; WR vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 1226.

000 25. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

26. Drew, ibid., p. 7.

27. Drew, ibid., p. 28.

28. California Indians, p. 539; Tribes of California, p. 352.

29. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8, 1.

30. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-272; NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

31. Drew, Official Report, p. 8.

32. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

33. Treaty of October 14, 1864 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383); RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-270.

34. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 99.

35. Ibid., pt. 2, p. 71.

36. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23.

K 101 114 37. An example of such metathesis is Power's transcription of aukckni and plaikni, Klamath names for two Klamath groups; Powers transcribes these as Eocskinnes and Blyskinnes (California Indians, p. 539).

N 131 133 38. The Great Basin, habitat of nearly all the Northern Paiute-speaking people, lies directly to the east of Klamath Lakes Basin. At its western edge the Great Basin is some thousand feet lower than the eastern edge of Klamath Lakes Basin.

K 101 39. Spier says: "All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat [by the Klamath]; no distinctions are made" (Klamath Ethnography, p. 4). A Klamath witness in Court of Claims E-344 said much the same thing (p. 232).

40. Army officials of this period were generally critical of the many unprovoked attacks on Indians by White settlers and miners. Such attacks too often precipitated needless Indian "Wars." Thus Dew, in narrating the clash between the White prospectors and Indians near the head of Goose Lake during his Owyhee Reconnaissance expedition, begins: "During our stay in the [Goose Lake] valley there occurred one of those incidents, that are unfortunately too common on our frontier, and often end in the injury or murder of innocent and unoffending citizens" (Drew, Official Report, pp. 7-8). 648

41. The Northern Paiute respected Army officers, who had a reputation of making few promises, but keeping their word. Col. Elmer Otis underscored the necessity for this sort of behaviour, in a letter written in the 1870's to Special Commissioner I. D. Applegate: "All promises to Indians must be kept faithfully, or they soon lose confidence and when once lost it is hard to regain" (NA. WDC. DC. 0-31-Encl. 4-1870). [609]

42. Thus Frank Lynch, a Sprague River Valley Klamath testifying in Court of Claims E-344 in 1931 on how he happened to attend the treaty council of 1864, said: "The eastern part of the Indians was requested to come to that council and they arrived at the place they called — below the place where they now call Chiloquin; and from that point we moved to this place of council. And I went there because I wanted to learn something and we had been promised to get some stuff from the Government, was word sent out. That is how I come to be there" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 827).

43. Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, p. 135; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, pp. 16-18.

44. In fact, Drew indicates in a letter dated July 12, 1864 that he considered the Silver-Summer lakes region as being occupied at that time "by Indians of Ou-a-luck's band who are giving so much trouble near Canyon City" (Drew to Assistant Adjutant General, WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 877, 900). In his official report Drew blames another "Snake chief," Pauline, for an attack on a wagon train near Silver Lake on June 6, 1864 (Official Report, pp. 5). Information about Ou-a-luck or Howlark is fragmentary; after 1865 nothing is certainly known about him (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 89). 131 648

45. Kelly, *ibid.*, p. 67; Omer C. Stewart, *idem*; Whiting, *idem*. 000

46. Kelly, *ibid.*, p. 69.

47. Kelly, *ibid.*, p. 70.

48. Frank John, a Surprise Valley Paiute witness at the Reno hearings, who was born in Warner Valley near Adel, Lake Co., Ore., ca. 1885, 115 131

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115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
131 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan
[223] in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

114 49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p. 212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol. 1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew, Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., 1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
423 accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed
to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing,
114 immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342).

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51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129).

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52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

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53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381.

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54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431).

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Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen-

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116. Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 27-29; Kennedy, Pioneer Campfire, pp. 116-118; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 173-176; Lockley, Capt. Sol Tetheroe, pp. 8-9. 000

117. Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 29.

118. Budlong, Memories, pp. 5-6.

119. See fn. 8 above.

120. Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14. ● N K 487 131 ●

121. The Crooked River route led eastward to the Snake River via the South Fork of John Day's River and Burnt River; a branch led to Harney Lake via Silvies River. This trail and its branch had been used since Ogden's time (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-352) and was the route H. D. Wallen followed to Harney Lake in 1859 (Affairs in Oregon) and which Enoch Steen took in 1860 (RCIA 1860 [CDS #1087] pp. 398-400). The Southern Oregon Emigrant Road, or Old South Road, was laid out in 1846 by a company of Oregon pioneers, among them Jesse and Lindsay Applegate. This road led westward from the Humboldt River region in Nevada to the Willamette Valley settlements in Oregon via Black Rock Desert, Surprise Valley, Lassen Pass, Goose Lake, Tule Lake, Lower Klamath Lake, and Rogue River Valley. Feeder roads diverged from it to Red Bluff and Redding, Calif., to Yreka, Calif., to Jacksonville, Ore., and to Ft. Klamath, Ore. For accounts and maps of this important east-west immigrant road into Oregon see Stone, Southern Route; Lindsay Applegate, Notes; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; RCIA 1861 (CDS #1117); p. 778; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 132-143; Winther, Development of Transportation in Oregon, pp. 231-232; Old Oregon Country, pp. 116-117; Camp, James Clyman, p. 56; Drew, Official Report, p. 9; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 90; Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. 1, p. 549. 000

122. RCIA 1857 (CDS #919) p. 207.

123. Which Frémont had so named in 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 207).

124. For an early description of this high desert region see WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

125. NA. BIA. Geary to Greenwood, Portland, Ore., Dec. 15, 1859; RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412.

126. Diagram of Public Surveys (1863); Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 29-30, 33.

127. See fn. 53, above.

128. Idem.

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty—that of August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-she, Che-em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142] 648 [622] [551]

The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties—the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145] [621] [131]

648 wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the
728 preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath]
[161] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads
[131] to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was
[622] the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

648 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under
131 Tchåktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation,
in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868,
Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted
[161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as regards
[511] food and clothing. They are absolutely *without* clothing....
[262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and
seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had
ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231]
reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax
creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser-
[161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who
show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire
to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from
Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin
Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes"
or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver
and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when
[166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve
Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children
came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly
pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring
in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number
of their people."[235]

648 For several years after they settled on the Reservation,
726 hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not
unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M.
Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer
Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according
to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds.
belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two
head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the
Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands
to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-
648 pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. In-
622 deed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all
their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be
followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern
California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142],
and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS
#1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panaiʼna's name
103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panaiʼna's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Des-
101 chutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habita-
tions, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and o-
bliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131
also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden 101
came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). [231] In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411] ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had [648]
been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco [262]
on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, [291]
the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses [231]
or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411]
bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648
in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721
being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181]
friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, [177]
thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N
131 179. This is about where Panai'na's people were found by Huntington. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

180. Idem.

181. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to Mr. Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

182. Idem. The reference is to Drew's Owyhee expedition. Roughly, Panai'na's "country" included almost the entire eastern half of Oregon, according to Panai'na's own statement. If he had any home base, however, the 1864 material seems to indicate that it was in the Deschutes-Crooked River region.

183. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

184. WR, pt. 2, p. 1072.

185. Ibid., pp. 1114-1115.

N
648 186. Nurse also sent Huntington much the same information in a letter written about the same time. Nurse says Panai'na intended to "fetch as many off his Indians as posible in this somer if ther was any way to treet with him and make a permanent Treaty" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

187. WR, pt. 2, pp. 1114-1115.

K
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728
648 188. Undoubtedly Motcunka'skEt and his people; for once Huntington refers to them correctly as Klamath, not Yahuskins. Motchunka'skEt often served as a go-between for Snake hostiles and Huntington, Lindsay Applegate, and the military at Ft. Klamath (see fn. 55, and fn. 186 and text) but his loyalty to the Whites was at this period somewhat questionable (fn. 201 and text. Cp. pp. 106-107).

189. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-651; Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

K
131
423
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621 190. I. e., in Sprague River Valley, probably in the upper part. This valley is often referred to, both by the military and Indian Office personnel of this period as "Moshenkoskut's country," "the Yahooskins' own country," "Blie or Moshenkoshut's country," and "Blie or Sprague River Valley." See fn. 86; also NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore , Oct. 31, 1865.

191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatcháktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'na's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'na] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'na in 1865. N 361 131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

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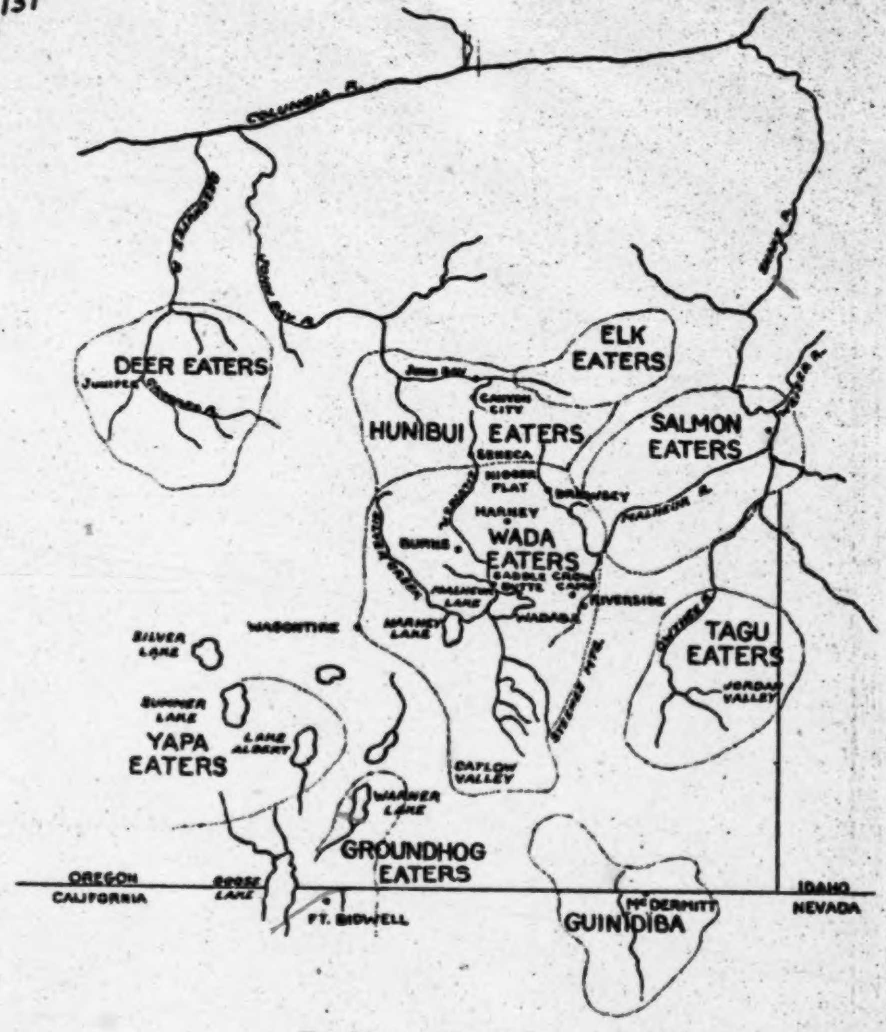
COLUMBIA R.
DEER EATERS
JUNIPER
ELK EATERS
HUNIBUI EATERS
CANYON CITY
SENECA
SALMON EATERS
MALHEUR R.
HARNEY
WADA EATERS
BURNS
SADDLE BUTTE
CROW CAMP
RIVERSIDE
MALHEUR LAKE
HARNEY LAKE
WAGONTIRE
SILVER LAKE
SUMMER LAKE
LAKE ALBERT
YAPA EATERS
CATLOW VALLEY
TAGU EATERS
JORDAN VALLEY
WARNER LAKE
GROUNDHOG EATERS
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
GOOSE LAKE
FT. BIDWELL
McDERMITT
GUINIDIBA
IDAHO
NEVADA

THE HARNEY VALLEY REGION

II. Paviotso Shamanism

INTRODUCTION

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Ne- 101
vada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speak-
ing peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada
lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The
[131] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five
lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson
Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of
128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture
were recorded from informants belonging to each of these localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso
756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances
[782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

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● 131
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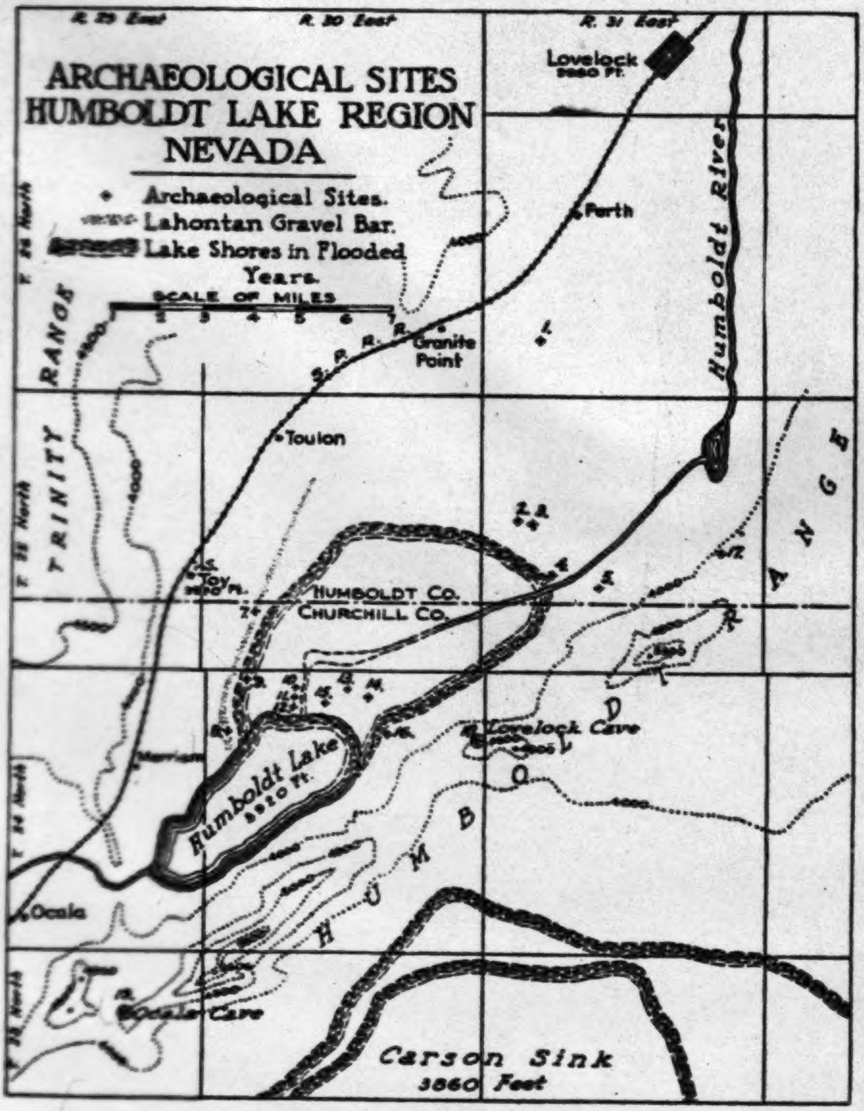
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION
NEVADA
• Archaeological Sites.
Lahontan Gravel Bar.
Lake Shores in Flooded Years.
SCALE OF MILES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
R. 29 East
R. 30 East
R. 31 East
Lovelock 3980 Ft.
Perth
Humboldt River
Granite Point
Toulon
Toy 3910 Ft.
HUMBOLDT CO.
CHURCHILL CO.
Lovelock Cave
Humboldt Lake 3920 Ft.
Ocala
Ocala Cave
Carson Sink 3860 Feet
TRINITY RANGE
HUMBOLDT RANGE
4000

MAP OF HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION

[End Plate 1]

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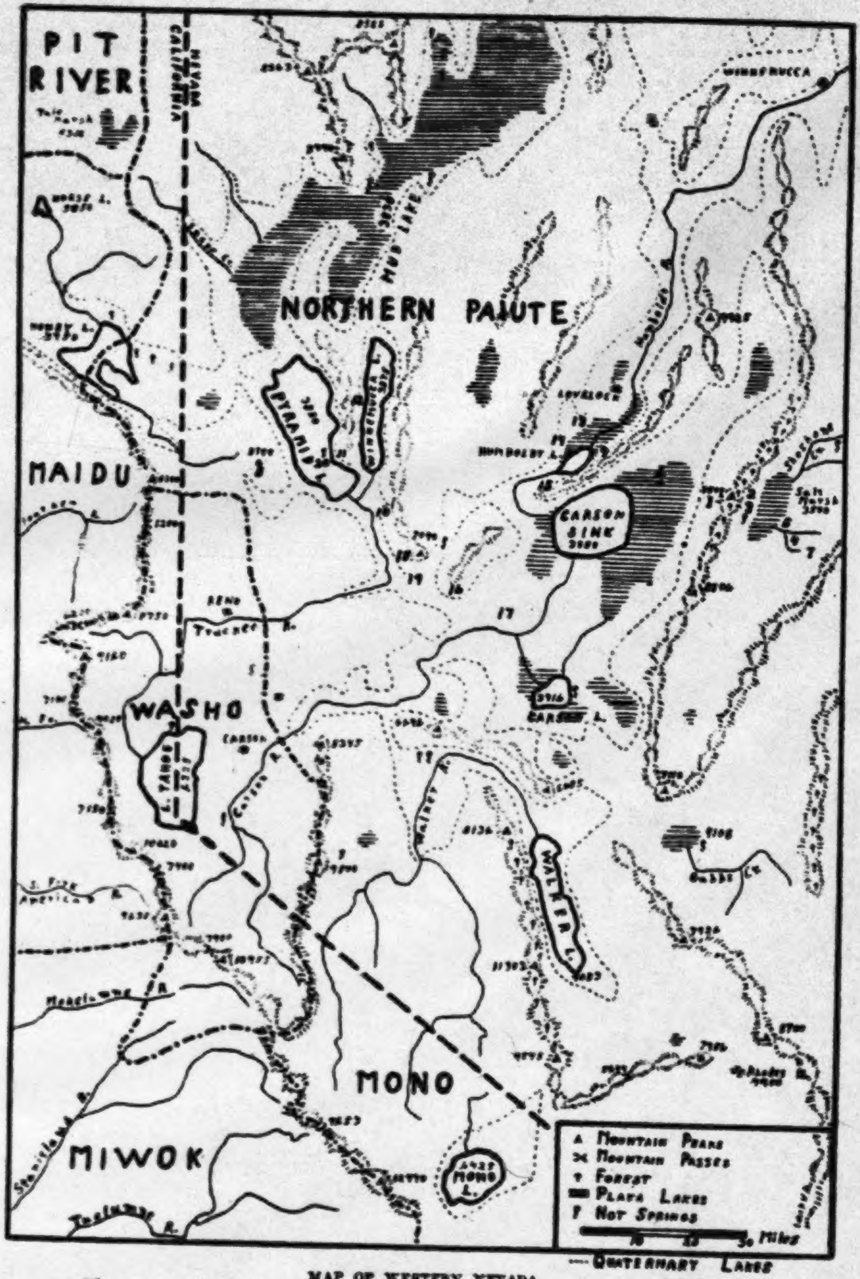
PIT RIVER
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MAIDU
WASHO
MONO
MIWOK
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
WINNEMUCCA
MUD LAKE
PYRAMID L.
WINNEMUCCA L.
LOVELOCK
HUMBOLDT L.
CARSON SINK
CARSON L.
RENO
TRUCKEE R.
CARSON
L. TAHOE
WALKER R.
WALKER L.
MONO L.
Mokelumne R.
Stanislaus R.
Tuolumne R.
S. Fork American R.
▲ Mountain Peaks
✕ Mountain Passes
Forest
▬ Playa Lakes
Hot Springs
10 20 30 Miles
Quaternary Lakes

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]

[End plates 31-67 not processed]

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131 162 [161] The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[38a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

621 [114] [101] The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[39] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

621 101 131 sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitai'i.

[113]

[38a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[39] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Oenaga, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tonoyiet, Toespe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukeo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Postsituktikuteh.

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621
gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-tcaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131 ●
canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162]
Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the
Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more [114]
correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115]
born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place
is ō-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1[1] although [103]
ō-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the
lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221]
seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224
spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1 -- An.]

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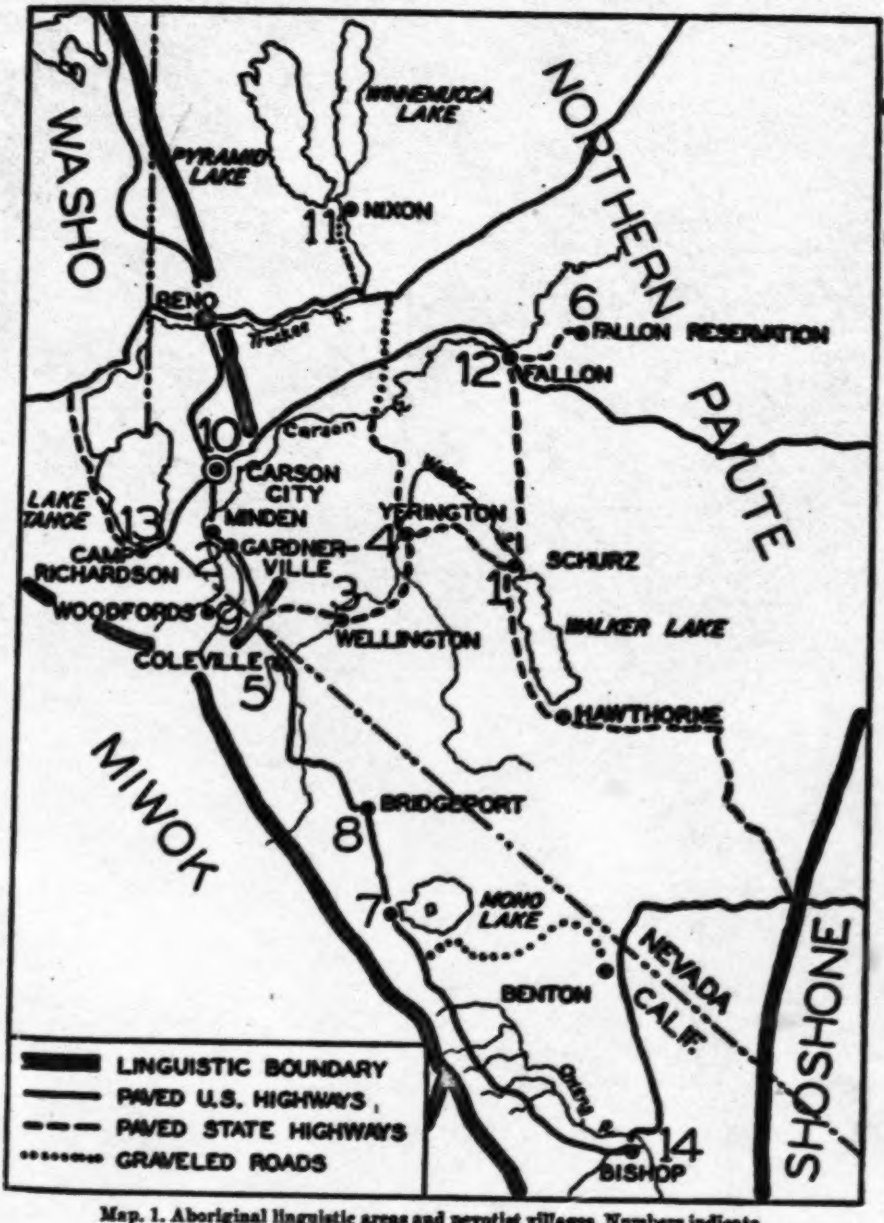

WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MIWOK
SHOSHONE
WINNEMUCCA LAKE
PYRAMID LAKE
11 NIXON
RENO
Truckee R.
6 FALLON RESERVATION
12 FALLON
Carson
10 CARSON CITY
LAKE TAHOE
13
MINDEN
CAMP RICHARDSON
2 GARDNERVILLE
4 YERINGTON
Walker
1 SCHURZ
WOODFORDS
9
3 WELLINGTON
COLEVILLE
5
WALKER LAKE
HAWTHORNE
8 BRIDGEPORT
7
MONO LAKE
BENTON
NEVADA
CALIF.
Owens R.
14 BISHOP
LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
PAVED U.S. HIGHWAYS
PAVED STATE HIGHWAYS
GRAVELED ROADS

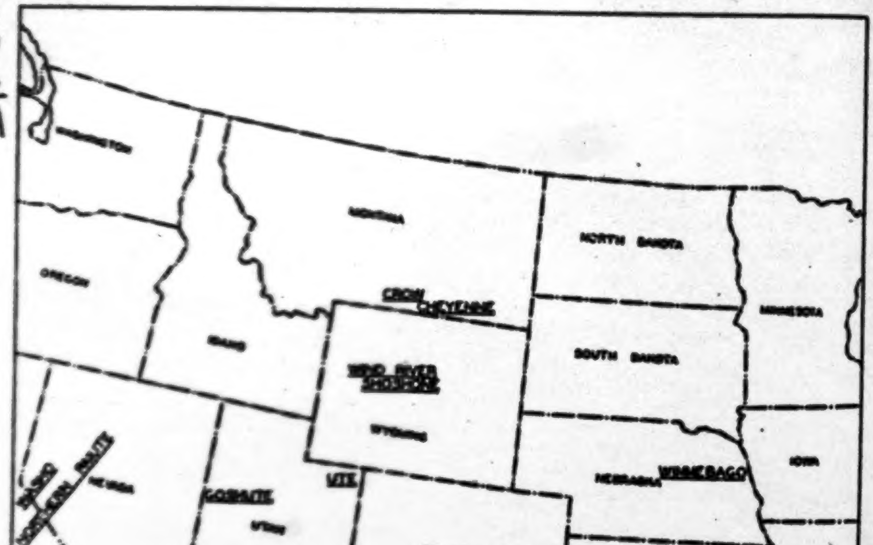
Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

N
W
*795
796
276
N
W
[264]
[574]

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

N
W
102
131


WASHINGTON
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
OREGON
IDAHO
CROW
CHEYENNE
SOUTH DAKOTA
WIND RIVER
SHOSHONE
WYOMING
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
NEVADA
GOSIUTE
UTE
UTAH
NEBRASKA
WINNEBAGO
IOWA
COLORADO
KANSAS
MO.
UTE
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
TAOS
OKLAHOMA
KICKAPOO
DELAWARE
CADDO
SHAWNEE
COMANCHE
KIOWA-APACHE
ARK.
TEXAS
LA.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

Wadátkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
[137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
(i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gathering
[137] forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territory.

Wadáfkuht

escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was Joaquin's brother. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the Maidu. 175 648.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

The boundaries between native groups, both in California and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get precise boundary locations from informants of one group he will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate 131 114 115

Wadátkuht

131 his claim. For example, one Wadátkuht informant said re-
114 peatedly that the Susanville area belonged to them, yet she could not give any camp or village names within the area.
115 Maidu informants, however, gave the names and locations of a number of Maidu villages in that area. On another occasion a Washo informant stated that the Washo territory extended as far north as Susanville, yet could not give the names or locations of any Washo villages in that area despite the fact that he did know the region south of Doyle. Similar conflicting statements were recorded from various informants, so one cannot always rely upon what an informant claims for the territory of his particular group; instead one must rely upon names and locations known by the informant.

In most cases the informants were sincere when they gave what they considered to be the boundaries of their group's territory. But it seemed to be a rather common occurrence for an informant to consider as his group's territory those areas of his neighbor's in which the first group made hunting and gathering forays. In drawing the boundary lines for the Wadátkuht an attempt was made to avoid these pitfalls. I did not include those peripheral areas periodically visited by the Wadátkuht and for which they had no camp or village names and for which they could provide no names for the physiographic features. I have tried, however, to note the use of these areas by the Wadátkuht.

131 The eastern boundary of the Wadátkuht territory can best be placed on, or in close proximity to the California-Nevada state line. The eastern neighbors, thus, would be their relatives, the Kuyuitkuht. The southern tip of the Wadátkuht territory extends to Doyle where Washo territory begins. Proceeding northwest of Doyle along the crest of the Sierra the boundary extends to the vicinity of Thompson Peak where it turns directly north. Although some groups of Wadátkuht crossed the summit, or crest of the Sierra into Dixie Valley, Plumas County, to gather products growing there they did not claim this area because it was only used for relatively short periods of time. They called it Tasu^{P}, meaning "Wild game place". This region can be considered to be an area of mutual use by both the Washo and the Wadátkuht, and possibly by the Maidu. Gladys Mankins said that it belonged to the Washo.

At Thompson Peak the boundary line runs north to Horse Lake with the Mountain Maidu territory lying to the west as far north as Antelope Ridge a few miles northeast of Susanville. North of Antelope Ridge the Pit River people are the

Wadátkuht

131

western neighbors of the Wadátkuht. From Horse Lake the boundary line proceeds northeasterly to McDonald Peak and then east to the state line. The Kamötkuht are the northern neighbors and relatives of the Wadátkuht.

In essence, the boundary locations presented here agree with those given by Stewart (1939). The disagreements are primarily ones of greater refinement here of the territorial boundary lines. I give all of the Honey Lake peninsula and the lower reaches of Long Valley Creek north of Doyle to the Wadátkuht, while Stewart assigns this region to the Washo. It is true that this area was somewhat used by the Washo, but my information rather clearly indicates that this region belongs to the Wadátkuht.

Stewart states that the tasiget tuviwarai ("in between dwellers") were to the east of the Wadátkuht (ibid., p. 138), but my informants stated a number of times that the region east of Honey Lake and the state line was uninhabited and that the first people to be encountered to the east were the Kuyuitkuht. The most easterly Wadátkuht village was located almost at the present state line. When closely pressed, however, Susy Buster seemed to recall the "in between dwellers" but could give no details of them. [36]

It is without hesitation that I assign most of Secret Valley to the Wadátkuht, although I have no information concerning the area west of Secret Valley in the vicinity of Snow Storm Creek and Petes Valley. It seems more or less arbitrary which group should be assigned to this latter region, the Atsugewi or the Wadátkuht. At the present state of knowledge I am inclined to agree with Merriam (1926) and consider this region as belonging to the Wadátkuht, particularly since they have been allotted Horse Lake by both Merriam and myself.

To the north of Secret Valley is Madeline Plains, the eastern half of which was utilized by the Wadátkuht. The western half belongs to the Pit River people. The Wadátkuht western boundary, from Horse Lake to McDonald Peak, is in agreement with that presented by Merriam (ibid.). Stewart agrees with both Merriam and Kniffen apparently without realizing that they are not in agreement (Stewart, 1939, p.137). Stewart, however, gives this as the western boundary for the Kamötkuht, whereas I am inclined to credit it to the Wadátkuht. Actually, both ways may be correct for as Stewart says, "...the Kamö band was allotted that territory which others did not claim" (ibid.).

Wadátkuht

claim" (ibid.). 131 Apparently the Wadátkuht shared the eastern half of Madeline Plains with the Kamötkuht. The Wadátkuht admit only to having used this area for periodic hunting and gathering. They said that it was too cold to have any winter villages there. It seems likely that the Kamötkuht may have felt the same way about this area. The Kamötkuht appear to have been rather close friends, and often relatives, of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, thus a boundary would have slight significance to either group. At the present stage of information it seems proper to represent a boundary line between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains as a broken line to indicate that little or no boundary was recognized by the Paiute people utilizing both areas. The eastern half of Madeline Plains will be considered to be a region of mutual utilization by both the Kamötkuht and the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Large archaeological sites in Madeline Plains indicate considerable occupation in some pre-contact time. These sites need not represent winter villages, however.

McDonald Peak seems to be an outstanding boundary marker between the Pit River people and the Paiute. Ike Northrup even told of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake, which are about eighteen miles northeast of McDonald Peak, being jointly used by Paiute and Pit River people. However, McDonald Peak can certainly stand as a major pivot for the Paiute-Pit River boundary. The use of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake by some Wadátkuht appears to be the exception rather than the rule. It seems worthwhile to mention, however, that Ike stated that Red Rock, about ten miles east of McDonald Peak, was as far as the Pit River people came.

161 A population estimate is rather difficult to make for the Honey Lake Paiute but an estimate of 200 persons made by Gladys Mankins would appear to be about as close a guess as can now be made. My informants gave me a complete census of the two groups of Wadátkuht as of circa 1880-1890, at least far as their memory served them. The Honey Lake group had somewhat more than 30 persons living at the village of Matá. The Secret Valley group had about the same number living together in one of their villages at this same time. Assuming that possibly as many as 25 more individuals were living elsewhere in the Wadátkuht territory at this same time we have a total of nearly 100 Wadátkuht Paiute living circa 1880-1890. This number may be slightly excessive but is probably not too much out of line. Since introduced disease, warfare and accident claimed a great number of Wadátkuht victims it does not seem incorrect to suggest that the aboriginal Wadátkuht

Washo NT 20

W 103

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off.

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road.

W 103 124

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake.

W N 114 131

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region.

W [124] N [423] W N [648]

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [177] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not
[423 621] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

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[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jack-
rabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred
individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of
the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire re-
gion over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one
person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was
denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a
large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of
the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

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early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.*

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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* During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [221]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

Wadàtkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
[137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
(i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

● 132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gathering
[137] forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territory.

Wadá'tKuht

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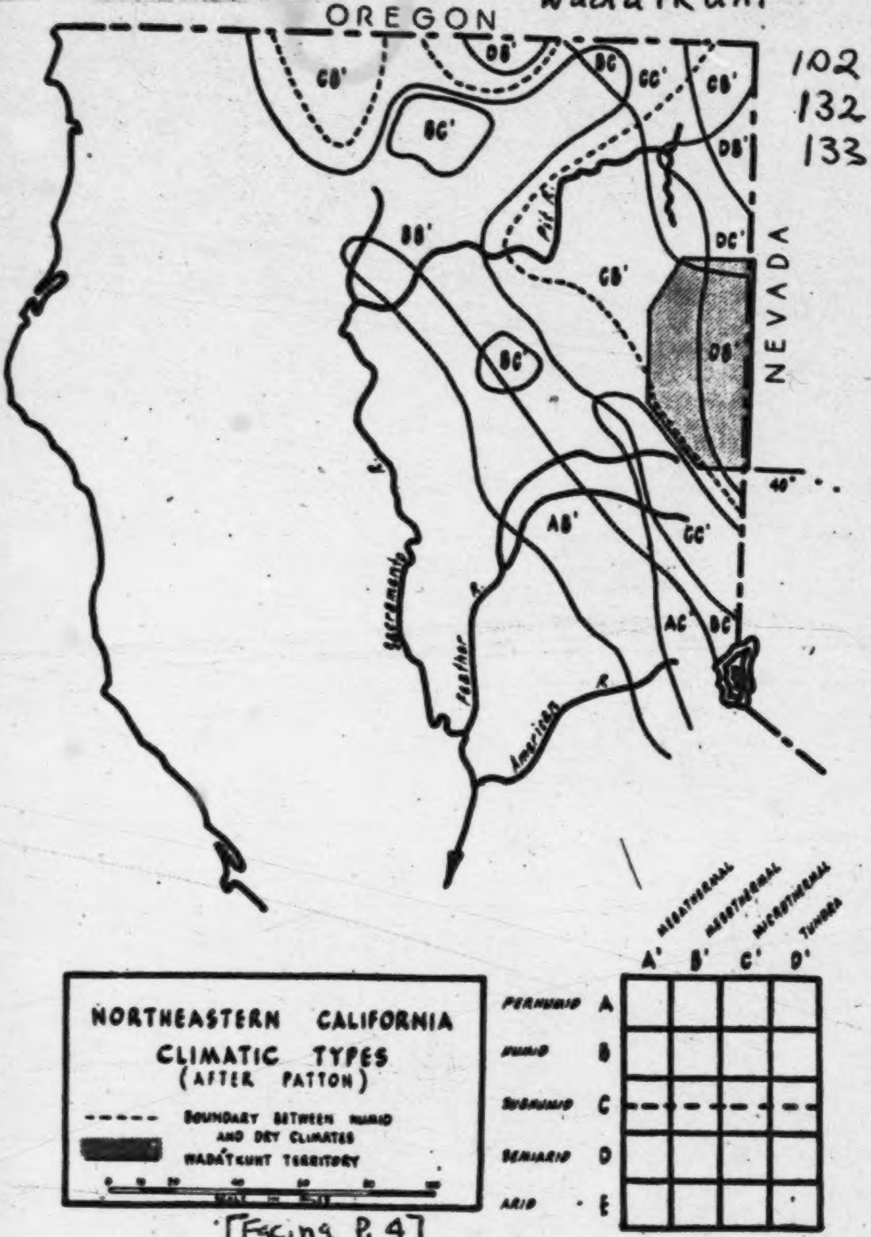
OREGON
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Pit R.
Sacramento R.
Feather R.
American R.
AB'
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AC'
DC'
40°
NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA
CLIMATIC TYPES
(AFTER PATTON)
BOUNDARY BETWEEN HUMID AND DRY CLIMATES
WADÁTKUHT TERRITORY
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE IN MILES
MEGATHERMAL
MESOTHERMAL
MICROTHERMAL
TUNDRA
A'
B'
C'
D'
PERHUMID A
HUMID B
SUBHUMID C
SEMIARID D
ARID E

[Facing P. 4]

Wadātkuht

δ-0-0 regions outside their recognized territory.

132 Winter temperatures can be extreme in the Honey Lake area with temperatures occasionally falling as low as -20°F in the vicinity of the winter villages of the Wadátkuht. Summer temperatures can exceed 100°F for short periods. Fields of snow often remain on the crest of the Sierra until June, occasionally until August, and snow can be heavy on the valley floor in the winter. Also in the winter Honey Lake Valley may be filled with a dense fog which will remain for several weeks. This same fog shrouded area in the summer, particularly around Honey Lake, may be subjected to choking, blinding dust storms of considerable magnitude. Despite this seemingly harsh environment the Wadátkuht were very fortunate [137] to have groves of oak trees within their territory. They also [133] were fortunate to have Honey Lake and the network of swamps and sloughs of Susan River which attracted myriads of waterfowl to nest and feed. The Wadátkuht environment could be harsh, but it could also be bountiful.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

175 [174] The date of first contact by Europeans with the Honey Lake Paiute may never be known with any exactness, but it can be assumed that some knowledge of the whites had been obtained by the last quarter of the 18th century. The existence of the Spanish after their founding of the mission at what is now San Francisco in 1776 was certainly known to Indian groups even as remote as the Honey Lake Paiute. Visits by Europeans into the general region are recorded as first having occurred in 1829 when Peter Skene Ogden made a trip west from Salt Lake to northwestern Nevada in that year. In 1830 he traveled from the Columbia River to the Colorado River on a route which lay to the east of the Sierra Nevada. His exact route is not known but it may have been through Nevada rather than in California along the east margin of the Sierra Nevada (Elliott, 1920). There can be little doubt that activities such as his were soon known to all groups neighboring the areas of penetration. It is thus probable that the Honey Lake people had heard rumors and tales of the white people for many years before they actually saw them. In fact, the coming of the whites was "foreseen" by Sanezha wahits, an old shaman. He sang for four or five nights and told the Honey Lake people that something was coming to their country, and that "something" was a white-skinned people. [787] Because of this prediction the Wadátkuht were not too surprised to see the first white

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Northern Paiute NR13

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182
At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[177] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a limiting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
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22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum food supply.
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I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects
[226] of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
[476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be-
[571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

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In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the ap-
22 pearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

PLACE NAMES

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This is a convenient place for recording a few random notes on place names. One is struck by the fact that the Gidü'tikad^{a} do not, as a general rule, name the larger geographical features. Thus, they lack a name for Surprise valley as a whole, for Warner range, for the valley lakes, etc. There is no paucity of names for minor features, and such names are almost invariably descriptive or refer to some plant or animal formerly plentiful in the region.

Springs seem to have been named more frequently than streams. Bidwell creek, the largest stream in the northern end of the valley, was unnamed, and Buck creek, on the western side of the Warners, was also unnamed.

Gearheart mountain, Oregon, was called Pasi'akwo, from pasi'a, a large bird resembling an eagle;[11] Steens mountain was known as Tsütsüüd^{a} "because it was always covered with snow (apparently related to ütsü'ts, cold). Eagle peak was called Ma'ta'gan (from ma'ta', metate) because material for grinding stones was plentiful on its upper slopes. Bidwell mountain was unnamed, but a point to one side of it was called Tjüba'-motsi'kia, pine-nut point. An unidentified peak up Bidwell canyon was called Taa''na-tsu'ga, the name of an edible root which formerly grew on its slopes.

A small reddish hill on the road between Lake City and Fort Bidwell was called Atsa'-motsi'kia, red peak. Both Indians and whites observe that winter snows always melt there first, and by the whites it is called Red hill or Hot point. A series of rock cliffs along the same road[12] is known as Gidü'-motsi'kia, groundhog-point. A peak just south of Lake City projects at an upward angle and is called Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose.

The three lakes which formerly covered a good part of the valley floor were not named, but the strip of land between Upper lake and Middle lake had a name which my informant could not recall. At Eagleville the break between Lower and Middle lakes was called Pü'hü-kanu, duck-catch. Lake Annie, a small body of water at the head of Surprise valley, was known as Sia'pa'^{a}, gravel, from a deposit along its southern shore. Cowhead lake, somewhat larger and lying

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[11] De Angulo, 330, gives pasia' as bald-headed eagle.

[12] On the Max Fulcher ranch.

five or six miles northeast of Fort Bidwell, was known as Toha'-kidü- 103
panin (white-groundhog-lake) because a white groundhog was once 133
seen there. Pindy knew no name for Goose lake, but Joshua said
that it was called Paba'-panin, big lake.

Big valley, west of Warner valley, was called Guyü, the name of a food plant gathered there. Sugar hill, Toga'-pokwad (dark point or peak) gave its name to near-by Fandango valley. Fandango pass was called Padu'a'-agan from padu'a^{a}, grizzly bear.

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEASONAL PURSUITS AND WANDERINGS

For food these Paiute, like the bulk of Great Basin tribes, were 221
entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering, and even proto-agriculture in the form of wild crop irrigation[13] was unknown. From an economic point of view, Paiute habitat seems to have been peculiarly uninviting, and only through literally unceasing toil could it be made to yield a livelihood. Whereas peoples dependent upon one staple, such as acorns, camas, or mescal, normally enjoy a season of plenty, often followed, to be sure, by one of privation, the Gidü'tikad^{a} had no one product upon which they could rely. It follows, therefore, that their food gathering activities were extensive and continuous
rather than concentrated and seasonal. Starvation was frequent, 221
especially in late winter when the stores of cached food had been 262
exhausted.

The geography of the Surprise region has been covered by Russell, 133
but it may be well to call attention to a few general features. A large 137
part of the valley floor is occupied by the playa beds of three lakes, now dry most of the time, but well filled within the memory of informants and early settlers. The remainder of the valley is said to have been meadowland in aboriginal times, but nowadays, owing to the introduction of sheep and to subsequent overgrazing, the meadow has been almost completely replaced by sagebrush, excepting, of course, land actually under cultivation. This means that the pre-white environmental conditions were definitely more favorable for the support of a non-agricultural population. In fact, it is difficult to see how a hunting and gathering people could possibly maintain themselves under present conditions.

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[13] Which Steward, 149, reports for the Eastern Mono.

● 133 On either side, Surprise valley is bordered by steep rising ranges. The badlands to the east bear little apparent vegetation save sage, but they were the principal root-gathering grounds in the old days. The slopes of the Warners, to the west of Surprise, are covered with a juniper-sage growth, with pine and fir on the upper reaches. To the north of the valley the Warners break down and run northeast to bound Warner valley on the east. Here they are known as the High Desert, a region used today only for grazing. Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise, differs markedly from the latter in that it is almost entirely tule swamp and lake country, although the ubiquitous sagebrush covers what dry land there is.

221 The Gidü'tikad^a exploited this unpromising habitat to the best of their ability, wandering seasonally in pursuit of food. Perhaps the annual cycle is best introduced by the following:

> In the old days they used to dig food all summer—until it was gone. They gathered seeds and roots and buried them in the ground. In winter they stayed until the buried food was gone and then moved on to the next place. They hunted every day, all year. In those days there were many sage hens, ducks, geese, swans, jackrabbits, cottontails, deer, and antelope (NT).

Early in spring, when the snow was still on the ground, they fished in the creeks and streams. As soon as the snow melted sufficiently, those camped in Surprise abandoned their winter quarters and crossed to the hills along the east side of the valley, stringing from Cowhead lake south to Poison spring, there to consume food buried the previous year and to dig whatever roots they could find. All spring and well into summer they continued to wander about, gathering roots which they dried and cached for future use. Their wanderings did not follow any set scheme; they roamed wherever the food supply seemed most promising. A considerable range was necessary, however, for roots such as camas are essentially swamp plants, and others such as epos occur only in higher and drier country. In late summer they returned to the valley to pick berries and to harvest seeds. With the approach of fall, the season for plant foods terminated, and attention was centered upon hunting.

This activity, as well as gathering, groups itself into seasonal cycles. Deer, antelope, and rabbits were hunted the year round. Sage hens and grouse were got in spring. From May to July groundhogs, porcupines, and squirrels were available. In midsummer crickets and occasionally larvae(?) were gathered. In late summer and early fall, hunting of deer and antelope loomed as compared with other pursuits. Wildcat was hunted in fall, which was likewise the season for com-

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

● 133
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Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godowa, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

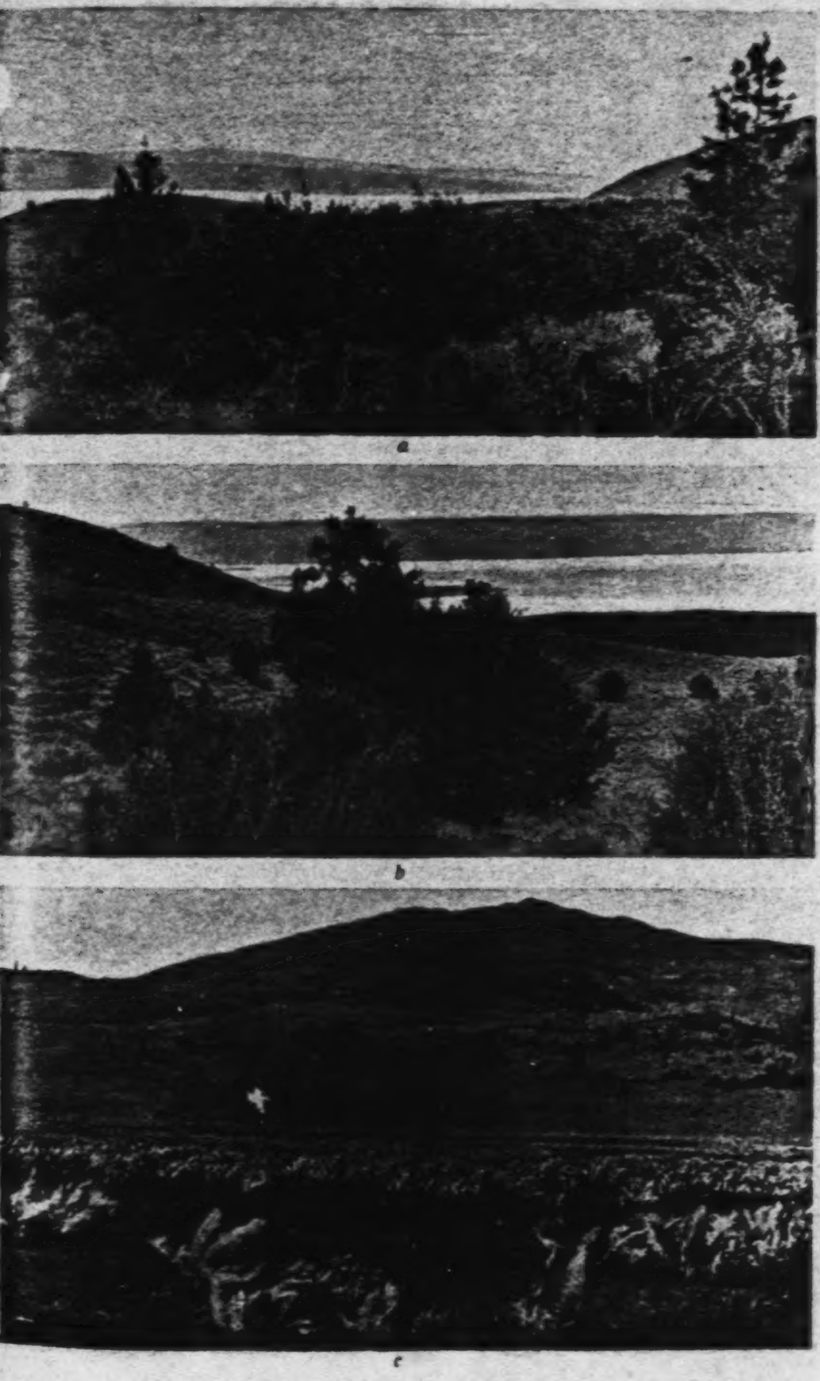
Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley



a

b

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LANDSCAPES

p. 210 a

114 171 typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite [[121]] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value howere, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with whom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

101 [[31]] The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

133 This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid*. Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid*. Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

To the north and to the south the range gradually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claim- 101 ed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather inde- 133 finite. It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131] Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by 648 both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [589] both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [127] home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101 through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 131 seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361] eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316] "mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes, Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war. Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133 northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

● 133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101
619 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habitat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

[197] These people call themselves *neim·i* (e. g. *ni neim·i now·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBī*
Silver Lake	*Toba'TeP·i*
Duck Lake	*TiBī'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Diqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Diqa*
Maidu	*TaKone*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tse*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tiziyamoso*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pībī-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361
221 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

622 Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Information from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 101 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose 131 of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

●133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and 136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104-194] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; g, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ŋ, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p. 361 (A)]

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

203. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso'öp°.

221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding [177] out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsónomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 [134] 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were [133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

226 Both lakes are extremely deep and have rather
● [133] large rivers emptying into them, so that they are
not too salty for fish. Pyramid Lake claims the
[136] honor of supplying the world's largest trout;
specimens have been caught weighing more than
20 pounds. "Pyramid lake is just reaching a de-
gree of salinity sufficient to prevent human con-
sumption." Pyramid Lake was a third more saline
than Walker Lake in 1882 (Loud, 157). Kl: The
[825] Kuyui had the best fishing area in Nevada. Trout
were designated by seasonal names: spring trout
(tama arai), summer trout (tatsa arai), fall
trout (uva arai), winter trout (tomo arai). It
is to be doubted that these represent different
varieties. Arai is sometimes generic term for
fish. Ki: Trout caught only in Goose Lake and
its tributaries.

[136] 252c. "Kuyui, black-skinned fish of Pyramid
lake .... Chamistes cujus" (Loud, 157). Kl: The
kuyui is a large sucker-like fish, often weighing
more than 15 pounds, which is only caught in the
spring and early summer when it enters the
streams to spawn. The kuyui (pronounced by lo-
cal white people kwee-wee) occurred only in Pyra-
mid and Winnemucca lakes and the streams flowing
251 into them, especially the Truckee River. Great
quantities of this fish were dried each spring.
The meat was stripped from the backbone so that
from each fish two almost boneless pieces were
prepared. Only about 4 pounds of meat were ob-
tained from a 15-pound fish.

252d. Ki: + (Kelly, 97).

825 252e. Sucker called awagu. "Awago, red sucker .... Catostomus tahoensis (Loud, 156).

252g. Minnows called pak'ui or hopakui. Loud, 156: "tui-pagwI, a minnow or sucker .... Siphoteles obesus or Lencidius pectinifer"; "hu-pagwI, minnow .... Richardsonius egregius."

252i. Red-side salmon called koa'arai, "cold salmon." Silverside salmon called wovi-arai, "wood salmon."

227 255. Paviotso: "The dip-net and gill-net" (Curtis, 15:71). Tö: Fish net unknown in pre-white times. Only conical basket used. Kü: When the Küpa were at Nixon they employed the methods of Kuyui. In their own territory, the Küpa had different methods.

256. Ts: The Paiute fish net is similar to that of Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 7).

257. Owens Valley: Fish net same shape as rabbit net (Steward, 257).

258. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

258a. Lovelock Cave: "Ice pick" (Loud, pl. 64,g and p. 107). Kü: Informant's mother told him that the old-timers tied a sharp rock onto a stick to use to break the ice. He thought it similar to the one from Lovelock Cave. AL denied ever hearing of such an instrument being used. Ice was broken with any big stick. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

227 259. At: Minnows caught by cutting hole
226 through ice and dipping them out with a seed
beater when they come up for air.

[p.425(A)]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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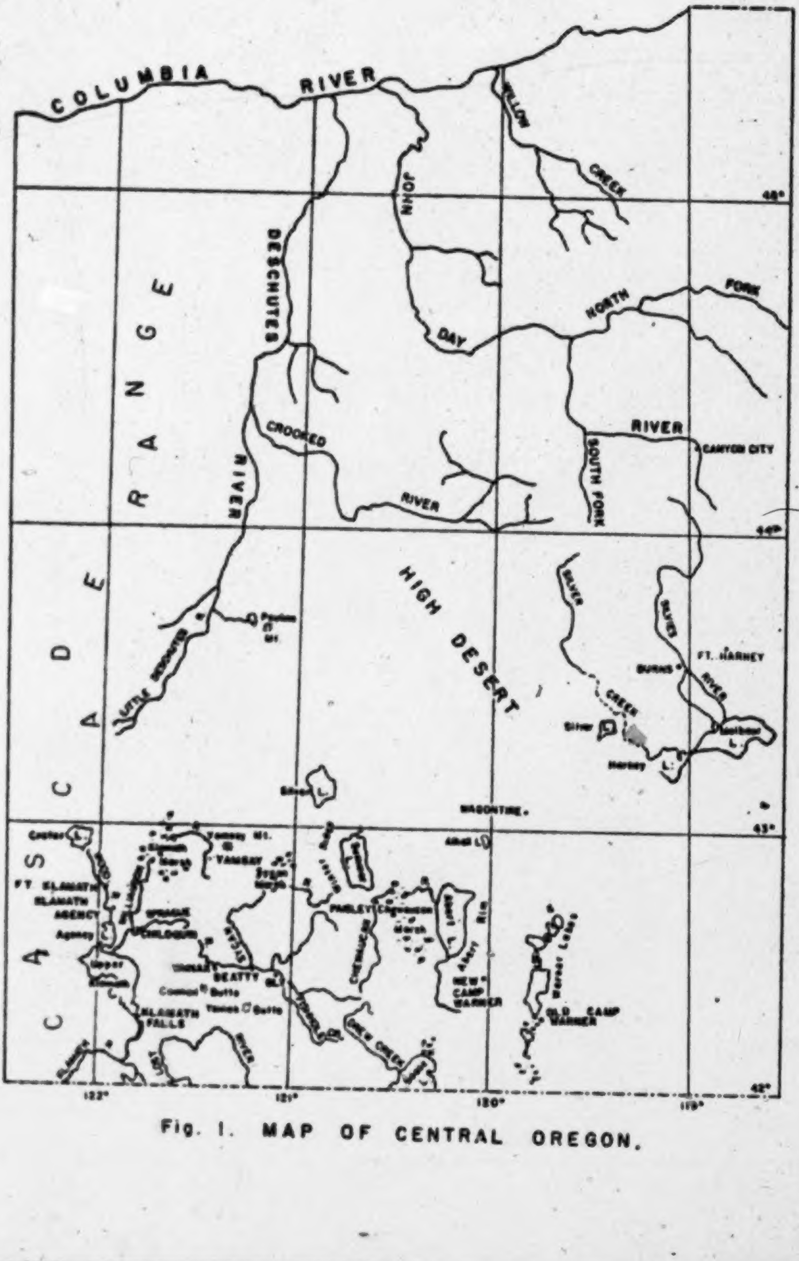
COLUMBIA RIVER
WILLOW CREEK
JOHN DAY
NORTH FORK
DAY RIVER
DESCHUTES RIVER
CASCADE RANGE
CROOKED RIVER
SOUTH FORK
CANYON CITY
HIGH DESERT
LITTLE DESCHUTES
Paulina L.
SILVIES RIVER
FT. HARNEY
BURNS
SILVER CREEK
Silver L.
Malheur L.
Harney L.
Silver L.
WAGONTIRE
Abert L.
Crater L.
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
Agency L.
Yamsay Mt.
YAMSAY
Klamath Marsh
SPRAGUE
CHILOQUIN
Sycan Marsh
Summer L.
PAISLEY
Chewaucan Marsh
CHEWAUCAN
Abert Rim
Abert L.
NEW CAMP WARNER
Warner Lakes
OLD CAMP WARNER
Upper Klamath L.
BEATTY
BLY
Coxcomb Butte
Yainax Butte
KLAMATH FALLS
SPRAGUE RIVER
SYCAN
LOST RIVER
DREW CREEK
Goose L.
46°
44°
43°
42°
122°
121°
120°
119°

Fig. 1. MAP OF CENTRAL OREGON.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Klamath NR10

N 648 21. The treaty is officially dated October 14, 1864, and will be referred to hereafter under that date. Actually however it seems to have been signed October 15; Kelly and Huntington both agree on this latter date (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 270, 651).

22. Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 386.

23. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8-9.

N [131] 24. WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 911. The "main traveled road" Drew mentions ran from Red Bluff, Calif., to Ft. Crook, Calif., thence along the eastern shore of Goose Lake to the head of the lake. From there it turned northeast "via the Malheur" to Ft. Boise, Idaho. See RCIA (CDS #1157) p. 412; Bancroft, Map of Oregon; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; WR vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 1226.

000 25. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

26. Drew, ibid., p. 7.

27. Drew, ibid., p. 28.

28. California Indians, p. 539; Tribes of California, p. 352.

29. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8, 1.

30. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-272; NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

31. Drew, Official Report, p. 8.

32. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

33. Treaty of October 14, 1864 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383); RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-270.

34. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 99.

35. Ibid., pt. 2, p. 71.

36. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23.

K 101 114 37. An example of such metathesis is Power's transcription of aukckni and plaikni, Klamath names for two Klamath groups; Powers transcribes these as Eocskinnes and Blyskinnes (California Indians, p. 539).

N 131 ● 133 38. The Great Basin, habitat of nearly all the Northern Paiute-speaking people, lies directly to the east of Klamath Lakes Basin. At its western edge the Great Basin is some thousand feet lower than the eastern edge of Klamath Lakes Basin.

K 101 39. Spier says: "All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat [by the Klamath]; no distinctions are made" (Klamath Ethnography, p. 4). A Klamath witness in Court of Claims E-344 said much the same thing (p. 232).

167. Drew, ibid., p. 5. 133

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord. 103

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. 1, p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ni-ne, war chief of a 648
band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he 720
has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864).

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panai'na's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144. [114]

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panai'na very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panai'na.

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 501
valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137
the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating 133
waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas. They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians 501
made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to 324
group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occasionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward, while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of [397]
reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swimmer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsos of northern 342
Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical 324
houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule 121
balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater, Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P. 3]

PLATE 5

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PLATE 7

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PLATE 8

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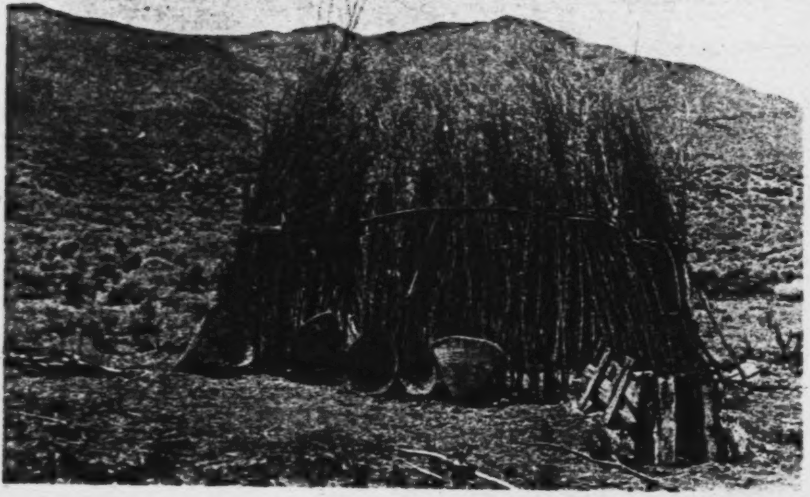

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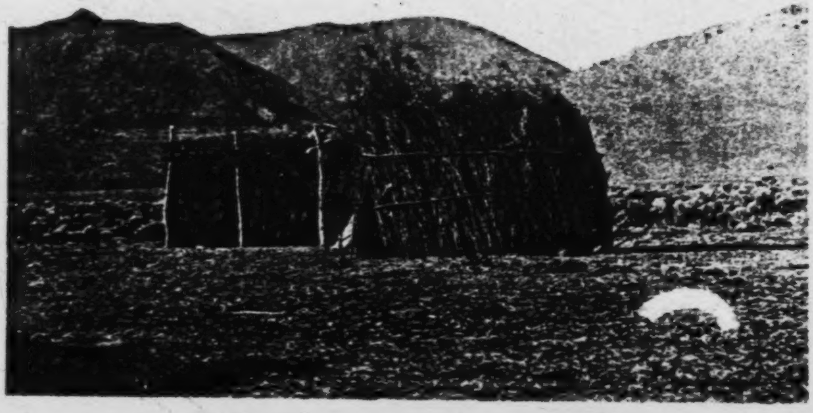

PLATE 9

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342
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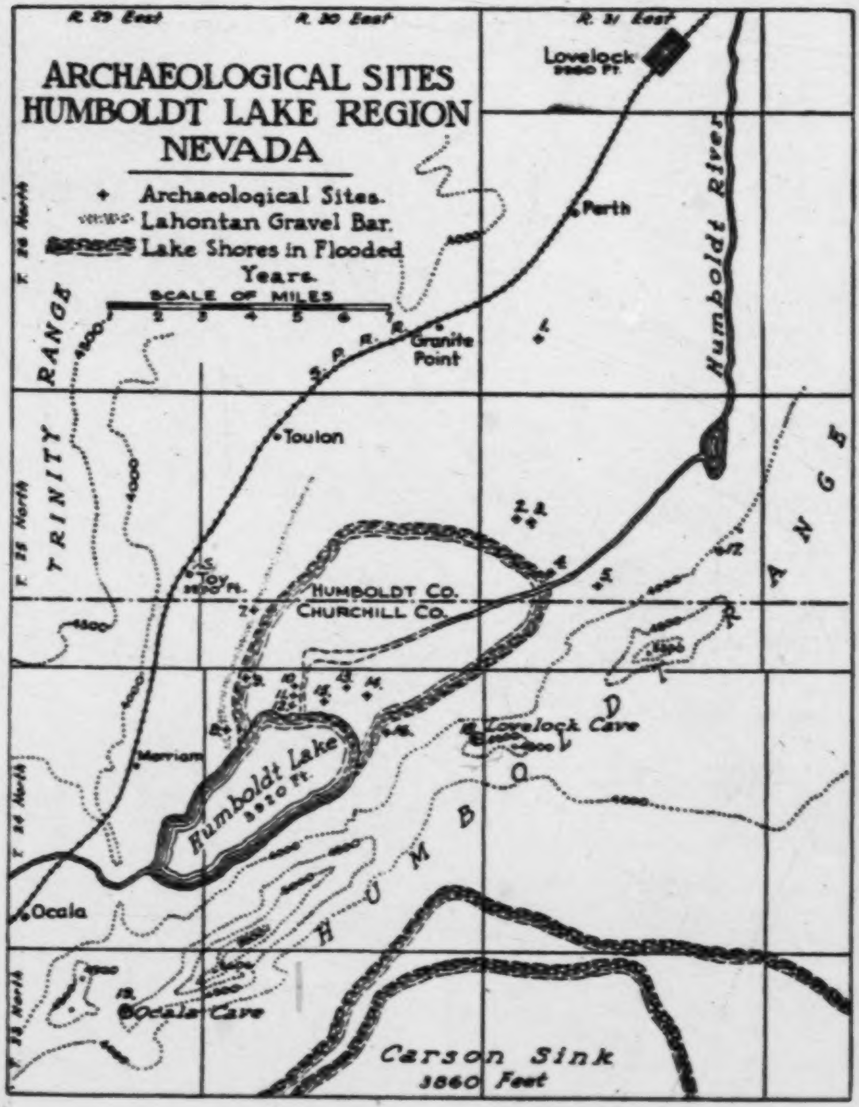
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION
NEVADA
Archaeological Sites.
Lahontan Gravel Bar.
Lake Shores in Flooded Years.
SCALE OF MILES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
R. 29 East
R. 30 East
R. 31 East
T. 26 North
T. 25 North
T. 24 North
T. 23 North
Lovelock 3980 Ft.
Perth
Humboldt River
Granite Point
Toulon
Toy 3890 Ft.
HUMBOLDT CO.
CHURCHILL CO.
TRINITY RANGE
HUMBOLDT RANGE
Lovelock Cave
Humboldt Lake 3920 Ft.
Marriam
Ocala
Ocala Cave
Carson Sink 3860 Feet
4000
4500

MAP OF HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION

[End Plate 1]

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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● 133
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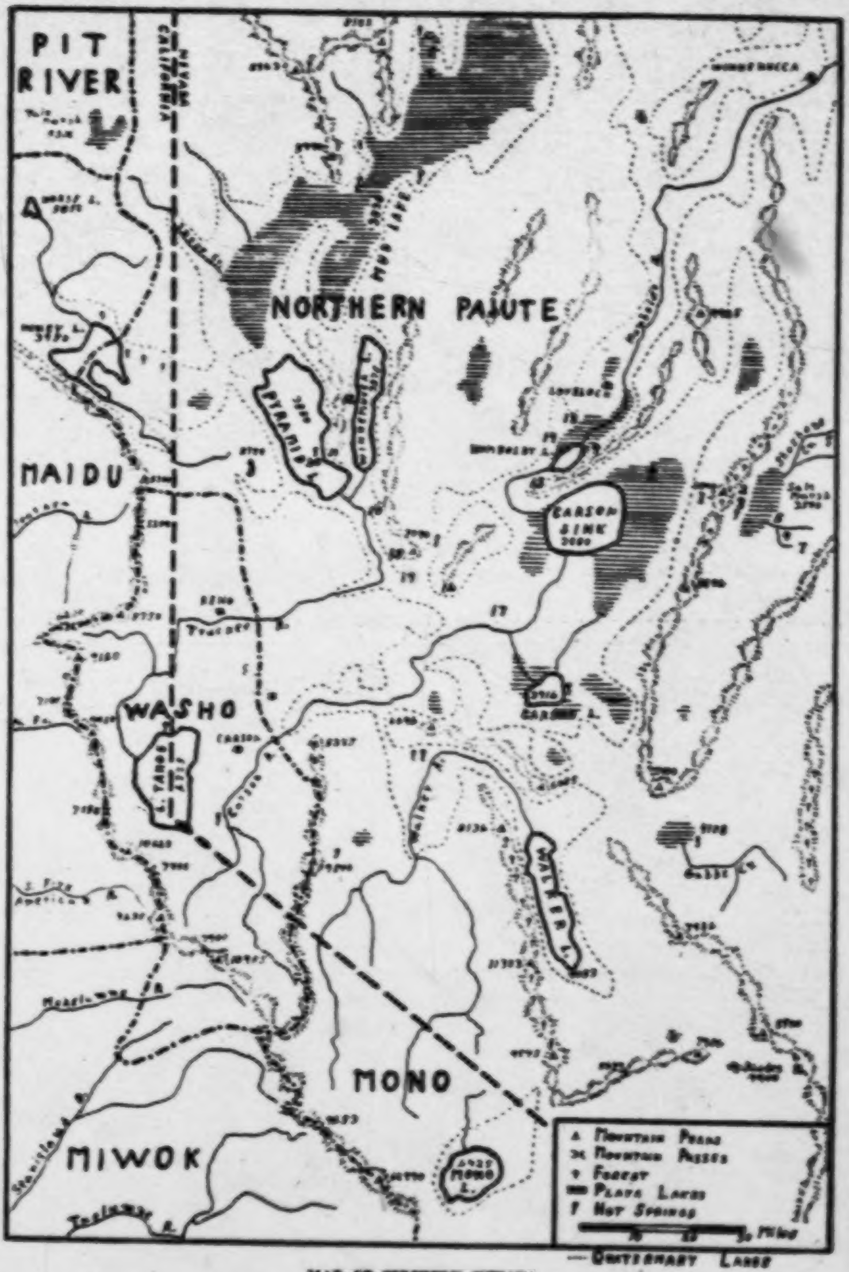
PIT RIVER
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MUD LAKE
WINNEMUCCA
PYRAMID
LOVELOCK
HUMBOLDT L.
CARSON SINK
MAIDU
Truckee R.
WASHO
L. TAHOE
CARSON
CARSON L.
WALKER L.
Walker R.
Carson R.
Mokelumne R.
MONO
MONO L.
MIWOK
Stanislaus R.
Tuolumne R.
Mountain Peaks
Mountain Passes
Forest
Playa Lakes
Hot Springs
10 20 30 Miles
Intermittent Lakes

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]
[End plates 31-67 not processed]

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida. Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the [193] nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material 825 culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet 773 high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipö or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See Category 116, End Plate 68 -- Analyst]

Wolf and Coyote

The chief theater of action of Wolf and Coyote in the story to 133 ●
follow was in the Shoshone creek region. Once when a boy, Natches 773
had visited the place, going by horseback. He made some rough sketch maps, recalling as best he could the location.

There was a cave in the mountain range next east of the Stillwater range, from which one could look across a basin and see several columns of stone. The basin is undoubtedly Humboldt salt marsh into which Shoshone creek empties. On the west side of the marsh, a mile or so from the mouth of Hare canyon, there are known to be hot springs (no. 3, pl. 68). Hence there is a high degree of probability that the stone columns are situated here, they being a deposit of lime from the springs. If this supposition is correct the cave would quite likely be to the southeast of the marsh on Willow creek, the water seepage of which would account for the presence of trees which are mentioned. The entire basin in Pleistocene times formed a fair-sized lake without outlet.

All the people from Carson sink and Humboldt lake, in fact all 773
the people from the Pine Nut mountains (Stillwater range) and all those to the west, came to fight Wolf and Coyote. It would appear that Coyote was the younger brother and was considered too young to fight, so Wolf shut him in the house while he went out to fight alone. The people stayed on one side of the basin, while Wolf fought them from the other side. He killed some of the people. They can be seen to this day as rocks, some standing and some fallen just as they were when killed across the basin from where Wolf's house is situated. The people were clothed in robes made of twisted strips of skin from the mud hen, woven together with thongs of buckskin. There were scattered about over the ground fragments of black rock, looking just like the skin of the mud hen.

Wolf himself was killed in this engagement and his head cut off. You can see his headless form and his entrails all scattered about (no. 5, pl. 68). Meantime Coyote was a prisoner in the house, but he made repeated attempts to get out by climbing up through the smokehole. At last he succeeded in getting out just as Wolf was killed. When Coyote saw what had happened, he fell over and rolled down the slope, pretending that he was dead, and for further deception he also made some weeds grow out of his head. He can be seen there now with the weeds, which are trees, growing around him. The house

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and [103] threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, [133] Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. [114] All mention of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern [411] Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason for this is that both peoples are held in contempt. 173 186 829

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians. 173 829 [727] [648]

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that they must have been made by the Pit River Indians 173 829 114

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the map, plate 68. 133 ● 172

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said *to* be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The name of the place is tobatcka. [212] [103]

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge 133 [361] [103]

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there are absolutely barren level playas. The size of the ridge was not ascertained, but from memory the writer would say it is 10 or 15 feet in height, several rods in width, and 10 miles long. It is covered with sagebrush and is visible 6 or 8 miles away. It was caused by a gravel wash in the Pleistocene lake. In fact Humboldt lake itself owes its existence to a gigantic dam of gravel wash, over a hundred feet in height, built entirely across the valley by the old lake.

15.—There are two caves to the south of the lake, opposite Ocala. On the ridge near the cave, marked 19 on plate 3, Natches said that there is a "stone house." In the hill to the west of this is situated the other cave.

16.—Near Hazen on the side of Black butte there is a cave of considerable size called pusia-tipogI, "louse-cave."

17.—Soda lake, near Fallon, covers an area of 288 acres and is 147 *feet* deep. It has a crater rim built up above the level of the desert, so that the total depth of the old crater is 312 *feet*. Natches said that there was an old story that it once burst open in an eruption. This may be a historical tradition, as Russell shows that although volcanic activity began before the Dendritic stage of Lake Lahontan, its last outbreak is post-Lahontan in date.

18.—A mountain nine miles northeast of Wadsworth and famous for its supply of woodchucks is called waha-kutakwA, "two-tips." The English name, Two Tips, is a translation.

19.—The southern end of the range in which Two Tips is located is called pahino-motsnia, "hot spring rock-point." The word for the rock deposited by hot springs is pahinopE.

[312]

20.—At present there are several hot springs at the base of Pyramid island, from which steam issues with a noise. The island is knob-like in form with an elevation of 320 feet, composed entirely of rock deposited by the hot springs. There is a tradition that there was formerly a hole in the top of the island which is now entirely filled by the steam deposit.

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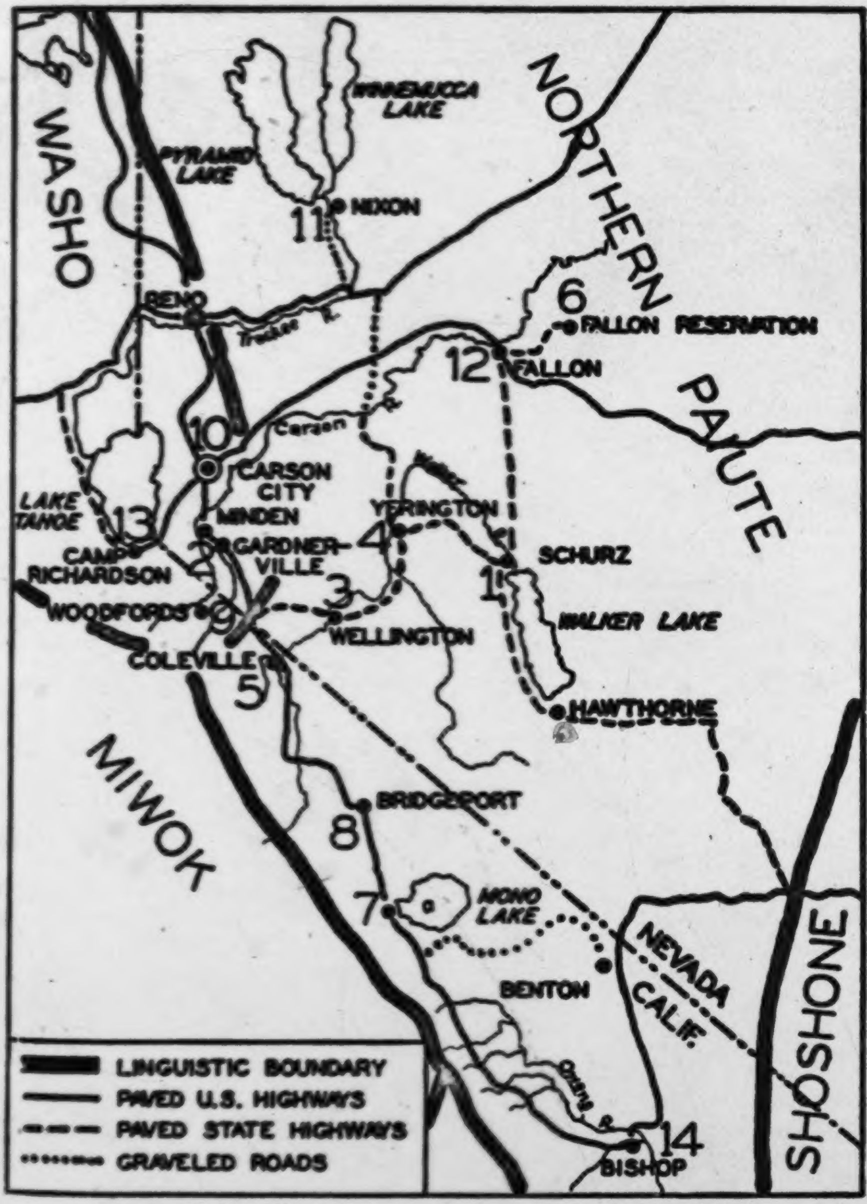
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MIWOK
SHOSHONE
PYRAMID LAKE
WINNEMUCCA LAKE
11
NIXON
RENO
Truckee R.
6
FALLON RESERVATION
12
FALLON
10
Carson R.
CARSON CITY
LAKE TAHOE
13
CAMP RICHARDSON
MINDEN
2
GARDNERVILLE
4
YERINGTON
Walker R.
1
SCHURZ
3
WELLINGTON
WOODFORDS
9
COLEVILLE
5
WALKER LAKE
HAWTHORNE
BRIDGEPORT
8
7
MONO LAKE
BENTON
NEVADA
CALIF.
Owens R.
14
BISHOP
LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
PAVED U.S. HIGHWAYS
PAVED STATE HIGHWAYS
GRAVELED ROADS

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

Wadàtkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
[137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
(i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gathering
[137] ing forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territory.

Wadátkuht

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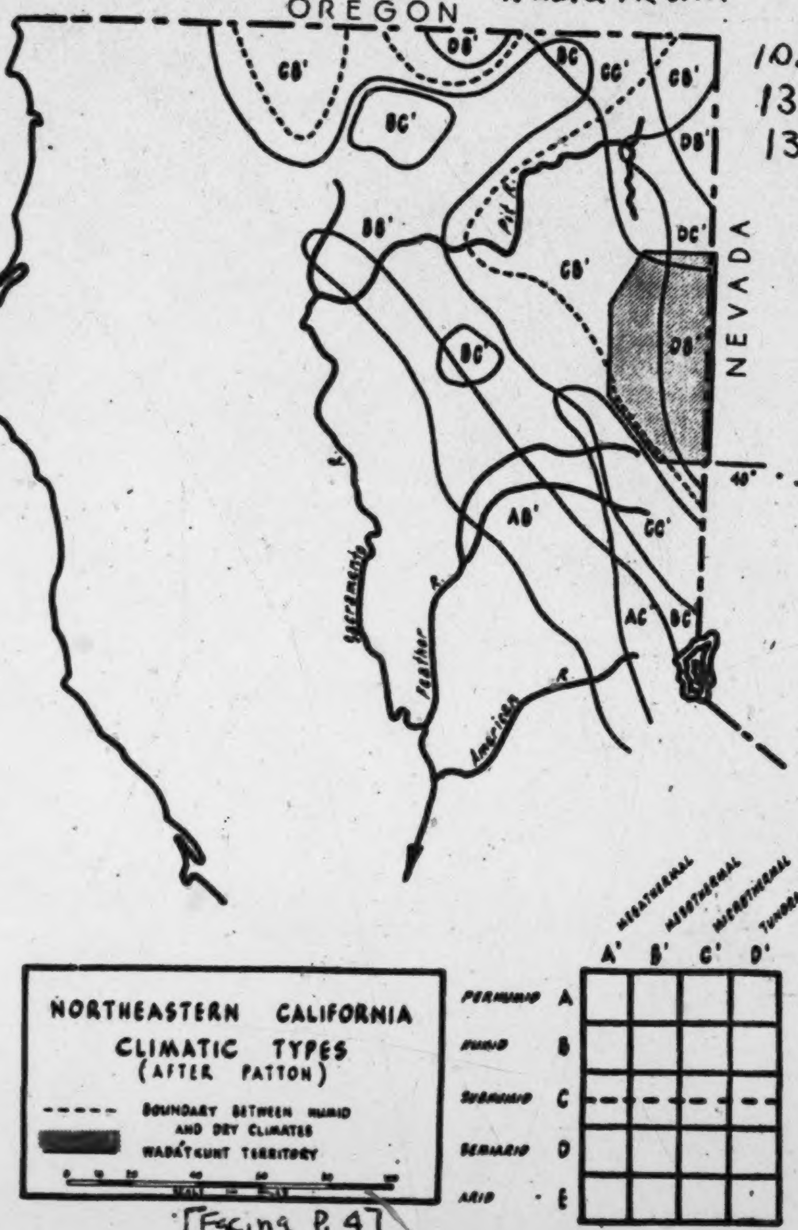

NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA CLIMATIC TYPES (AFTER PATTON)

OREGON
NEVADA
GB'
DB'
BC'
CC'
DC'
AB'
AC'
Pit R.
Sacramento R.
Feather R.
American R.
40°
BOUNDARY BETWEEN HUMID AND DRY CLIMATES
WADÁTKUHT TERRITORY
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE — MILES
MEGATHERMAL
MESOTHERMAL
MICROTHERMAL
TUNDRA
A'
B'
C'
D'
PERHUMID A
HUMID B
SUBHUMID C
SEMIARID D
ARID E

[Facing P. 4]

wadátKuht

300 regions outside their recognized territory.

132 Winter temperatures can be extreme in the Honey Lake area with temperatures occasionally falling as low as -20°F in the vicinity of the winter villages of the Wadátkuht. Summer temperatures can exceed 100°F for short periods. Fields of snow often remain on the crest of the Sierra until June, occasionally until August, and snow can be heavy on the valley floor in the winter. Also in the winter Honey Lake Valley may be filled with a dense fog which will remain for several weeks. This same fog shrouded area in the summer, particularly around Honey Lake, may be subjected to choking, blinding dust storms of considerable magnitude. Despite this [137] seemingly harsh environment the Wadátkuht were very fortunate to have groves of oak trees within their territory. They also [133] were fortunate to have Honey Lake and the network of swamps and sloughs of Susan River which attracted myriads of waterfowl to nest and feed. The Wadátkuht environment could be harsh, but it could also be bountiful.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

175 [174] The date of first contact by Europeans with the Honey Lake Paiute may never be known with any exactness, but it can be assumed that some knowledge of the whites had been obtained by the last quarter of the 18th century. The existence of the Spanish after their founding of the mission at what is now San Francisco in 1776 was certainly known to Indian groups even as remote as the Honey Lake Paiute. Visits by Europeans into the general region are recorded as first having occurred in 1829 when Peter Skene Ogden made a trip west from Salt Lake to northwestern Nevada in that year. In 1830 he traveled from the Columbia River to the Colorado River on a route which lay to the east of the Sierra Nevada. His exact route is not known but it may have been through Nevada rather than in California along the east margin of the Sierra Nevada (Elliott, 1920). There can be little doubt that activities such as his were soon known to all groups neighboring the areas of penetration. It is thus probable that the Honey Lake people had heard rumors and tales of the white people for many years before they actually saw them. In fact, the coming of the whites was "foreseen" by Sanezha wahits, an old shaman. He sang for four or five nights and told the Honey Lake people that something was coming to their country, and that "some- [787] thing" was a white-skinned people. Because of this prediction the Wadátkuht were not too surprised to see the first white

Wadátkuht

population was approximately 200 persons. This number could 161
be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of [177]
the expectable decrease in population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The following is a listing of the names and a description 103
of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering 133
the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names.

1. Wago' yamos^{a} ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos^{a} by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but
it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley [137]
Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is

Wadátkuht

103 given this name. This feature is not in Paiute territory
133 but is probably on the Mountain Maidu-Atsugewi boundary. Worley Mountain is plainly visible from Honey Lake Valley and was probably visited on occasional hunting trips, particularly since nearby Eagle Lake was visited for hunting and gathering purposes.

3. Guha kaive ("Guha Mountain"). Bald Mountain several miles west of Honey Lake has this name because of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) growing there. This small, treeless range of rounded hills has a growth of bitterbrush, grass and sage covering it. Its origin is documented by a Wadatkuht myth. [137]

4. T' kwanguhd ("Tower"). This name refers to Thompson Peak which has a tower-like rock formation in association.

5. Padotsa dawakuhd ("Bubbling Hole"). This spring is located on the hillside behind (south) of the Bird Flat schoolhouse. The school is approximately a mile west of Herlong Junction on Highway 395. [346]

6. Pasia novi ("Bald Eagle House"). An old pine tree beside Highway 395 a distance of 5.4 miles southeast of Milford was given this name because of a pair of bald eagles who made their nest in it many years ago. When Ike Northrup was a young man he went by this tree with Joaquin who told him about the nesting birds in the tree and the name for it. The eagles had long since ceased nesting there by that time so Ike never saw them. The tree is still standing but it was killed in the summer of 1950 by a brush fire.

7. Numu wunud^{a} ("Indian Stand Up"). This name was given to a conical rocky hill about four miles northwest of Doyle (T25N/R16E/Sec. 3). This hill received its name as a consequence of a fight between some Pit River and Paiute men. The fight started at Doyle with the Paiutes attempting to escape to this hill. The Paiutes, with the Pit River men in pursuit, gained the sanctuary of this hill and began to roll boulders down on the Pit River men. A Pit River man was killed during the fighting and was stood up by the Paiutes who did it "to be onery". The death of this one man was enough to stop the fighting; "Maybe the headman killed, rest run away". [726]

8. Moguṕ^{a} kudak^{w}("Sharp Mountain"). The range of mountains just east of Doyle is given this name because of its rather jagged appearance.

Wadātkuht

9. Moa mutsakian^{o} ("Rough Point") (moav^{a} - "rough"). This rocky point is about five miles northeast of Doyle and may be considered a northern extension of the previous feature. Rough Point is located in T25N/R17-18E and got its name from the rough granitic rock of which this feature is composed. 103 133

10. Babáktud ("Big Mountain"). The large mountain a few miles southeast of Flannigan, Nevada, is given this name. Neither this feature nor the following one is considered to be in Wadátkuht territory, but are said to be in an uninhabited region rarely visited due to the scarcity of water. Archaeological sites recorded at several places in this general region testify that the area was not always unoccupied. [172]

11. Kaibak^{u} mutsakian^{o} ("No Wet Point", i.e., "Dry Point"). This is a range of mountains a few miles northeast of Flannigan, Nevada. This feature, as with the preceding one, is said to be in an uninhabited region. The name for this feature gives the reason for the lack of occupation.

12. Tusí katu' ("Bunch Grass Mountain"). Hot Springs Mountain east of Honey Lake bears this name.

13. Humuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). The flat at the western base of Hot Springs Mountain was given this name. The Wadátkuht had a camp on this flat but the informants could not recall its name, or if it had one. [361]

14. Paí dupid^{a} ("Rocks to Bottom"). This is the name given the rock formation on the west face of Hot Springs Mountain. The nearly vertical rock faces of this feature have a pyramidal shape. A snow slide here before contact times killed a herd of deer which was utilized by the Paiute people.

15. Tuhu' ta ("Wildcat Hole"). This point of land which has distinct Lake Lahontan wave-cut terraces on its slopes is located slightly more than two miles north of Wendel. Wildcats are said to have inhabited the caves in the rocks on this point. The track of the Southern Pacific railroad goes around the base of this point.

16. Tukwí mutsakian^{o} ("Burned Rock Point"). This name is given to a sort of lava shelf, or tableland, partially surrounded by low cliffs, or rimrock. This feature is located about two miles northwest of Tuhu' ta and apparently got its name from the lava rock. The Southern Pacific

Wadutkuht

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passes but a short distance from this feature in T29N/R15E.

17. Páhino mutsakian^{o} ("Limestone Rock Point"). This point, which exhibits wave cut terraces from ancient Lake Lahontan, is but a short distance west of the Gibson ranch. Highway 395 passes several hundred yards south of this feature. It got its name from the rocks that are covered with calcarceous tufa from the waters of Lake Lahontan.

18. Atsa kaduhk^{w} ("Red Mountain"). Shaffer Peak and its integral domes and peaks, including the peak just north of Litchfield and the dome north of the Gibson ranch, are given this name. The latter, however, is said to have had a name of its own but is now forgotten. The south side of this dome, or rounded peak, was a favored area for gathering atsá seeds (probably Sophia sonnei) for food. (The Gibson ranch is about two miles east of Litchfield on Highway 395).

19. Tubisha muha ("Red Adobe Moon"). This feature was so named because of the color of the soil there and because this saddle-shaped pass resembles the moon when it is in its crescent phase. This low pass lies between Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley and is utilized by both Highway 395 and the Southern Pacific. The area is located in T30N/R15E.

20. Wahahu ("Hay Flow"). Smoke Creek was given this name because the aquatic plants appear to flow downstream as they undulate in the current. Smoke Creek rises on the east side of Shinn Peaks and flows into Nevada.

21. Pakwí patutspuh ("Fish Splash"). Rush Creek, about five miles south of Smoke Creek, was given this name because of the fish that jumped in this stream. As with Smoke Creek, Rush Creek also flows into Nevada.

22. Pasö katuduh ("Willow Set"; "set", in this sense, means "place", or that something is "situated"). This is the name for Mud Spring, or Bull Flat as it was later called.

23. Tubihsha nõna ("Red Adobe Set"). Mud Flat was given this name because of the color of the mud in this playa lake. The lake bottom is covered by a blanket of wild sunflowers after the water dries up each year. This made it a favorite place for the Wadátkuht to collect sunflower seeds. This feature is situated at the south side of Secret Valley and is bisected by Highway 395. [222]

Wadátkuht

24. Nadu' pikwa ("Rocky"). Shinn Peaks at the north end of Secret Valley are given this name. 103 133

25. Ṣawa nöna ("Brush Set"). Secret Valley is given this name. Susy Buster stated that both the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht used this area. It is true that the villages in Secret Valley had some Kamötkuht people in them, but the villages were Wadátkuht. It must be kept in mind that the Secret Valley Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht were apparently quite neighborly. [648]

26. Sawá kudak^w ("Sagebrush Mountain"). This mountain, Snowstorm Mountain, is located about five miles north of Karlo in T32N/R14E.

27. Hudzí kudak^w ("Sagehen Mountain"). This low sage-covered hill is about four miles east of Karlo and one mile east of Highway 395 in T31N/R15E.

28. Suhngavi ("Cottonwood"). Stoney Creek, a tributary of Secret Creek, has this name. Stoney Creek is about five miles east of Karlo.

29. Masaida patsóna ("Watercress(?) Spring"). This spring is about one and a half miles north of Karlo and a short distance north of the archaeological site Las-7, also known as the Karlo site. This particular spring was not visited with my informant but is probably located in Section 5 or 6 of T31N/R15E.

30. Saga' patsóna ("Willow Spring"). This is a spring at the Shinn ranch (in T33N/R16E) where hunting parties went for deer and groundhogs (marmots) in the spring. This feature was not visited with my informant so the exact location was not recorded. [224]

31. Atsa' tukatud ("Red Dome"). This is the name for Red Rock (a mountain or hill) near (in T35N/R15E) the Red Rock post office on the northeastern side of Madeline Valley. A more exact location for this feature was not obtained since it was not visited with my informant.

32. Saib ("Tule"). Cold Springs, located about three miles north of Red Rock in T36N/R15E, bears this name because of the tules growing there. Both this feature and the previous one might properly be said to be in Kamotkuht territory, however, the Wadátkuht had access to them as if their own. My [137]

Wadátkuht

103 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features
133 belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudak^{w} ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudak^{w}. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch" in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring provides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28. [312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter [224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley. In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline [172] Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht. Evidence in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pö́whanun° ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain, Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and [224] Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular significance because deer were hunted here.

Wadátkuht

39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). 133
This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern 103
extension of Pínaktud (Item 37 above).

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name [224]
for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer
but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to
hunt.

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú nuhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name [137]
given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules
grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The [361]
Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north
end of the lake.

44. Wada banú nuhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for
Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from [137]
the fact that certain areas about the lake support a consider-
able growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named [101]
The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm.

45. Kukwa^{P}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly [789]
opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c)
was given this name because a person could make the wind blow
through it if he knew the right words. This feature is
located in T26N/R15E.

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root) [262]
This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake
where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants
could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake
as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was
visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering.

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term [136]
refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo
[136] trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south
through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals
into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to
Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of
Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway
crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured
two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the
relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its
name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that
place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wuhg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
[251] were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the
Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu.
Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly
aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to
conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their
locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon
174 an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture
even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
735 that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources
obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not
exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the
subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

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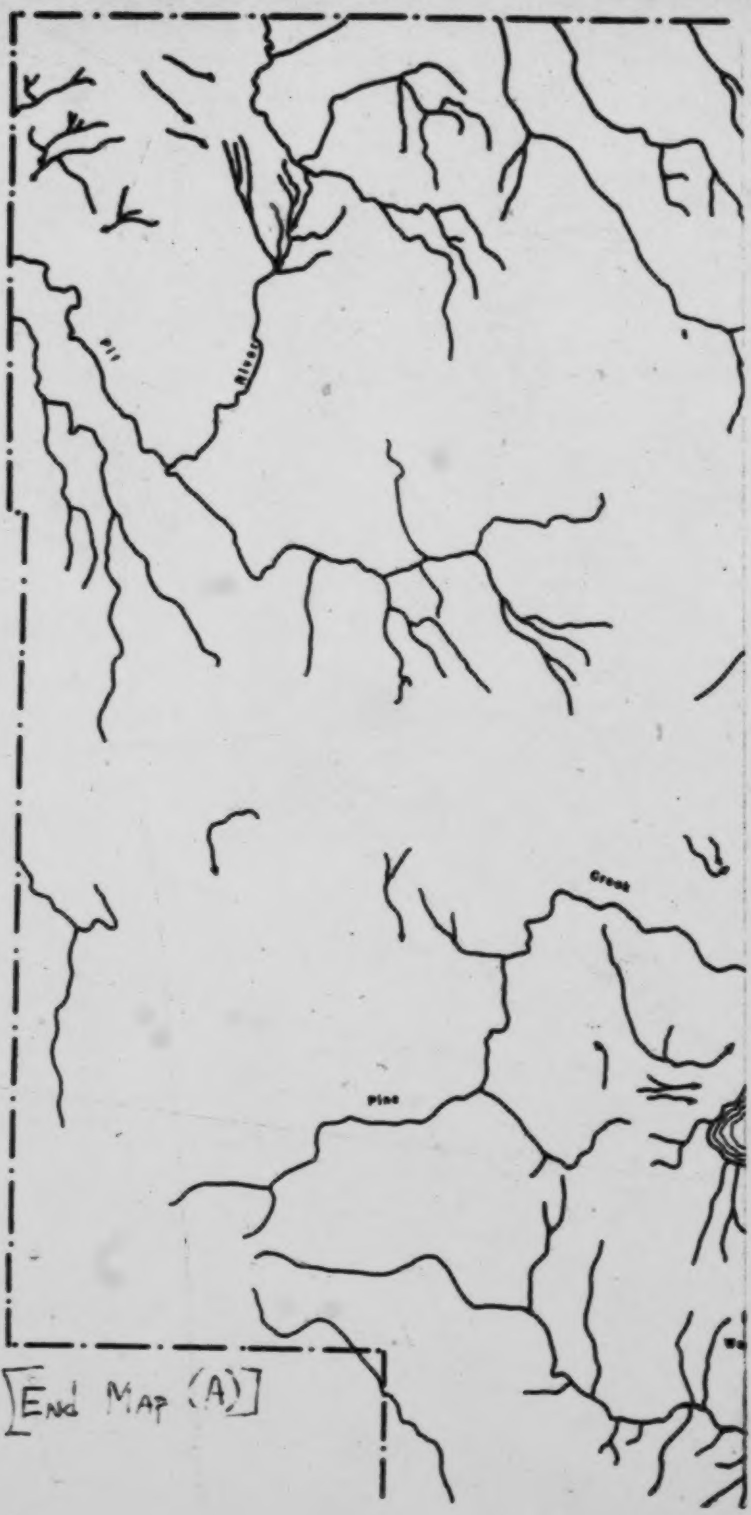
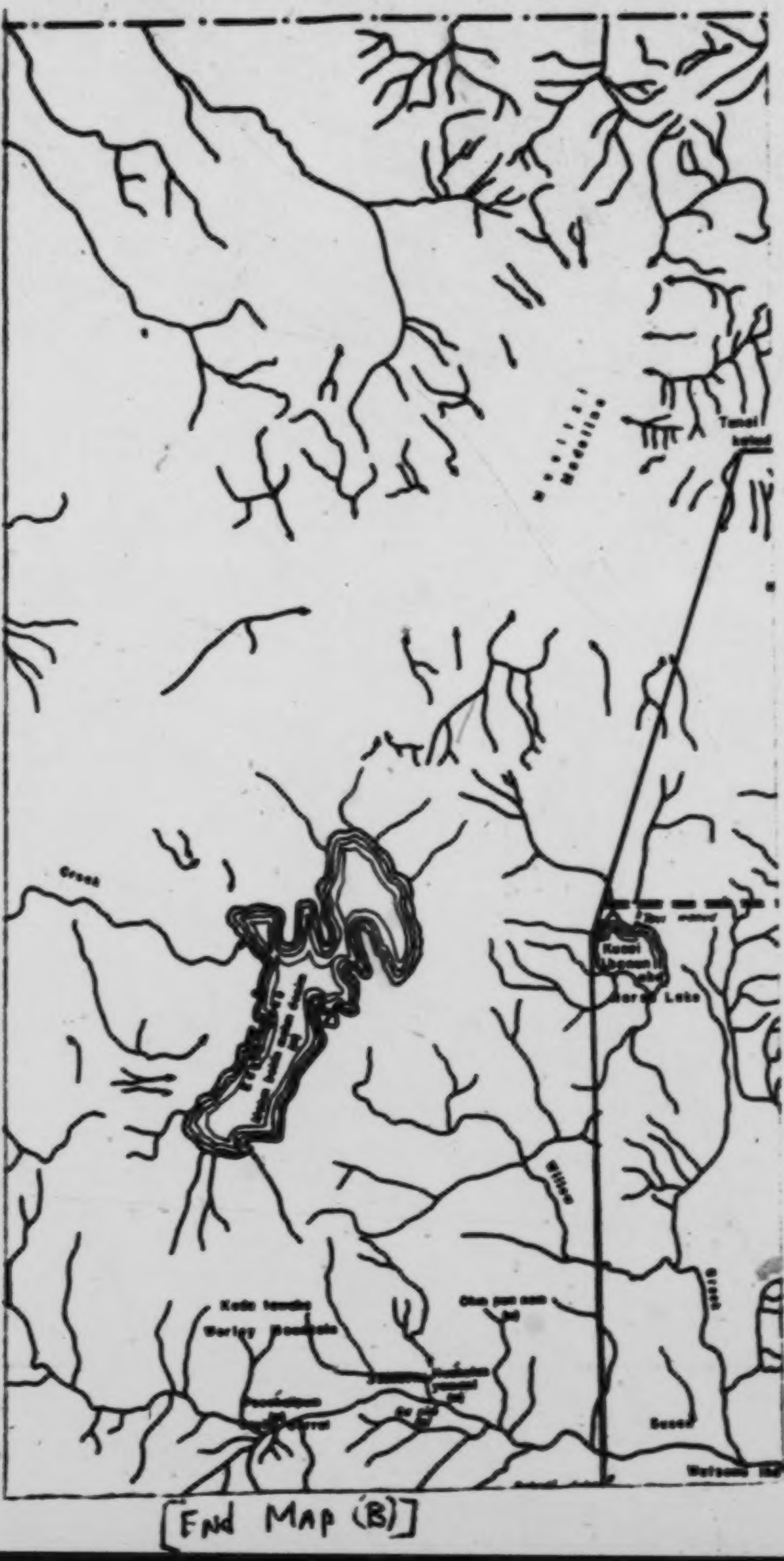
●133


Pit
River
Creek
Pine

[End Map (A)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

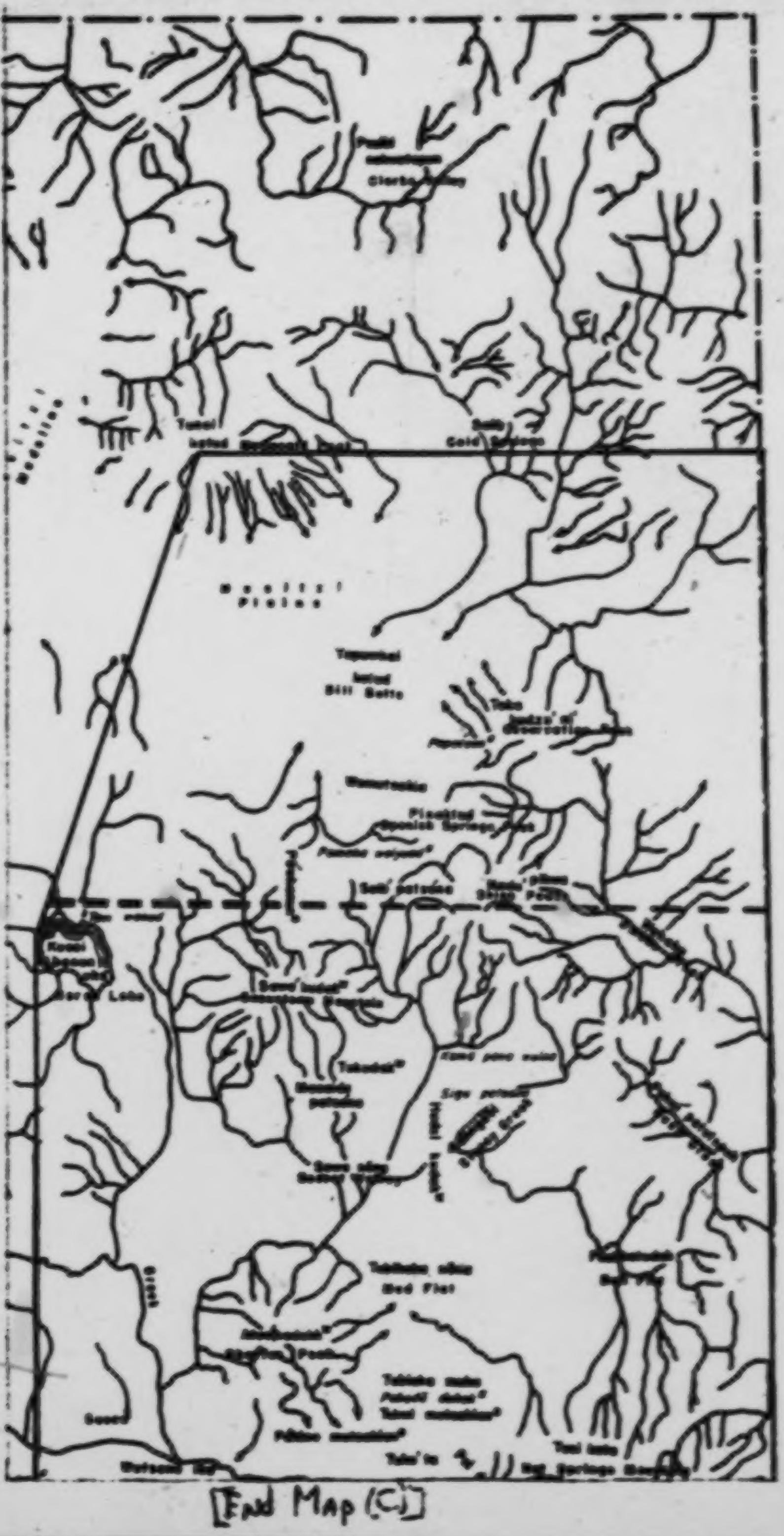
102
103
●133



Creek
Lake
Willow

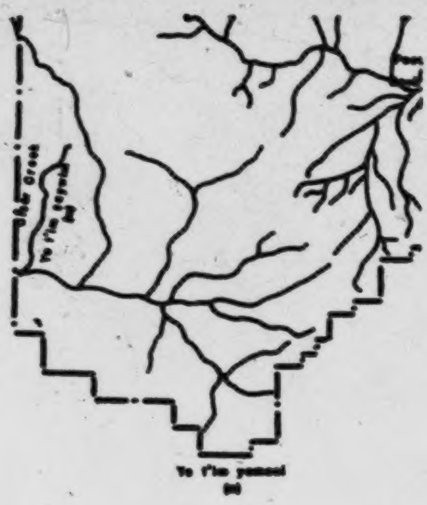
[End Map (B)]

102
103
●133


Clarks Valley
Cold Springs
Bill Betts
Spanish Springs Peak
Red Flat
Hot Springs Mountains

[End Map (C)]

102
103
● 133


Creek
Ya t'im yamani

MAP
TERRITO
HONEY L
LASSEN
CALI

Physiogra
Villages
Scale —

[End Map (D)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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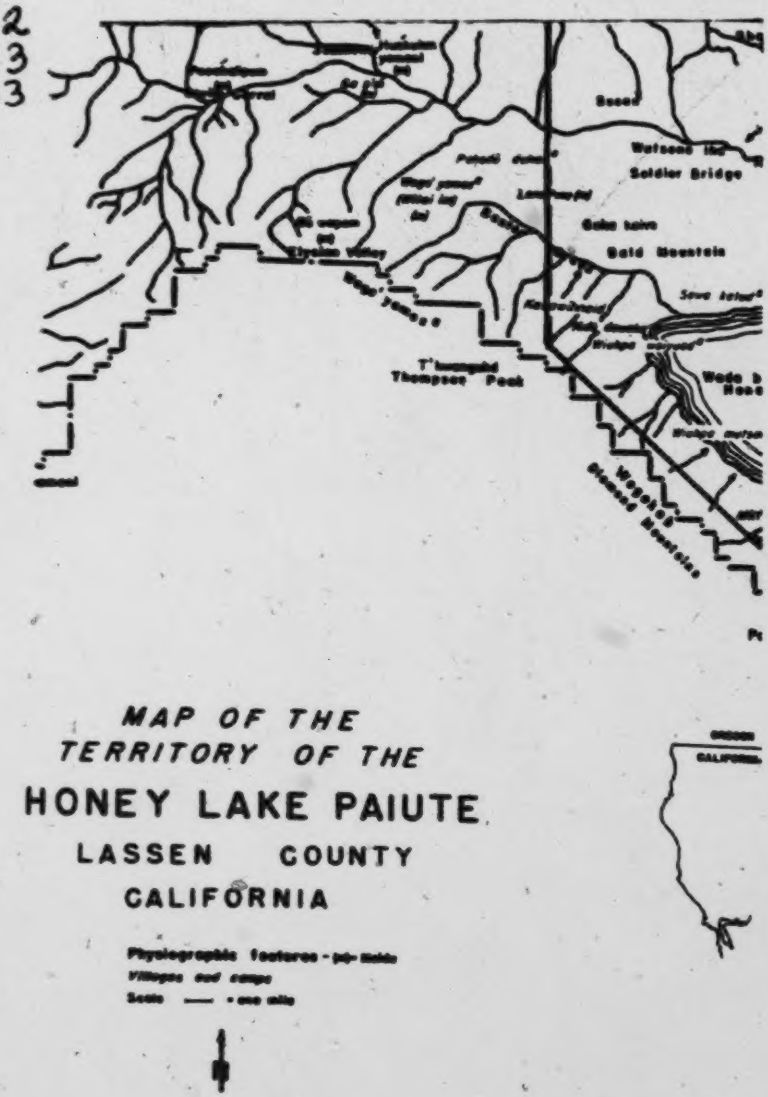
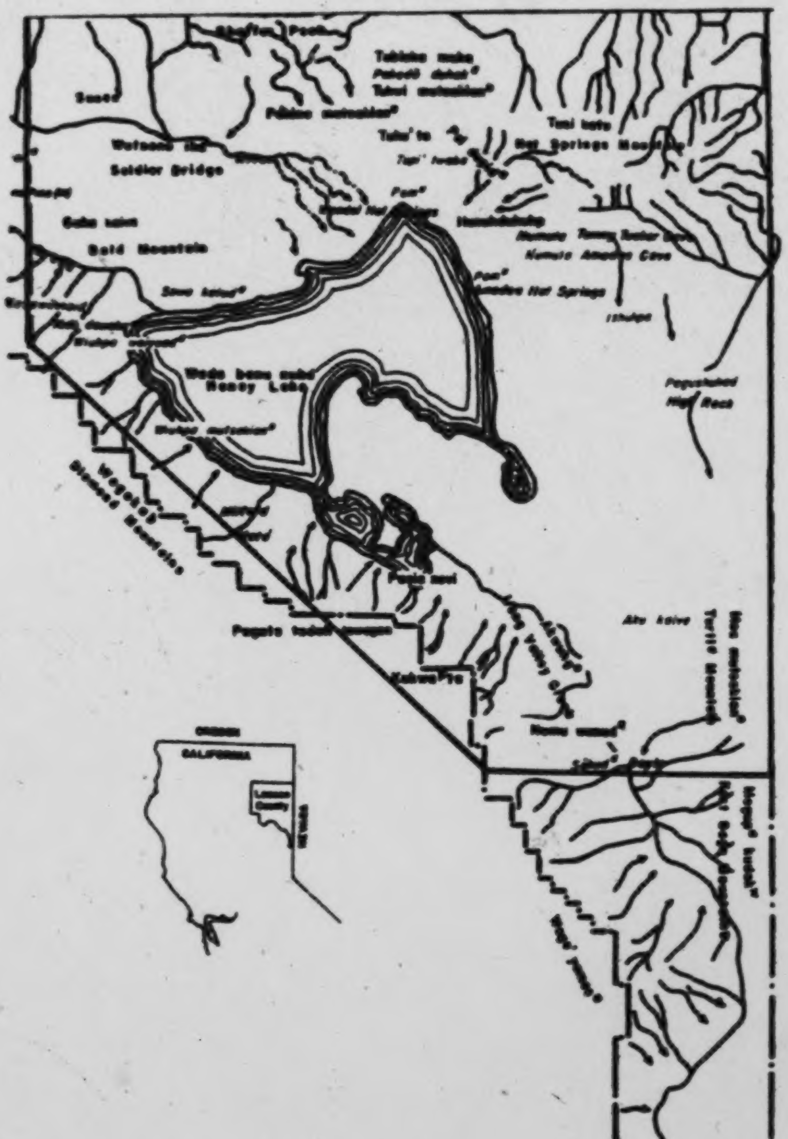
103
●133


Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
T'
Thompson Peak
Diamond Mountains
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
MAP OF THE
TERRITORY OF THE
HONEY LAKE PAIUTE
LASSEN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA
Physiographic features -
Villages and camps
Scale —— = one mile

[End Map (E)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
103
● 133


Soldier Bridge
Bald Mountain
Honey Lake
Hot Springs Mountain
Hot Springs
High Rock
Diamond Mountains
CALIFORNIA

[End Map (F)]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Wadatkuht

[P.90]

Plate 3

343
←
291
222
→

b. Frame of sweat house

d. Gathering [illegible]

415
291
←

●133
→

a. Bedrock mortars at Matá

c. Kakwoʔto or "Wind Hole"

[End Plate 3]

Washe . NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W
[301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
A 1333. Tō: Bought from California. AE: Only
[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads
on dress. Obtained from California Indians W
of Achomawi.
1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention
to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal
septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung
W to wear were the only bone beads.
[301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also,pl.
[172] 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N
302 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.
N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face
302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
246 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red
[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
A 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,
[135] SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green
[322] and blue.
N 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abun-
[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of
Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John
T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny
powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another
mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-
N rial as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is
[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena,"
which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil
A spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got
[439] from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from
the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W
[302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2
302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of
otter fur" (Curtis, 61).
1382. Ki: − (Kelly, 115, but she cites De
Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).
1386. Tg: Tagō women learned braiding of hair
from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before
that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed
W braiding style before white people arrived.
[302] 1387. Wa: − (Smith, notes).
N 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
[172] 1396. Tō: Pitch in the hair or on the bands

[p.435(B)]

Wadátkuht

412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^{w}, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called söukumtu'ma. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht. [137]

[302] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhde, or wunuhde^{u}. [237]

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534 Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^{u}, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother [821]

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick
[411] (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[714] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

AGRICULTURE.

241 They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but
222 like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds.
[412] They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

FOODS.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region[1]. But

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[136]
[319] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

124. wind *iKwa*, *biKwaP*.

131. day *Ta BiyaB*, night *Toqas*, morning *nanima*, afternoon *TaBin* (?); 196
all the time *aTas*, now, here *ya*, then *yaic*, already, past, *ma'as*. 192

132. Continuative-Habituative *-win*, Future *-Ts'a*, *Kui*, Conditional *Ka-* (?).

141. large, big *PaBa*, tall, long *oTi*, round *PaTsi'Pon·o'a*, square *moma'Tsatya'a*, flat, level *PaTa'Kwen·e'e*, small, little *Ti·Tse* (*-Tse* Diminutive), short *mi·Tse*.

142. north *Kwina'aBa*, south *Pana'Kwᵉ*, east *TaBa'Tami* (Cf. sun), wes *mana'BaTama*; up *Tugu'P·a*, down *TiBp*; here *ya'a*, there *o'o*, where? *hane* (from the interrogative *ha*); right *Ti'maDain*, left *Di'maKwᵉ*.

151. [the numerals are usually given with the suffix *-yu*]: one *ci'mi'*, two *waha'*, three *Pahe'*, four *-waTsi'Kwe'*, five *ma·ne·Ke'*, six *na·'Pahe'*, seven *na·Ta'KsKw* eight *wa'·KaDo*, nine *ciwa' ·KaDo*, ten *mano'*, from eleven to nineteen: formed by one to nine followed by *-maT siPoK* "added to", twenty *waha'mano'*, twenty-one *waha'ma cimi -maT siPoK* (i. e. "twice ten and one added"), twenty-two *waha'ma waha'-maT siPoK* ("twice ten and two added"), etc..., thirty *Pahe'mano'*, thirty-one *Pahe'ma cimi-maT siPoK*, etc..., hundred *KwayT*.

152. and, with, etc. *na*, *ono*, *noqo*; *-c* (suffix; also used to express Conditional); very *ini*; not *q'ae*, question *ha*.

153. only, single, *ci'ma*, *yaic*; all, everyone, *no'oyon*, *no'oqo*.

200. animal (no general word); hide, skin *Pibi*; antler, horn (same word as forehead *aa*); tail *Kwasi'*.

210. buffalo *Katsa'* (now "cow"); grizly bear *aha·yo'na*, cinnamon bear 196
a·na', black bear *KaKwi'*; deer *TehiTy*, *'TehiTc*; elk *Pa-TihiTc* 198
("big deer", apparently same lack of a distinct semantema in 192
several other Shoshonean languages); doe *xaPi'aB*, fawn *iwa'*; 136
antelope *Tin·a*; horse (see "dog"): cow (see "buffalo").

220. puma *Kahaa'-Toho* (see "bear" and "lynx"); lynx *Toho'o*.

230. dog *PoKo* (now "horse"), *caTi'i*; wolf *ica'a*, coyote *iza'a* (cf. "wolf", also the appended Text);

240. mountain-sheep *Ko'yP*.

250. rabbit *Taho'o*, hare *qam·o'*; porcupine *TsaGui'Ti*, beaver *Kohi'i*, marten *Pa-TsuGo*, skunk *Poqi'Tca*, weasel *Pa-BiTse*; ground-hog *KiTi*, ground-squirrel *TsePic*, gopher *KooTse*, rat *'TiKa'wa*, mouse *PunaTs*, mole *ya·'TsiP*.

260. bird (general word) *huTsi·Ba*, feather *TiTam·a*, egg *an·oho'*; quail *TaKTa*, grouse *Poqogi'o*, crow *aTa'*; golden eagle *Kwina'a*, bald-

196 headed eagle *Pasia'*, vulture *wiho'*, chicken-hawk *TaBuTsi Kuici*,
192 sparrow-hawk *Kini'* ; heron *PoiKwasa*, crane *wasa* ; duck *KuTa*,
[136] geese *naKiT* ; woodpecker (flicker) *aTsa'Ba*.

280. fish (no general word) ; salmon *aq'a'i*, trout *PaKwi'*.

290. spider *cosT* ; grasshopper *anDaDa'a*, cricket *sizyo* ; *mabiP*, horse-fly *PiPiT*, bee *nobTa*, butterfly *Tso'a'nowe* ; worm *wo'aB*.

196 300. wood *Ku·na*, dead-wood, fire-wood *PasaP* ; root *Tina*, trunk *siwis*
192 bark *aPo'a*, branch *ma'na*, leaf *cosKv*, sap *axoPi*.

137 311. tree (general term) *PohiKya'i* ; pine *wogoP*, pine-cone *q'aa*, juniper *wa·P*, fir *q'aTaB'*, spruce *winiP*, poplar *sina·B'*, willow *si·B*.

312. mountain mahogany *Tupe*.

320. grass (general term) *waba'Bi*, wild buckwheat *aTsu'*, tule : *saiB*, *PiBuP*, *Toyi'Ba*, foxtail *monoPi*, tobacco *Pacmu'*.

330. wild onion *baP·e*, wild turnip *buni'Boe*.

340. nut *obo'*, pine-nuts *TiBa*.

350. berries (of juniper tree) *apu·i*.

360. wild plum *Toyo*

370. seeds *PubiK^{w}Tya*

196 410. person ; people *naim·i*, man *na·na*, woman *mogo'ne*, old man *wa'eTs*,
192 old woman *Piya'waBi*, young man *naTs*, *TuimiTsi*, young woman *Tsia''a*, little boy *naTi'*, little girl *Tci'a'*, baby *oba'a*.

420. paternal grandfather *Kinu''u*, maternal grandfather *Togo'*, paternal
[601] grandmother *buTse'*, maternal grandmother *mu'a'* ; father *na*, mother *Pia'*, paternal uncle *bai'i*, maternal uncle *aaTs*, paternal aunt *Pahua'*, maternal aunt *PiTo'* ; elder brother *PaBi''i*, younger brother *Kwana'a*, elder sister *bama'a*, younger sister *Pine'e* ; son *Tua'* ; daughter *Pati-*, nephew or niece [through a brother] (uncle speaking) *buza'*, id° (aunt speaking) *aDa'Tsi*, id° [through a sister] (uncle speaking) *manaK'*, id° (aunt speaking) *miDo''o* ; husband *noTe'K^w*, wife *Kuma'*, father-in-law or mother-in-law *yahi'*, brother and sister-in-law are composite terms made up of nephw + mother, niece + son etc.

430. I *ni*, thou *i*, you and I *Taa* ; he, she, it, this, man, etc. *usu*, *isu*, *masu*, *Pisu* ; myself, yourself, himself, etc. *-zun* ; (essential possession) *i-* ; accidental possession *-Ka* ; [Refer to the grammatical sketch].

440. shaman *Puha'gam* ; chief *PaBe'*.

450. strong *ini*, small *TiT·i*, pretty *TaBia*.

460. Paiute *naim·i*, Pit River Innian *ici'cuwi*, Klamath *PaKwi'Diq'a*, Modoc *ca'i'iDiq'a*, Maidu *TaKone*, Warn Spring Indian *aga'Tse*, white man *TaiBo'o* ; Local bands of Paiutes : see Ethnography.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Information 101 from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 131 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and ● 136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-06-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104-194] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; g, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial v, as in Spanish; ŋ, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p. 361 (A)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
266. In weir	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
273. Spear	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
274. 1 prong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
275. 2 prongs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
278. Torch or fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	+
280a. Angle	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
281a. Of bone and wood	.	.	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
282. 1 barb at angle	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
285. Pole	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
287. Grasshopper	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
288. Salmon egg	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
288a. Minnow	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
290a. Bait basket	.	.	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
291. Fly hook	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
293. Poison (tóza used) placed in stream	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
294. Stream dammed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
295. Creek diverted	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Animals Eaten														
297. Dog (sorobaku) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297a. Mink (pai'uma) eaten	.	.	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
297b. Mole (teödzi' kwüsöva) eaten	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297c. Porcupine (tsa'kwuda or mühü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kamü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakamü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavüü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
297h. Kangaroo rat (kotsi) eaten	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
297j. Muskrat (pamuzü) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (tüka'va) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikwü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (kübö or küpa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (woda'a) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavizi) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297q. Skunk (poŋi) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
297r. Bat (biya'hama) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297s. Elk (patu'huia) eaten	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
297t. Raccoon (patakai) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
226
227

N
W
A
136
262

[p.371]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
262
136

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
297u. Bobcat (wildcat) (tuhu) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297v. Mt. lion (tnagwiduhu) eaten	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
297w. Fox (wani'i) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
297x. Badger (huna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297y. Wolf (isa) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297z. Coyote (idtsa'a) eaten	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•297aa. Buffalo (pagatsö) eaten	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	•+	+	+	+	•+	−
•298. Grizzly bear (padua'a) eaten	+	−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
298a. Beaver (kohi) eaten	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
298b. Mt. sheep (koep*) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
298c. Antelope (töna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298d. Deer (mule) (töhö'iya) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298g. Lizard, large only, eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−
•298h. All lizards eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•298m. Frog eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Birds Eaten or Used														
•299. Dove (ihovi) eaten	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
299b. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
301. Blackbird (pako'ropa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
302. Owl, screech (pahö), eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
302a. Owl, horned (muhu'), eaten	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
302b. Owl feathers used	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
303. Kingfisher (tsada'magit) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	·	·	·	−
304. Woodpecker (adza'vapa) eaten	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
305. Magpie (kuida'kakai) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
306. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•308. Raven (ada) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
•309. Crow (wiada) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
310. Meadowlark (patsidaño) eaten	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
311. Robin (saga) eaten	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
312. Bluebird (piduya) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
•313. Hawk (saibaso'o) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
314. Feathers used	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
315. Mocking bird (tora saga) eaten	−	·	·	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
316. Quail, mountain (tuota), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
317. Quail, valley (sikigi), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
318. Helldiver (grebe) (papaku) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
319. Loon (patsikaya) eaten	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	·	−	−	·	+	+	−
320. Sea gull (kuna'etö) eaten	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
321. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
322. Pelican (panosa) eaten	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
323. Eggs used	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
324. Duck (püha) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
325. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
326. Goose (nag'utö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
327. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
328. Young	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
329. Heron (wasa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	−	−	+	−
330. Eggs used	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	−	+	−
•331. Bittern (shitepoke) (tavavoni'kadik) eaten	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	·	+	+	−	−	−	−
332. Crane (kordödö) eaten	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
332a. Eggs used	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
333. Mud hen (coot) (saiya') eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
333a. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
334. Avocet (pakurikurit) eaten	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	+	+	·
335. Snipe (sahitö) eaten	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	·	+	+	−
336. Killdeer (padö'tsingi) eaten	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
336a. Ruffed grouse (kahüa) eaten	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
336b. Prairie chicken (pakoko) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
336c. Sage hen (kudzi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.372]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piegü) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (küa) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (watata'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	–	–	?	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	–	+	–	–	–	+	–		+	+	–			–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

N ●
W
A
262
136 ●
[278]

W
[252
251]

N
W
A
262

N
W
A
224

N
[784]

N
W
A
[783]

[p. 373]

N 224 [787] luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai döpi ("clay rock"). Wa: Hunters painted themselves at times to help get deer. W [30]

Antelope Hunting

N ●[136] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, töna'.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N [263] 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi'dögöp°, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls of sagebrush hung down between bushes. A: Rope of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope. N [283 224]

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304). Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N [796] 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[p. 422 (c)]

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

203. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso´öp°.

221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding
[177] out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of
● [134] trout for area we are considering: mountain
trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid
trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were
[133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes.
These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral
springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

226 [133] [136] Both lakes are extremely deep and have rather large rivers emptying into them, so that they are not too salty for fish. Pyramid Lake claims the honor of supplying the world's largest trout; specimens have been caught weighing more than 20 pounds. "Pyramid lake is just reaching a degree of salinity sufficient to prevent human consumption." Pyramid Lake was a third more saline than Walker Lake in 1882 (Loud, 157). Kl: The [825] Kuyui had the best fishing area in Nevada. Trout were designated by seasonal names: spring trout (tama arai), summer trout (tatsa arai), fall trout (uva arai), winter trout (tomo arai). It is to be doubted that these represent different varieties. Arai is sometimes generic term for fish. Ki: Trout caught only in Goose Lake and its tributaries.

[136] 252c. "Kuyui, black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake .... Chamistes cujus" (Loud, 157). Kl: The kuyui is a large sucker-like fish, often weighing more than 15 pounds, which is only caught in the spring and early summer when it enters the streams to spawn. The kuyui (pronounced by local white people kwee-wee) occurred only in Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes and the streams flowing 251 into them, especially the Truckee River. Great quantities of this fish were dried each spring. The meat was stripped from the backbone so that from each fish two almost boneless pieces were prepared. Only about 4 pounds of meat were obtained from a 15-pound fish.

252d. Ki: + (Kelly, 97).

825 252e. Sucker called awagu. "Awago, red sucker .... Catostomus tahoensis (Loud, 156).

252g. Minnows called pak'ui or hopakui. Loud, 156: "tui-pagwI, a minnow or sucker .... Siphoteles obesus or Lencidius pectinifer"; "hu-pagwI, minnow .... Richardsonius egregius."

252i. Red-side salmon called koa'arai, "cold salmon." Silverside salmon called wovi-arai, "wood salmon."

227 255. Paviotso: "The dip-net and gill-net" (Curtis, 15:71). Tö: Fish net unknown in pre-white times. Only conical basket used. Kü: When the Küpa were at Nixon they employed the methods of Kuyui. In their own territory, the Küpa had different methods.

256. Ts: The Paiute fish net is similar to that of Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 7).

257. Owens Valley: Fish net same shape as rabbit net (Steward, 257).

258. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

258a. Lovelock Cave: "Ice pick" (Loud, pl. 64,g and p. 107). Kü: Informant's mother told him that the old-timers tied a sharp rock onto a stick to use to break the ice. He thought it similar to the one from Lovelock Cave. Al denied ever hearing of such an instrument being used. Ice was broken with any big stick. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

227 259. At: Minnows caught by cutting hole
226 through ice and dipping them out with a seed beater when they come up for air.

[p.425(A)]

Washo NT20
A chomawi NS5

N
226 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens
227 Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. Kl, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N
262
825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

A [262] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate. A [787]

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü´iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N [832] 297k. Kl: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N [501 777 832] 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N ●[136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. Kl: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu´tsᵘ) hunted near Eaglsville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W [26] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 426(a)]

N
262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere is it common.

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to
A
trade. I think the distance would prohibit such
[222] a thing before the horse was introduced. AR: Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good, were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

N
[415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N
222
423 467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although among several of the bands there was said to have been family ownership of plots, among none of these was it true ownership. One family might claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

N
252 468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

262 470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N
252
222
262 471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as described by Steward, 245. TS: The seeds of the tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important. Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moccasins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Still-
N
[438] water (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Humboldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

● 136
222 Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Greene (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[4] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jack-
rabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred
individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of
the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire re-
gion over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one
person per thirty square miles.[5] It is possible, however, that the population was
denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a
large toll of life two generations ago.[6] My estimate is computed from reports of
the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *ataa* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[4] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[5] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[6] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown. 000

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high. 342

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui* (*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular-bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type. 361 342 [101] [291] [513] [782] [415]

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration. 342

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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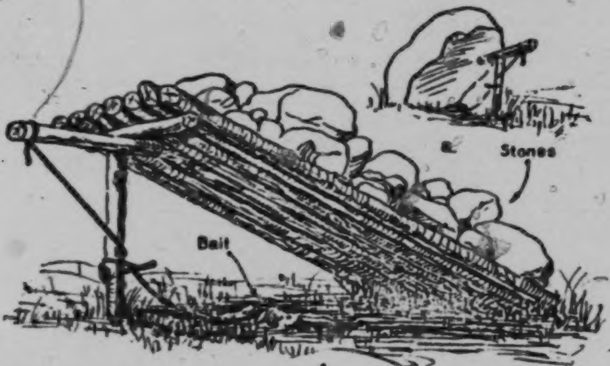
[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156–67). [136]

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was 224
firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform
of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than
words of how the weight was released.

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not 291.
even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute
never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. [136]
It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from [172]
twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that 291
way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes [172]
of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of
the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good [178]
hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin [231]
blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east.
Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful [136]
on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that [224]
no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin.



b.

224

Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and 224
children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them
into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would
follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across
a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill.

Wadàtkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 [131] Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000 acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. [137] The timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending [312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc [137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water [137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base (i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves [262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered [136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map, Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were [133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous regions to the south and to the west of their own territory. [221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gather- [137] ing forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered regions outside their recognized territory.

Wadátkuht

39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). 133 This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern 103 extension of Pinaktud (Item 37 above).

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name [224] for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt.

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai bamú muhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name [137] given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The [361] Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wamud was located on the north end of the lake.

44. Wada bamú muhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from [137] the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. [101] The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm.

45. Kukwa^{P}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly [789] opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E.

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). [262] This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering.

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term [136] refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo
[136] trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south
through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals
into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to
Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of
Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway
crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured
two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the
relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its
name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that
place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wuhg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the
[251] Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu.
Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly
aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to
conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their
locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon
174 an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture
even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

•[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. 439 The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black 262 root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

N 648
N [563]
N W [182]

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

N W 136 ● 182

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

N W 114 136 174 182

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A.D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

N
W
● 136 174 182 114 Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N
224 182 If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The
N
W
[648] Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may expl[illegible] in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N
231 177 The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

five or six miles northeast of Fort Bidwell, was known as Toha'-kidü- 103
panün (white-groundhog-lake) because a white groundhog was once 133
seen there. Pindy knew no name for Goose lake, but Joshua said
that it was called Paba'-panün, big lake.

Big valley, west of Warner valley, was called Guyü, the name of a food plant gathered there. Sugar hill, Toga'-pokwad (dark point or peak) gave its name to near-by Fandango valley. Fandango pass was called Padu'a'-agan from padu″a^{a}, grizzly bear.

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEASONAL PURSUITS AND WANDERINGS

For food these Paiute, like the bulk of Great Basin tribes, were 221
entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering, and even proto-
agriculture in the form of wild crop irrigation[13] was unknown. From
an economic point of view, Paiute habitat seems to have been peculiarly uninviting, and only through literally unceasing toil could it be made to yield a livelihood. Whereas peoples dependent upon one staple, such as acorns, camas, or mescal, normally enjoy a season of plenty, often followed, to be sure, by one of privation, the Gidü'tikad^{a} had no one product upon which they could rely. It follows, therefore,
that their food gathering activities were extensive and continuous
rather than concentrated and seasonal. Starvation was frequent, 221
especially in late winter when the stores of cached food had been 262
exhausted.

The geography of the Surprise region has been covered by Russell, 133
but it may be well to call attention to a few general features. A large 137
part of the valley floor is occupied by the playa beds of three lakes, now dry most of the time, but well filled within the memory of informants and early settlers. The remainder of the valley is said to have been meadowland in aboriginal times, but nowadays, owing to the introduction of sheep and to subsequent overgrazing, the meadow has been almost completely replaced by sagebrush, excepting, of course, land actually under cultivation. This means that the pre-white environmental conditions were definitely more favorable for the support of a non-agricultural population. In fact, it is difficult to see how a hunting and gathering people could possibly maintain themselves under present conditions.

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[13] Which Steward, 149, reports for the Eastern Mono.

received in powdered form.[86] Joshua listed the fish obtained through 439
trade as kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), yüani, tsia'ss, and
tsowa'm.

Preparation of fish.—Fish were usually cooked in the ashes of the 251
fireplace, although they could be boiled. They were dried on a rack 252
or hung from the boughs of a juniper, but were never placed near the
fire to dry as was meat. Usually fish were slit before drying but sometimes not, doubtless depending upon size. As a general thing, fish were not smoked.

Dried fish were packed in an open-twine tule or sagebrush-bark 251
sack "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." These bags 416
were called mago"o (general word for container) and were possibly four feet in length and two in width. Their size argues considerable quantity. Minnie Andersen said that fish did not keep very long; "they tasted funny." Dried fish were prepared by boiling or by roasting but were not pounded.

Fish eggs (a'gai noho) were dried and ground.

VEGETABLE FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION

The Gidü'tikadü, like other non-agricultural peoples, gathered 222
such seeds, berries, and roots as their habitat offered. All informants 137 ●
stressed the great plenty of these foods in the early days, and their statements are corroborated by those of the first settlers, who maintain that, although now sage-covered, the whole valley was formerly meadowland. Plant specimens are difficult to obtain and on the whole the data are pretty meager. Surprise valley itself yielded little, but a number of specimens were procured on the southern shores of Cowhead lake, a few miles northeast of Fort Bidwell; some were also gathered west of the Warners and a few more near Beatty, Oregon. The seed material is particularly sparse; the list below probably includes less than a fourth of the original number. It does appear however, that the most important seed plants are represented. The list of berries and roots is somewhat larger and seems relatively complete.

Seeds.—In late summer women gathered seeds in a twined conical 222
basket or in a light sack of deer or antelope hide. For ordinary seeds, 415
such as grasses, the woman held the container in her left hand and knocked the seeds into it with the twined beater which she wielded in her right hand. She gathered other seeds, such as those of sunflowers, by pulling the dry blossoms and depositing them in the burden basket.

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[86] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

252 415 A standard procedure was followed in preparing seeds of all sorts. They were placed in a fan-shaped willow tray and parched with coals from a sagebrush fire. The hulls were then winnowed from the same tray, either by working them to one side with a rotary motion or by pouring and allowing the chaff to blow off. The remaining seeds were ground on the metate and the meal thus produced was ready for immediate use or for storage. In the latter case, it was placed in a buckskin bag and buried. Sometimes seeds were stored as gathered and were not parched or ground until needed. Seed meal was mixed with water and boiled in a willow basket by the addition of hot stones. These stones were handled by means of two sticks "of any kind," a flat stake some two inches in width, or by a willow bent into a loop. Boiling food had to be stirred constantly lest the stones burn the basket.

264 415 Seed gruel was served in individual willow bowls and was either drunk or scooped up with the first and second fingers. Young boys "who wanted more mush" used three fingers. The Gidü'tikad[8] did not manufacture horn spoons but used instead a basketry spoon, a piece of bark, a split stick, or a rabbit or deer scapula. Most persons ate with their fingers, but men used spoons more often than women.

262 137 Edible seeds included wūdū', sugū',[59] and magu'gᵉ, which are unidentified, and also the following: atsa' (*Sisymbrium sophia* L.) (?)[60]; gu'ha' (*Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.); wa"da (*Suaeda depressa* var. *erecta* Wats.); wa''ta' (*Chenopodium album* L.); ūyū'p (*Chenopodium nevadense* Standley); a'gū' (*Wyethia mollis* Gray); pa[28] (*Helianthus annuus* L.) (?).[61]

A few observations may be made on the seeds listed above. Atsa' (red, so-called from its color) was mixed with snow, making a "sort of ice cream."[62] In the old days the principal gathering grounds of the ubiquitous a'gū' were in Goose Lake valley. Plate 17*c* shows a field of it in that region, along the western foot of the Warners. Stems as well as seeds of a'gū' were edible; they were pulled and eaten raw.

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[59] One informant thought this was a root, saying it was "like epos but grew only in the mountains."

[60] Which is intrusive in northeastern California. Mr. Howell tells me that two superficially similar species are *S. incisum* Engelm., and *S. pinnatum* Greene, both native to the region. I have evidently collected the wrong species, and atsa' is undoubtedly one of the two indigenous ones here suggested. *S. incisum* is used by the Klamath (Spier, 166).

[61] Which botanists consider native to the Middle West.

[62] Chamberlin, 340, notes that the Gosiute mixed ground seeds of a *Sisymbrium* with snow to make a "kind of confection."

Seeds were sometimes mixed with berries but never with meat. 252
Informants had not heard of eating sage seeds. They considered cat-tail (toib^{a}) seeds edible, although the root was a more important food. Cat-tail stalks were spread on the ground, fired, and the seeds gathered. These were shelled by being worked lightly on the metate and after this were prepared like other seeds.

Identified grass seeds include the following: waha'b^{a} (*Hordeum nodosum* L.); sopi'b^{a} (*Poa nevadensis* Vasey)[33]; mono'p^{a} (*Sitanion histrix* J. G. Smith), foxtail; waiya' (*Elymus condensatus* Pres.), rye-grass; ——— (*Alopecurus aequalis* Sobol); so'pi' (*Glyceria borealis* (Nash) Batchelder). 137

Pine-nuts (tü'ba) were of minor importance to the Gidü'tikad^{a}. 222
Aside from a few nut-bearing piñons near Bidwell mountain, they 252
are quite lacking in the whole territory. Informants knew them from 415
Pyramid lake and several described methods of preparing them. Minnie Anderson said that the cones were beaten from the trees with long sticks and dumped into an earth oven. They were roasted for an hour or so, after which they were removed, picked, and the nuts spread to dry. The latter were then shelled on the metate and winnowed. They were further dried, then ground on the metate, and made into gruel. As the gruel cooked, it was stirred with a willow twig, one end of which was looped back and tied with the outer bark of the twig. Nannie Ochiho gave substantially the same procedure except that the nuts were ground unshelled. According to Joshua they were successively parched, shelled, winnowed, ground, and made into mush.

Fruits and berries.—Chokecherries (*Prunus demissa* Dietr.) (do''-icabui) were eaten fresh or dried. Preliminary to drying they were broken lightly with a stone, molded into cakes, and placed in the shade to harden. Such dried cakes were ground to powder on the metate and then boiled. Nowadays dried cherries are mixed with water and flour, possibly with seed meal in the old days. Chokecherries and wa''da seeds were sometimes combined. A beverage was [272]
made by pouring hot water on the fruits and a tea was made from chokecherry stems.

Wild plums (tuyu) were gathered in an open-twine burden basket. They were pitted but not crushed and dried in the sun. The dried fruits were "pretty strong" before sugar was available. Wild plums are quite plentiful in the Warners and are still gathered in late summer.

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[33] And probably *Poa gracillima* Vasey as well, for which I have no native term.

man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership 622
if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less
cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups
impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering [621]
over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the 342
summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient), were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles). Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation 342
between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California 171
house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr. Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers, slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the
tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three 342
foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it.
Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has [137]
pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable
how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much [178]
greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

196 headed eagle *Pasia'*, vulture *wiku'*, chicken-hawk *TaBuTsi Kini'i*,
192 sparrow-hawk *Kini'* ; heron *PoiKwasa*, crane *wasa* ; duck *KuTa*,
[136] geese *naKiT* ; woodpecker (flicker) *aTsa'Ba*.

280. fish (no general word) ; salmon *aq'a'i*, trout *PaKwi'*.

290. spider *cuaT* ; grasshopper *asDaDa'a*, cricket *sizyo* ; *mobiP*, horse-fly *PiPiT*, bee *nobTa*, butterfly *Tsu'a'nous* ; worm *wo'aB*.

196 300. wood *Ku'na*, dead-wood, fire-wood *PasaP* ; root *Tina*, trunk *winia*
192 bark *aPo'a*, branch *ma'na*, leaf *caaKv*, sap *axoPi*.

137 311. tree (general term) *PobiKya'i* ; pine *wogoP*, pine-cone *q'aa*, juniper *wa·P*, fir *q'aTaB'*, spruce *winiP*, poplar *sina·B'*, willow *a·B*.

312. mountain mahogany *Tupe*.

320. grass (general term) *waha'Bi*, wild buckwheat *aTsu'*, tule : *csiB*, *PiBuP*, *Toyi'Ba*, foxtail *monoPi*, tobacco *Pacmu'*.

330. wild onion *baP·e*, wild turnip *buni'Boe*.

340. nut *obo'*, pine-nuts *TiBa*.

350. berries (of juniper tree) *apu·i*.

360. wild plum *Toyo*

370. seeds *PubiK^wTya*

196 410. person ; people *neim·i*, man *na·na*, woman *mogo'ne*, old man *wa'eTs*,
192 old woman *Piya'waBi*, young man *naTs*, *TuimiTsi*, young woman *Tsia''a*, little boy *naTi'*, little girl *Tci'a'*, baby *oha'a*.

420. paternal grandfather *Kiuu''u*, maternal grandfather *Togo'*, paternal
[601] grandmother *huTsi'*, maternal grandmother *mu'a'* ; father *na*, mother *Pia'*, paternal uncle *hai'i*, maternal uncle *aaTs*, paternal aunt *Pahwa'*, maternal aunt *PiTo'* ; elder brother *PaBi''i*, younger brother *Kwana'a*, elder sister *hama'a*, younger sister *Pinie* ; son *Tua'* ; daughter *Pati-*, nephew or niece [through a brother] (uncle speaking) *huza'*, id° (aunt speaking) *aDa'Tsi*, id° [through a sister] (uncle speaking) *manaK'*, id° (aunt speaking) *miDo''o* ; husband *noTeK^w*, wife *Kuma'*, father-in-law or mother-in-law *yahi'*, brother and sister-in-law are composite terms made up of nephw + mother, niece + son etc.

430. I *ni*, thou *i*, you and I *Taa* ; he, she, it, this, man, etc. *uzu*, *isu*, *masu*, *Pisu* ; myself, yourself, himself, etc. *-zun* ; (essential possession) *i-* ; accidental possession *-Ka* ; [Refer to the grammatical sketch].

440. shaman *Puha'gam* ; chief *PaBi'*.

450. strong *ini*, small *TiT·i*, pretty *TaBia*.

460. Paiute *neim·i*, Pit River Innian *ici'cuwi*, Klamath *PaKwi'Diq'a*, Modoc *ca'i'iDiq'a*, Maidu *TaKone*, Warn Spring Indian *aga'Tse*, white man *TaiBo'o* ; Local bands of Paiutes : see Ethnography.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or
absence of certain elements of culture in repre-
sentative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Infor-
101 mation from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi
131 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose
of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Val-
ley are not included because of Steward's studies
of them.[3] Although some of the groups included
here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahus-
kin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake
and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of cul-
ture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is
now on record to show that these bands are typi-
cally Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly
desert, being modified somewhat by streams carry-
ing water into the area from the Sierra Nevada,
Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their terri-
tory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle
with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its
275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about
600 miles to the north. With the exception of
part of the arid plateau in the north, all the
area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic
province; in fact, the western edge of the Great
Basin is approximately coterminous with the
Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer
137 is the coincidence of the western or northern
tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sage-
brush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dom-
inated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood.
The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-
Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically
on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and
136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are
fairly common throughout the area, although jack
rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game
were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 194] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; g̈, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p. 361 (A)]

4: Stewart   E-5   (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF	
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															N W A
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	−	+	+	+	+	*−	*−	−	*−	−	+	−	+	−	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	*+	−	−	+	−	222
472. Boiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
475. Willow-sap sugar	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	252
476. White pine pitch as sugar	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	N W A
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	[261]
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
482. Pitch	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
***Other Plants and Seeds Used**															N ● W A
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*483a. Sunflower (akügö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	137 ●
*483b. Sunflower (paoö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222
*483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*483d. Sunflower (kusiaka)	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	262
*483e. Sunflower (kusipaoö)	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	
*483f. Pickleweed (kuhava)	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	+	·	·	+	·	·	
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	+	·	
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanakö)	·	+	+	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	·	+	+	·	
*483i. Saltbrush (sönä)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	·	+	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	−	+	+	+	·	
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
*483l. Rabbit brush (mogodükupi)	·	+	+	·	·	·	+	·	−	+	·	·	+	·	
*483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihovi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	·	
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
*483p. Wild tobacco (paivamo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[276]
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	·	·	
*483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	·	
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·	
*483t. Spike rush (pamasivö)	·	+	+	·	+	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	·	
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	·	−	·	·	
*483v. Sagebrush (sawava)	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	·	
*483w. Saltbrush (waaka)	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	
*483x. mosoi	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	
*483y. sommaigi	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	
*483z. kisavi	·	·	+	+	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	
484. Jointfir (tuudupi)	·	·	·	·	[illegible]	+	+	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	
*484a. saiagava	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	−	·	·	·	·	·	
*484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	*·	+	·	+	+	·	
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	*−	+	+	+	+	·	
484e. yapö	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
484f. tuupagi	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	−	−	·	
*484g. tövza	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	·	+	·	·	
484h. tövani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	·	−	−	·	
484i. Indian potatoes (sammo?) (sugu or höga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsö)	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	
Gathering Implements															N W A
*485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222

[p. 375]

Achomawi NSS

N
262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere is it common.

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to
A
trade. I think the distance would prohibit such
[222] a thing before the horse was introduced. AE: Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good, were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

N
[415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N
222
423
467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although among several of the bands there was said to have been family ownership of plots, among none of these was it true ownership. One family might claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

N
468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

252
262
470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N
252
222
262
471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as described by Steward, 245. Tö: The seeds of the tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important. Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moccasins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Still-
N
[438] water (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Humboldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

● 137
222
Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogonum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[p.428(8)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
137 Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc.
222 My informants insisted this was in pre-white
262 days.
[278] 483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called the same plant suŋu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N
[278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N
W
[278
226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W
[262] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A
[222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N
505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

[249] 509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N
[342] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to
N
[764] have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N
[317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

648 people," he told Applegate, "were not all upon the reservation,
728 but he would bring them within its limits immediately."[194]

Two months later, at the end of December, 1865, Lindsay Applegate met Panai'na again at Ft. Klamath. This time Panai'na had with him four men, and eighteen women and children, all of whom had been wintering in "Moshenkosket's Country." The Snake leader told Applegate that this group comprised all of his people who "were with him on the Reservation....the greater part of his people in opposition to his wishes had gone to pass the winter in that part of the country where his wife was taken prisoner in 1864, and that they had promised to join him on the Reservation early in the spring."[195]

648 After Applegate left Ft. Klamath Panai'na and his group re-
166 turned to upper Sprague River Valley, where they stayed until April 22, 1866. On that date Panai'na, Tchatchaktchaksh, and the other Walpapi suddenly ran off without telling either Motcunka'skEt[196] or LaLakes that they intended to leave the Reservation. A messenger from Motcunka'skEt to Maj. Rinehart reported, a few days after the fact, that the Snakes had left as the result of a summons to war from the Snake chief Howlark. Two Indians were sent out by Motcunka'skEt to find where Panai'na had gone. Rinehart later reported to Huntington that these scouts "went to Summer Lake then to Silver Lake and found no Indians but saw one fire far northward towards Dechutes river. They seem to think from tracks and signs that he has gone to the vicinity on Dechutes where you captured his family and killed those Indians. The Klamath chiefs agree unanimously that he has broken the treaty and deceived them and that he has gone not to return."[197]

At first Huntington was inclined to be hopeful that Panai'na had merely returned to spend the summer "in the region between Crooked River on the north, Harney Lake on the east, Summer and Upper Klamath Lakes [Klamath Marsh] on the south, and Mt.
[137] Paulinee and Queah Valley on the west. This tract of country included in these bounds... affords fine grass. This band of Indians

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[4] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[5] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[6] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over, the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[4] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[5] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[6] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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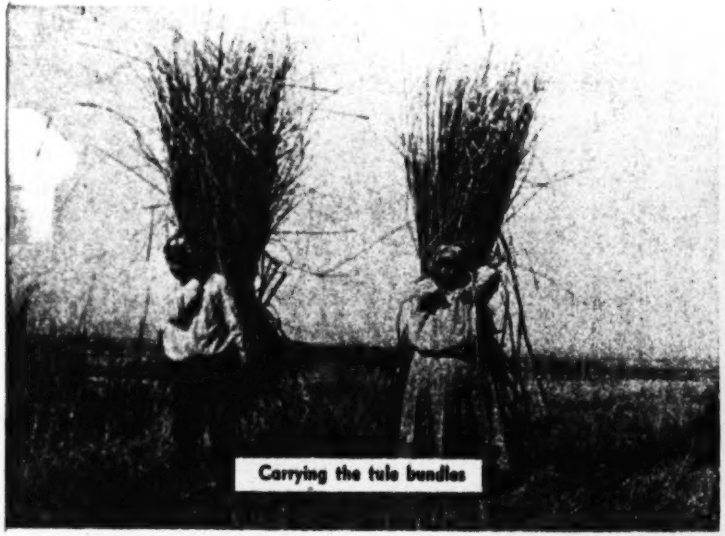
396



Carrying the tule bundles

[End plate 1A]

PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 501
valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137
the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating 133
waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the
marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas.
They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an
aid in pursuing their quarry.

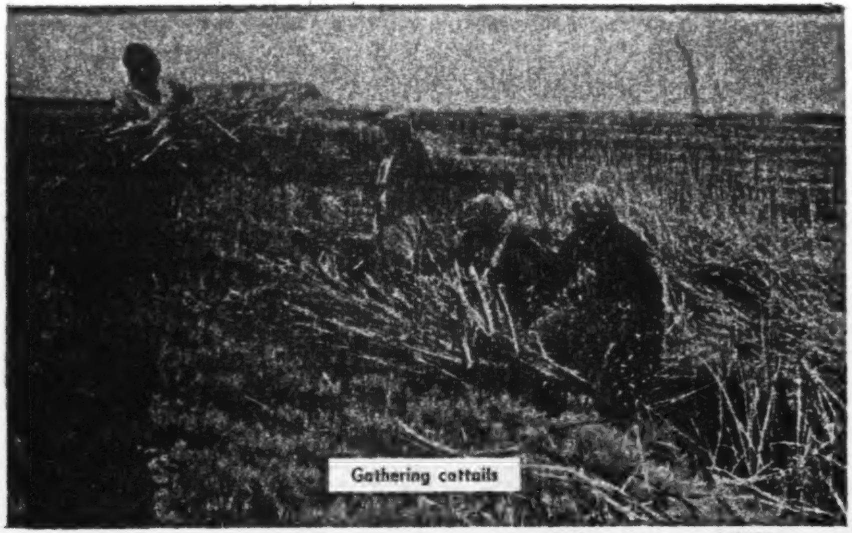
Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians 501
made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to 824
group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occa-
sionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward,
while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of [391]
reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were
usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swim-
mer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsos of northern 342
Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical 824
houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great
Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule 121
balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater,
Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P.3]



Gathering cattails

[End Plate 6A]

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137

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY

OMER C. STEWART

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE PEYOTE PLANT

N
W
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276

PEYOTE (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

N
W
276

Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{13}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_3N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychninelike and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

N
W
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The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

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[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140.

[2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

Wadátkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
[137] (i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gathering
[137] forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territory.

Wadātkuht

300 regions outside their recognized territory.

132 Winter temperatures can be extreme in the Honey Lake area with temperatures occasionally falling as low as -20°F in the vicinity of the winter villages of the Wadátkuht. Summer temperatures can exceed 100°F for short periods. Fields of snow often remain on the crest of the Sierra until June, occasionally until August, and snow can be heavy on the valley floor in the winter. Also in the winter Honey Lake Valley may be filled with a dense fog which will remain for several weeks. This same fog shrouded area in the summer, particularly around Honey Lake, may be subjected to choking, blinding dust storms of considerable magnitude. Despite this seemingly harsh environment the Wadátkuht were very fortunate [137] to have groves of oak trees within their territory. They also [133] were fortunate to have Honey Lake and the network of swamps and sloughs of Susan River which attracted myriads of waterfowl to nest and feed. The Wadátkuht environment could be harsh, but it could also be bountiful.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

175 [174] The date of first contact by Europeans with the Honey Lake Paiute may never be known with any exactness, but it can be assumed that some knowledge of the whites had been obtained by the last quarter of the 18th century. The existence of the Spanish after their founding of the mission at what is now San Francisco in 1776 was certainly known to Indian groups even as remote as the Honey Lake Paiute. Visits by Europeans into the general region are recorded as first having occurred in 1829 when Peter Skene Ogden made a trip west from Salt Lake to northwestern Nevada in that year. In 1830 he traveled from the Columbia River to the Colorado River on a route which lay to the east of the Sierra Nevada. His exact route is not known but it may have been through Nevada rather than in California along the east margin of the Sierra Nevada (Elliott, 1920). There can be little doubt that activities such as his were soon known to all groups neighboring the areas of penetration. It is thus probable that the Honey Lake people had heard rumors and tales of the white people for many years before they actually saw them. In fact, the coming of the whites was "foreseen" by Sanezha wahits, an old shaman. He sang for four or five nights and told the Honey Lake people that something was coming to their country, and that "something" was a white-skinned people. Because of this prediction [787] the Wadátkuht were not too surprised to see the first white

Wadátkuht

population was approximately 200 persons. This number could be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of the expectable decrease in population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group. 161 [177]

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The following is a listing of the names and a description of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names. 103 133

1. Wago' yamos^a ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos^a by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is [137]

Wadátkuht

103 133 given this name. This feature is not in Paiute territory but is probably on the Mountain Maidu-Atsugewi boundary. Worley Mountain is plainly visible from Honey Lake Valley and was probably visited on occasional hunting trips, particularly since nearby Eagle Lake was visited for hunting and gathering purposes.

[137] 3. Guha kaive ("Guha Mountain"). Bald Mountain several miles west of Honey Lake has this name because of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) growing there. This small, treeless range of rounded hills has a growth of bitterbrush, grass and sage covering it. Its origin is documented by a Wadatkuht myth.

4. T' kwanguhd ("Tower"). This name refers to Thompson Peak which has a tower-like rock formation in association.

[546] 5. Padotsa dawakuhd ("Bubbling Hole"). This spring is located on the hillside behind (south) of the Bird Flat schoolhouse. The school is approximately a mile west of Herlong Junction on Highway 395.

6. Pasia novi ("Bald Eagle House"). An old pine tree beside Highway 395 a distance of 5.4 miles southeast of Milford was given this name because of a pair of bald eagles who made their nest in it many years ago. When Ike Northrup was a young man he went by this tree with Joaquin who told him about the nesting birds in the tree and the name for it. The eagles had long since ceased nesting there by that time so Ike never saw them. The tree is still standing but it was killed in the summer of 1950 by a brush fire.

[726] 7. Numu wunud^a ("Indian Stand Up"). This name was given to a conical rocky hill about four miles northwest of Doyle (T25N/R16E/Sec. 3). This hill received its name as a consequence of a fight between some Pit River and Paiute men. The fight started at Doyle with the Paiutes attempting to escape to this hill. The Paiutes, with the Pit River men in pursuit, gained the sanctuary of this hill and began to roll boulders down on the Pit River men. A Pit River man was killed during the fighting and was stood up by the Paiutes who did it "to be onery". The death of this one man was enough to stop the fighting; "Maybe the headman killed, rest run away".

8. Mogúp^a kudak^w("Sharp Mountain"). The range of mountains just east of Doyle is given this name because of its rather jagged appearance.

Wadátkuht

24. Nadu' pikwa ("Rocky"). Shinn Peaks at the north end of Secret Valley are given this name. 103 133

25. Sawa nöna ("Brush Set"). Secret Valley is given this name. Susy Buster stated that both the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht used this area. It is true that the villages in Secret Valley had some Kamötkuht people in them, but the villages were Wadátkuht. It must be kept in mind that the Secret Valley Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht were apparently quite neighborly. [648]

26. Sawá kudak^w ("Sagebrush Mountain"). This mountain, Snowstorm Mountain, is located about five miles north of Karlo in T32N/R14E.

27. Hudzí kudak^w ("Sagehen Mountain"). This low sage-covered hill is about four miles east of Karlo and one mile east of Highway 395 in T31N/R15E.

28. Suhngavi ("Cottonwood"). Stoney Creek, a tributary of Secret Creek, has this name. Stoney Creek is about five miles east of Karlo.

29. Masaida patsóna ("Watercress(?) Spring"). This spring is about one and a half miles north of Karlo and a short distance north of the archaeological site Las-7, also known as the Karlo site. This particular spring was not visited with my informant but is probably located in Section 5 or 6 of T31N/R15E.

30. Saga' patsóna ("Willow Spring"). This is a spring at the Shinn ranch (in T33N/R16E) where hunting parties went for deer and groundhogs (marmots) in the spring. This feature was not visited with my informant so the exact location was not recorded. [224]

31. Atsa' tukatud ("Red Dome"). This is the name for Red Rock (a mountain or hill) near (in T35N/R15E) the Red Rock post office on the northeastern side of Madeline Valley. A more exact location for this feature was not obtained since it was not visited with my informant.

32. Saib ("Tule"). Cold Springs, located about three miles north of Red Rock in T36N/R15E, bears this name because of the tules growing there. Both this feature and the previous one might properly be said to be in Kamotkuht territory, however, the Wadátkuht had access to them as if their own. My [137]

Wadátkuht

39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern extension of Pínaktud (Item 37 above). 133 103

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt. [224]

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú nuhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north end of the lake. [137] [361]

44. Wada banú nuhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm. [137] [101]

45. Kukwa^{p}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E. [789]

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering. [262]

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey [136]

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

[224] Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab^{i} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this [177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

[137] The most important single food plant product in the Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered in large enough quantities some years to last for two or [251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

Wadátkuht

412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^{w}, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called söukumtu'wa. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht. [137]

[302] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhds, or wunuhds^{u}. [237]

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534 Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^{u}, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother [821]

PLATE 1

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292
● 142
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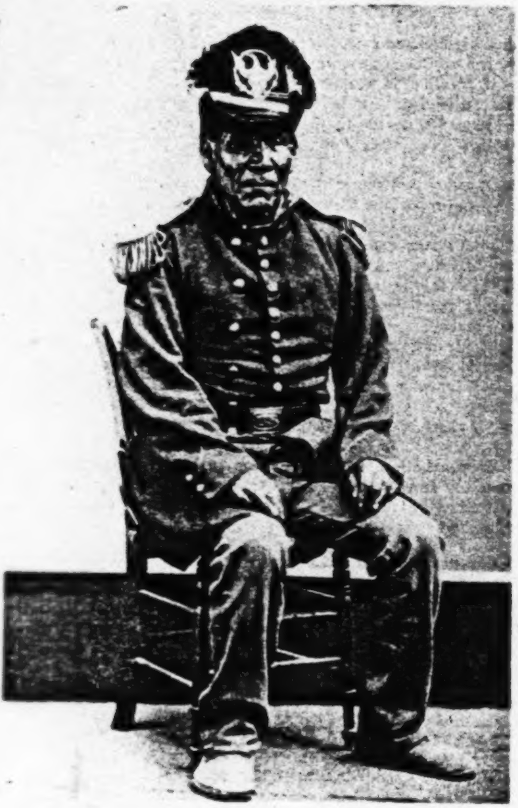

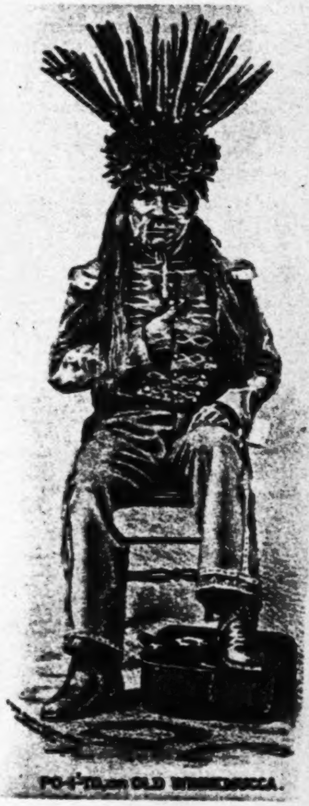

PO-I-TO, OR OLD WINNEMUCCA.

PLATE 2

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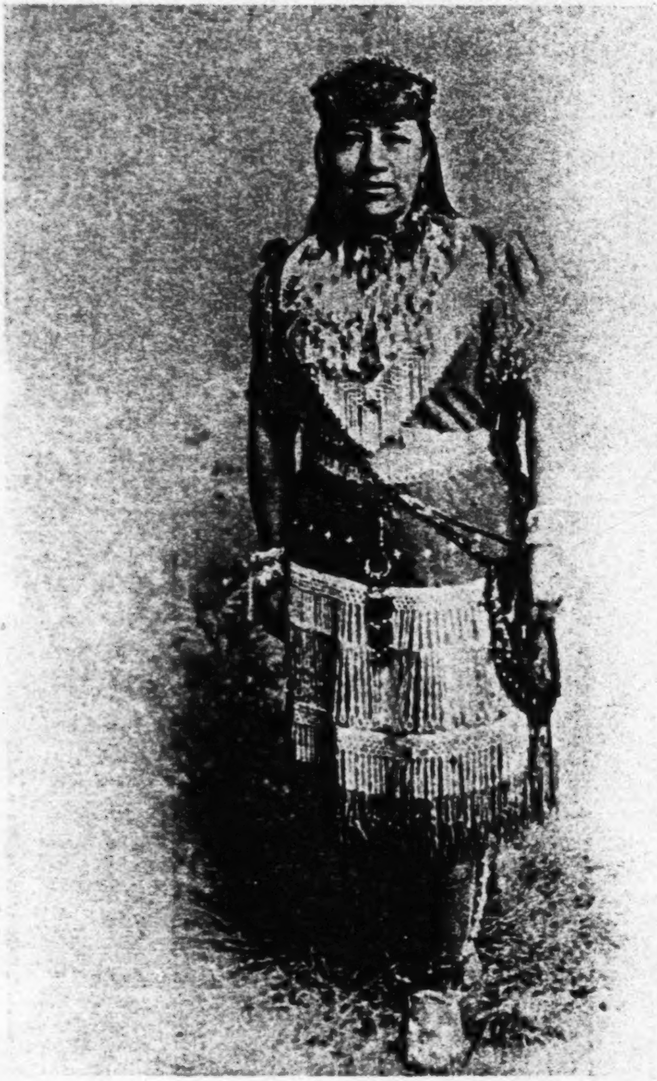

PLATE 3

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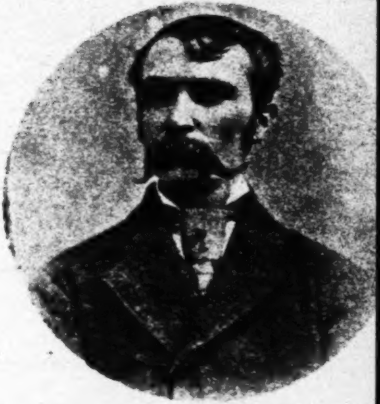
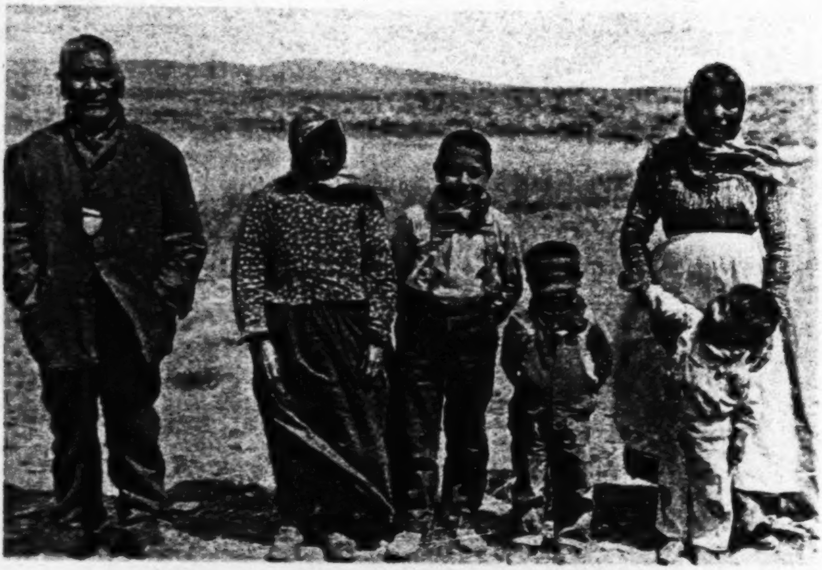


PLATE 6



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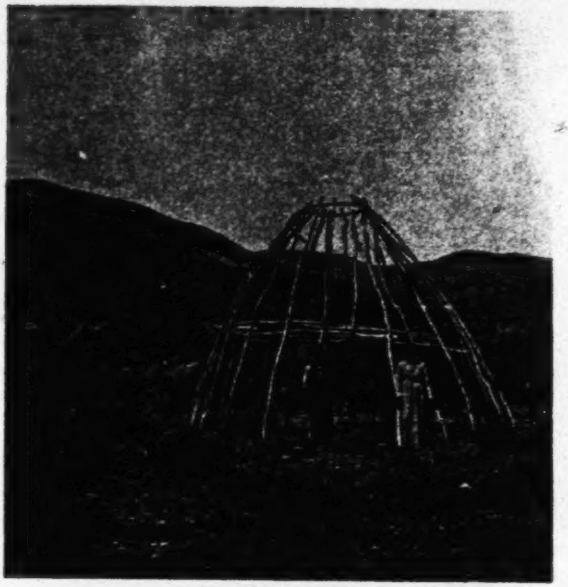

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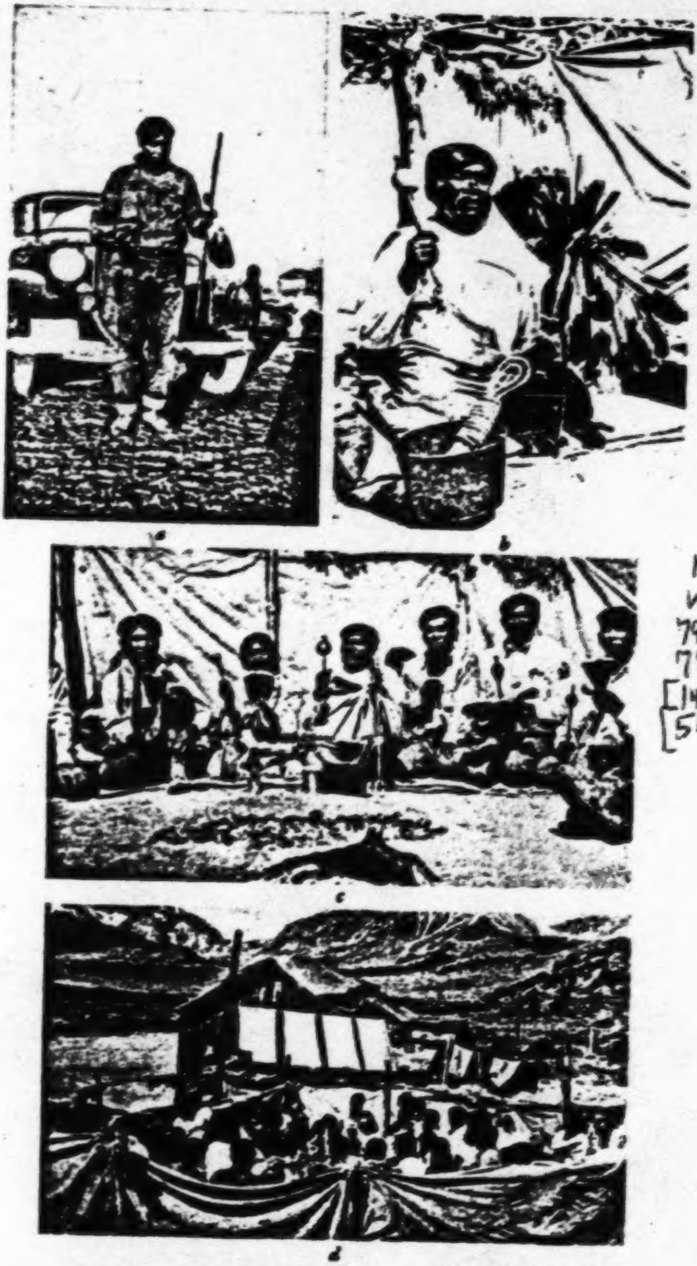
14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



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[791]
[516]
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795*
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[142]
[516]

PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

PLATE 2

N
W
115 *a.* Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

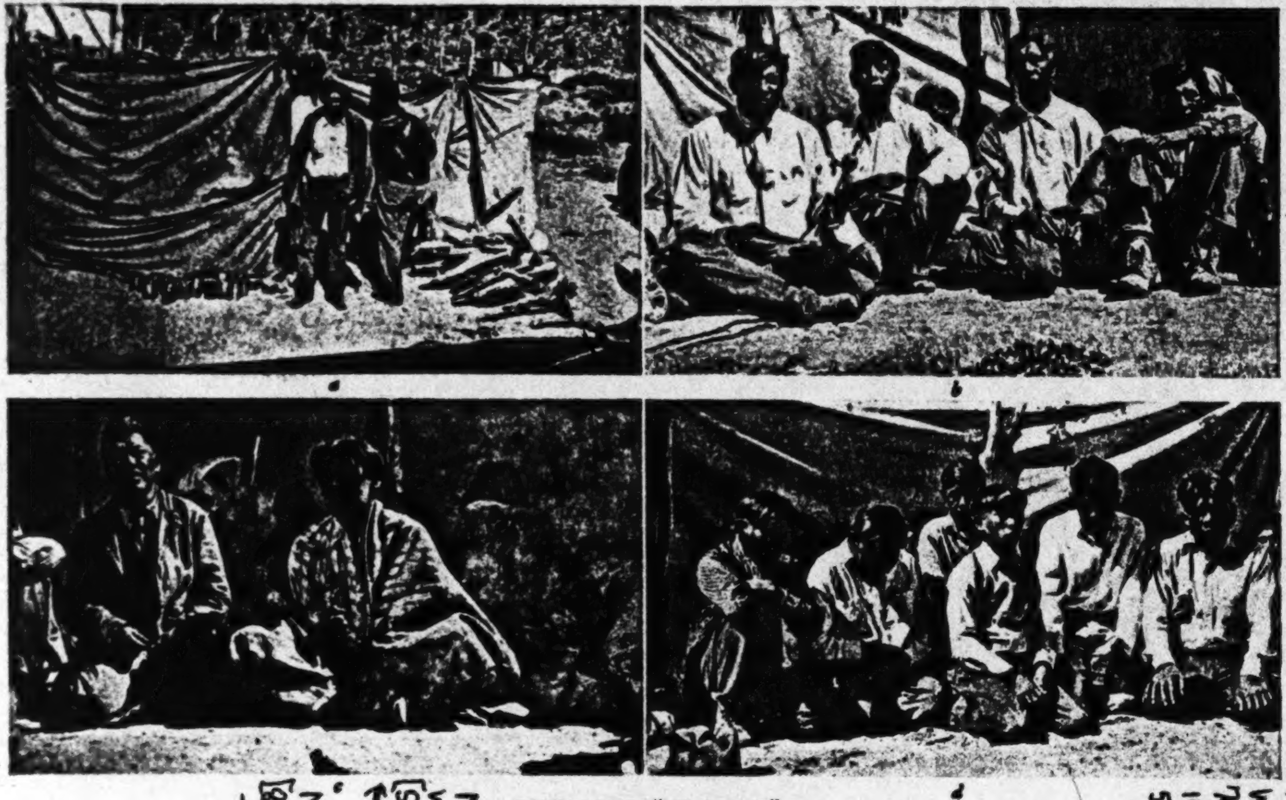
● 142
516 *b.* "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

[514] *c.* Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

N
[854] *d.* School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

[P.141]



PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

N W [514] ↑ N. [458] ↓

N W 745* 142 516

Frontispiece

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115

KITTY JOAQUIN
1954

[Facing P. i, A]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadatkuht

[P. 88]

Plate 1

115
291
● 142

a. Kitty Joaquin

b. Kitty Joaquin and her daughter Gladys

c. Lena Joaquin Calvin

d. Grant [illegible]

e. Gladys [illegible], Kitty Joaquin, and Ike [illegible]

[End Plate 1]

Wadátkuht

Endurance. An example of endurance is shown by the ten mile run Kitty and several other girls made from Litchfield to Kasawihnaid on Parker Creek. They left with some women to pick chokecherries, but the girls ran on ahead and filled their baskets before the women arrived, and immediately returned to Litchfield. (They got a ride in a wagon part of the way back.) This sort of activity parallels the great endurance shown by the girls at their puberty ceremonies where they had to run long distances and were allowed little sleep, and little to eat and drink. 147

The stamina of the men is demonstrated by the long distances they were capable of traveling by foot in remarkably short time (see the section on "Supernatural Helpers").

Standards of Beauty and Intelligence. People were not judged by their physical beauty, but on their abilities. Good looking or exceptionally intelligent individuals did not live to a ripe old age. 156 [165]

Standards for the Differentiation of Several Indian Groups. 186 A Paiute could tell a Maidu by his snag teeth. The Paiute had better teeth. A Washo could be told by his voice, as could a Pit River. That is to say, when these two peoples were speaking English, as they could obviously be known when they spoke their own languages. A Washo had a rather high pitched voice. The Pit River people had a different sort of voice..."you can tell". A Paiute usually could be told apart from the others by his tattoo marks.

Methods of Sitting. Joaquin is said to have sat in a position natzí kwunt^{kató}, "to sit with your knees up". He could sit in this position for hours, but when Gladys tried to do it she found it very difficult. Joaquin's back was straight, his heels against his butt, and his knees at his chin when seated in this manner. He did not need to use his arms to hold his legs against his body, but would have his hands free to work, and he had no backrest when seated in this position. 516

Women sat cross legged, dapatni^{kató}, "double up set". To sit with one's legs out in front was muda kató. With one's knees on the ground and butt resting on heels was sidá^{kató}, "kneel set". To kneel was sidákwun^{a}.

Personal Cleanliness. Kitty said that Joaquin had a propensity for taking cold baths in the morning, but she did 515

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865 when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should 861 love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867 with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867 which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754] and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152] afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756 people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 754] The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power, but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty. Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783 rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back." Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152 him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

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[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost [751] sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead.

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the
family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next
chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the
family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of
bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions
husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently
or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate
physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect
check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation
for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give
rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because
she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another
informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother,
however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community.
Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were
deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink
and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members
of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 578 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance 152
was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their
aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or
is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps
aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened
the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true.
Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished
that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning 762
the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported
in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed
her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted.
Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her
husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house.
Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back
when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered
that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them.
Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might
be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's
death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

626

spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act [152]
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

WadátKuht

881 On the first night Gladys had to run about one-half mile at night under the new moon and repeated it the second night.

[535] There was dancing on each succeeding night, as on the first night, and Gladys had to make the usual run. She would grab the deer hoof rattle from the singer, Big Rosie George, and run with it. A group of young people, both boys and girls, would run with her, although only one or two would go some nights.

The third to sixth days and nights were essentially the same as the first two days and nights. During the night of the sixth day, however, everyone danced until dawn. Gladys then ran from Indian Heights east to a place just west of the new cemetery (which is just north of Susanville).

She then ran back to Indian Heights, but not to the dance ground as she had on the previous nights. Instead, she ran to a spring on Indian Heights where her aunt, Helen Joaquin, was waiting for her. Helen had a fire going on a red ant hill near a sagebrush plant. As Gladys came running up she jumped over the sagebrush and the fire in a single jump. The fire had been built next to the sagebrush purposely.

As soon as Gladys had jumped over the bush and the fire Helen told her to take off her clothes. As soon as this was done her aunt threw a bucket of cold water on her. Since it was in the fall of the year, and the weather cool, the water hit her as a shock. While she had been taking her clothes off Helen had put some green sagebrush on the fire, and then some water. Gladys stood upon the green brush over the fire after she had taken her clothes off, and the steam rising from the doused fire felt good to her since she was cold from having been splashed with the bucket of cold water. Her aunt threw dippers of warm water over her as she stood over the steaming fire. Sagebrush had been put into the warm water that was thrown on her. After Gladys had been bathed in the warm water she dried herself and put on clean and/or new clothes. The old clothes were left behind with a dollar in one of the pockets and Gladys never saw the old clothes again. She then went up to camp where her Aunt Helen told her what she could have for breakfast; it was bread, cereal, and coffee, but no meat. This was the end of the puberty ceremony.

[152] All during the time of her puberty ceremony Gladys felt ashamed, guilty and afraid, and was glad when it was over. On the first day she cried some but stopped when she was told

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the
family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next
chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the
family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of
bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions
husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently
or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate
physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect
check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation
for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give
rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because
she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another
informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother,
however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community.
Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were
deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink
and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members
of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

578
three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every in- 152
stance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154 ●
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [588]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Con- 762
cerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remem-
bered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

762 154 578 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 578 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women. The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

593 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[3] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586] his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602] his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835] fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing
to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by
sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[3] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607] under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

762 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of
● 154 strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other
578 frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and
155 sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the
867] family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [754]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155] ●
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however,
that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day, two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out
with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experi- [754]
ence which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness. Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is un- 753
conscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath. This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273]
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity, which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

155 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry 622 became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

787 Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed 755 her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she 753 diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person 578 who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved, is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to 753 old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

754 the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp, [755] worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery. He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T. Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery. Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis. She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr. M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly, although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances. [155] He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived in Burns.

[578] The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly. On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning. Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs. M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them, but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling [787] he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

754 761 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have
been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery
power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen
[753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that
they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them
to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the
684 death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual
761 advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his
hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him.
I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame
her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later,
all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had
hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the
Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were
761 accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's
own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding
his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would
not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M.,
perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw
to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were
taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion.
208] It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her
parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the
community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community
would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality [754]
was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155 ●
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing [762]
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest,
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-
five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering [657]
around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[a] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which [574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent [753 761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case [155] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[a] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home
she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[584] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going
around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with
their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me
that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had
been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it.
According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this
time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't
let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself,
128] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that
so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to
their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad
power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
754 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in
the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came
out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of
importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to
prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for
a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms
of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the
charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were
the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated
primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp.
Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with
Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
[832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
837] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show
it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that
she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

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band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. 164]
The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [756]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

578 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr.
754 Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to
756 have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not
[158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a
155 person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and
828 having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men
[157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[579] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on 155
family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying 828
degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more [578]
remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost [674]
all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has [756
been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person 690]
by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts 754
the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and 681
either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community, he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover. The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays, when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

762 154 578 155 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 867] In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out [152]
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

Wadátkuht

Endurance. An example of endurance is shown by the ten mile run Kitty and several other girls made from Litchfield to Kasawihnaid on Parker Creek. They left with some women to pick chokecherries, but the girls ran on ahead and filled their baskets before the women arrived, and immediately returned to Litchfield. (They got a ride in a wagon part of the way back.) This sort of activity parallels the great endurance shown by the girls at their puberty ceremonies where they had to run long distances and were allowed little sleep, and little to eat and drink. 147

The stamina of the men is demonstrated by the long distances they were capable of traveling by foot in remarkably short time (see the section on "Supernatural Helpers").

Standards of Beauty and Intelligence. People were not judged by their physical beauty, but on their abilities. Good looking or exceptionally intelligent individuals did not live to a ripe old age. 156● [165]

Standards for the Differentiation of Several Indian Groups. 186 A Paiute could tell a Maidu by his snag teeth. The Paiute had better teeth. A Washo could be told by his voice, as could a Pit River. That is to say, when these two peoples were speaking English, as they could obviously be known when they spoke their own languages. A Washo had a rather high pitched voice. The Pit River people had a different sort of voice..."you can tell". A Paiute usually could be told apart from the others by his tattoo marks.

Methods of Sitting. Joaquin is said to have sat in a position natzí kwunt kató, "to sit with your knees up". He could sit in this position for hours, but when Gladys tried to do it she found it very difficult. Joaquin's back was straight, his heels against his butt, and his knees at his chin when seated in this manner. He did not need to use his arms to hold his legs against his body, but would have his hands free to work, and he had no backrest when seated in this position. 516

Women sat cross legged, dapatni kató, "double up set". To sit with one's legs out in front was muda kató. With one's knees on the ground and butt resting on heels was sidá kató, "kneel set". To kneel was sidákwun^{a}.

Personal Cleanliness. Kitty said that Joaquin had a propensity for taking cold baths in the morning, but she did 515

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This
time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not
name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was
obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter
family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and
Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [755]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men. Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey. Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M. girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public
opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [157]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of
the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has
had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

578 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the
758 father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with
157 whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated
[584] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

[554] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[a]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie
758 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and
157 was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen,
[754] Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

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[a] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments, and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power, some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [694]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

such power ran in his family, and it seems as if he shared the reputation because 754
he was married to Mrs. Porter. He was said to have power in sea gulls. In the account of the death of Polly, reported in the previous chapter, it is interesting that some accused him of the act, and some accused his wife, but everyone agreed that one or the other was guilty. Mrs. Porter's power was in snakes and it was said that all the victims of her power saw snakes or felt them on their bodies. It was also stated by the community that all the Porter children would probably be just like their parents, mean, bad, and dangerous.

In determining how Mrs. Porter got the reputation for sorcery, the first fact which seems important is that her family were already marked as mean people. [157]
Although none of them seem to have been in such an uncomfortable position as Mrs. Porter, they certainly were not popular. The two types of behavior attributed to her father and remembered with disapproval were winning at games too frequently, which was attributed to using his power to cheat, and spitting in other people's food. This latter behavior was attributed to jealousy and the wish to have the food for himself.

Seven different people were said to have been killed by Mrs. Porter. I have 754
reconstructed the chronological order of these cases as accurately as possible as it 761
seems important in determining how a reputation is built up. One of the first sicknesses blamed on her was that of a young child. It is stated that during the doctoring of this child, which Mrs. Porter attended, she could not sit still and the doctor stated that her power was responsible for the child's condition. Evidently Mrs. Porter was very nervous and did not challenge the accusation as the doctor is said to have worked on her and with her consent taken away her power. One would surmise that she was in a bad position or she would not have accepted the blame. It may also be that she was young at the time and more sensitive to criticism than she became in later life.

Three other accusations were leveled against her which date from about this period. She is said to have killed her own uncle, a man who specialized in helping women who had trouble in childbirth; and she is also reputed to have killed her own niece. The evidence against her in this latter case was quite damaging as several people are said to have seen a snake crawling around the young girl's neck; one man tried to pull it off but did not succeed until the girl was already dead. The third offense was explained as revenge for theft. Sophie is said to have stolen Mrs. Porter's' beads. Sophie's mother died soon after this episode and Mrs. Porter was held responsible for her death.

About 1930, when the Porters were living in Fort Bidwell, the accidental death [626]
of their son precipitated the accusation of sorcery already discussed in the previous chapter. This accusation was backed by the entire community. The circumstantial evidence was damning. The Porter's had publicly blamed the Simms for the death of the Porter boy and in their uncontrolled anger had theatened the family. Soon

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community
would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his person- [754]
ality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, [762]
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-
five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation center- [657]
ing around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka ta gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[8] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which [574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent [753 761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case [755] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[8] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

754 578 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

[584] All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 828] Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 754 578 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

[164] The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings. [832 837]

754 183 155 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

754
band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonor- 164]
rhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [756]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[578] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is 578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be 154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur. 683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many [684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses. As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an 593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not 578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not 602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the [626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately, thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would [157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and 593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other 152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

578 three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 593 hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance 152 was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762] guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578 choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154 acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848] children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589] of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762 factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157 ● they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578 because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning 762 the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154 following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578 her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754] about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gam-
bling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed,
although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of
sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This
seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably
displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part
to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that
aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers
and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the
Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that
if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their
trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
[422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of
friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from
the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and
had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them.
However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
[231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but
gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The
Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competi-
tive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights
arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent prac-
titioner. It must also be remembered that shamans have no or-
ganization or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The sha-
man acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his posi-
[578] tion only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
● laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the per-
[525] petual gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of exten-
sive resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

N W 177 182 *795

compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers

N W

come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

N W 177 554 *795

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks,

N W [124]

activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Coleville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III,[1] show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been

N W

shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[illegible]

157 177 *795

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

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[illegible] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 123-AW]

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differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult 157
with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar back- 177
grounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors. 795*

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism.[77] N
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The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support 177
from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we 795*
must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural
integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the
Washo-Paiute is not significant. N

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial W
datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth 171
while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of re- 177
ligions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals 668
in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among
tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. 795*
He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in
cultural disintegration.[78] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement,
confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and
stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there
are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern
Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

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[77] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.

[78] 1925:868–873.

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

N
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171

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

N
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columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

162
795"

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

[103]
[171]
[484]

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

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795
273
756
157
563

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	179 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some
sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have
been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experi- [754]
ence which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been
mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated
that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had
treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she
sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long
illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own
power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness.
Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is un- 753
conscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath.
This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged
patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their
company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think
of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the
doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly
if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were
never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation
was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased
wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my
stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her
daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273]
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity,
which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and
particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the
most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who
seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired
by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased
husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the com-
munity would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his person- [754]
ality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, [762]
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-
five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation center- [657]
ing around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not
[158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men
[157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[578] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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182 even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and
571 nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."
The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced
*795 by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this
[648] acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and
attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions
to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic,
even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion
formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals
that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every
explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition.
They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic
reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also
N aided the diffusion.

W As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely
182 advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have
755 to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty
*795 cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging
from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping
cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray,"
reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward re-
N covery.

W Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans con-
[648] tributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much
as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses
[756] for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans.
Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in
others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe
Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings,
and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is
N more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is
W better than Protestantism, although similar."

761 Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that
*795 peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told
828 me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's
crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond
N Bishop) in Owens Valley.
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158 When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

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*795 The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

See Appendix III for statistics.

Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

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[787]

N
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[835]

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[illegible]

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That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[illegible] Except when persistently

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[illegible] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[illegible] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

756 A shaman sings over his patient; he smokes; he calls upon his various spirits to cure:

The doctor would sing and see how the pain went. He would look and tell his medicine to stop it. He tried other medicines until one was strong enough. Then he was a little tired. He saw the patient again the next day. When the man got well he believed in the doctor.

Curing by extraction was known, but only the best shamans could do it.

Some doctors could suck out objects. They were reddish brown like pieces of meat. We watched closely because some had things in their mouths and pretended to take them out of the patient. A good doctor asked everybody to look at the things he sucked out. If a person swallowed them they made him sick. Some who did not believe swallowed them, and sickened immediately. A doctor swallowed the objects he sucked out; they did not hurt him (JB).

And further:

Only the best doctors could suck out things. When a doctor took out a snake or a bug he held it up for everyone to see, telling them when the patient would be well (P).

Treatment was usually at night, because "that is when a doctor dreams." If very ill, the patient was doctored during the day. When a shaman doubted his ability to cure, he put an arrowpoint on the coals and blew on it until it was red hot. He then took it in his hand, placed it to his mouth, and swallowed it. He did not do that if he were sure of the patient's recovery. Charlie Washo's father is said to have swallowed hot points without injury to himself.

● 159 Two accounts of curing follow:

756 When I was sick two years ago, Dr. Sam and Dr. Louie found me. There were many people around. I could not open my eyes. They told me, "You had better go home." I opened my eyes; all my friends were there. They gave me water to drink. My left arm and leg were stiff; I could not move. Dr. Sam and Dr. Louie both sang. They said, "Stay here; this is your own country. In the morning talk to the sun." I put white paint on my face [indicating the right cheek]. In the morning I was better. I could eat. When I was stronger I went to the sweat-house. The doctors slashed my hand and foot and let out the blood. They smoked; had eagle feathers to help them. I held the feathers.

It took me three months to get well. My boy told everybody, "My father is dying"(CW).

When I was sick two months ago, Albert Townsend's mother tried to doctor me one night, but she did not know what was wrong, and told me to go to the hospital.

Then my father and husband went to Summit lake to bring Billy Peanuts. He asked two dollars a night to treat me and wanted a pocket knife besides. He said he would not collect unless he cured.

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He told them to make an open willow shade [circular enclosure] and put me in at night. They made a fire in the center, and the doctor, my father, his wife, my husband, and many other people came in. The treatment lasted until sunrise.

The doctor sang about different things—the wind and things like that—keeping time with his rattle. He was barefooted and wore a headband of eagle feathers. He put an arrowpoint tied to a feather on my chest. Wherever he put it he sucked. He seemed to draw the blood out somehow but did not suck out any object. He put a bullet on my chest. Sometimes he sucked, and the bullet went into his mouth.

He smoked cigarettes and danced around the fire, praying all the time; I don't know what he prayed to. He asked two women to dance and they skipped around. Another woman talked all night, telling them to keep on with the doctoring.

The doctor chanted, and his son told in plain Paiute what he was saying. I think they have special songs. The doctor started the singing, and his son led the people off. The son knew all the songs.[281] The doctor kept on dancing.

They did this every other night for sixteen nights (eight treatments), calling on a different spirit each night.

The doctor told me one lung was covered with blood.[282] He gave no medicine but said not to eat much meat or fruit except oranges.

Before Billy Peanuts came from Summit lake, Nettie de Gamo cured my headache. She made a hole in my forehead with an arrowpoint and let out black-looking blood. This was in the morning; she did not pray or sing. Nettie has headaches most of the time and cures herself the same way.

Before this I did not believe in an Indian doctor, and I did not want one to treat me. But I guess he saved my life.[283]

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A shaman treated in his own family; two or three shamans might treat a patient. Practitioners from other tribes were not employed.

As payment, a shaman was given moccasins or a large deer hide, sometimes already tanned. "If a man had nothing he had to pay all the same. Then he gave the doctor a bullroarer" (CW). According to Piudy, payment was given each night at the beginning of the treatment, and the shaman retained his fee even though the patient died. Charlie said that the payment must be returned if the individual did not recover. Joshua's statement casts an interesting light on the return payment:

White doctors charge too much. The Indian doctor doesn't cost much unless he cures. You pay him $1.50, soon $2.00, then maybe $2.25. If your relative dies you say, "Give me back my money because you didn't cure." The doctor says, "Well, I give it back because you are poor. I did the best I could." Sometimes you ask for only half the money. If you made him return all, he might get angry and make you sick.

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[281] This is at variance with what I was told concerning a shaman's songs.

[282] The government doctor diagnosed her case as typhoid fever.

[283] Minnie Teham Archie, Fort Bidwell.

756 424 Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about it so I am not a shaman."

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

> If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker
> [775] shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming
> [787] from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then her power tells her to be a shaman.

756 787 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the parent is still alive.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

[778] *Power quest.*—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 789 The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

> ● 159 There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this moun-
> [778] tain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams. I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman. A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around [755]
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to [775]
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777]
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777]
through anything. That makes him lucky.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

N U 648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC.1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party N [776] of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N [171] [174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N 648 726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the N [712] summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N 701 ● 159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p, 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

787 are had before shamanistic practice is undertaken. One man may
756 dream of a spirit only a few times; then, recognizing the meaning of his experience, he will feel fully qualified to take up doctoring. Another novice shaman may dream repeatedly for a year or more before he enters upon his profession. No doubt the degree of suggestibility of various individuals is an important factor in determining the frequency of dreams. The desire of one person to become a shaman may lead to the interpretation that certain dreams have conferred power, whereas another may refuse out of fear to undertake shamanistic practice. If a person dreams of being a shaman only once, or even several times, it is not thought that he must obey the call.

It should be noted that relatively few complete dream-experiences were recorded. This is in part due to the feeling that the actual content of the dream itself was of no importance. The instructions that the dreamer received were all that mattered. Consequently, though few people related dreams in any detail, the knowledge and the instructions gained through such experiences were carefully reported by informants. There was no reluctance on the part of either shamans or laymen in discussing dream-experiences; all talked freely on this subject.

756 An account of the dreams by which power was given to one sha-
787 man will serve to illustrate the characteristic features of this sort
159 of experience.

> I was getting to be a doctor. My father was a doctor, and I got to be one just the same as he. In my dream, I heard a song. It was coming from the north. It was coming just a few feet above the ground. I heard that song. I heard it just one night. The song came all night. That was all I heard the first night.
>
> In dreams after that I saw a horse coming from the east. When I first heard him, he was on the other side of the mountain. Then I saw him come over the ridge. He came toward me and when he got close, he made a big circle around me. Then he went back. That horse had nothing to do with my power.
>
> My father used to doctor. He had power from the otter. I had the same power. After I dreamed about the horse, the otter came to me in my dreams. He told me to get his skin and to cut it into a strip about four inches wide down the length of the back from the head to the top of the tail and including the eyes and ears. Then he told me to get two eagle tail-feathers and put them in two holes in the skin at the neck and

> to tie them inside with buckskin. The feathers lay flat on the fur side of 756
> the skin. The otter told me to keep the skin and the eagle-feathers. He 787
> told me to use the skin and feathers when sickness is bad and hard to 159
> cure. He said, "When there is very bad sickness and no doctor can cure
> it, take the skin out of your sack and put it in front of you. Then you
> are going to try to cure." I was ready to doctor then. When I doctored,
> the otter gave me my songs.

This account then goes on to relate how a mistake was made in 756
the care of the paraphernalia and, as a result, the informant lost 787
his power. This illustrates the belief that if the exact details of the 159
instructions given by the supernatural spirit are not followed, the 688
offending shaman will suffer illness and loss of power.

> After I got my power, I tried doctoring a few times. Then one night the otter came to me again in a dream. He told me that I should get another tail-feather of the eagle. He said, "Take a round piece of abalone shell about the size of a quarter and fasten it to the feather." It was then that I spoiled my power. I had been thinking for some time that the otter-skin was too long. It was about four feet from the head to the tip of the tail. So I cut the head off. After I had done this I got sick. The last time I dreamed about the otter was when I was sick. I felt dizzy. I did not feel very good. I saw the otter jump into the upper end of Pyramid Lake. Then I saw him running on the desert. That was the last time I saw the otter. I had to call in a powerful shaman [Tom Mitchell] to cure me. He came and doctored me. He said to me, "I found out that you cut off the otter's head. That is what made you sick. When you did that the otter went away. You will never see him again. You cut the head off and now you are just like the otter. He does not know anything, and you are the same way." I never dreamed again of the otter when I got well. If I had not cut that piece from the skin I would now be a doctor. (Joe Green)

Very often dream-experience, if not understood, will result in 756
sickness. In this event it may be necessary to have a shaman inter- 787
pret dreams and restore the dreamer to health.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man, who is still living here [Reno], was sick about a year. He almost died. When he was sick he went into trances and his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the land of the dead. He dreamed that way all the time when he was sick. He said that ghosts of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman. The man almost died, but his father finally cured him. (Harry Sampson)

> 756 787 778 to be a doctor can be acquired on this mountain. Big rocks roll down when a person goes there to seek power. If one steps out of the way of these rolling rocks, the power will not come. The rocks come within a couple of feet of the person who is seeking power and then disappear. That is the way the spirits test people who go there to get power. The mountain is called wayíkudagwa'. (Rosie Plummer)

756 787 There are no preparations for the power-quest. The man who seeks a vision does not fast either before he undertakes the quest or during his stay in the cave. Nor is the quest for power accompanied by self-torture or extended physical exertion.

Late in the afternoon, the man who seeks power goes to a cave where, he has heard, it is possible to acquire power. Food for a midnight and a morning meal may be taken along. Upon entering the cave, the aspirant for supernatural power asks for the particular kind of power that he desires. He then makes simple preparations for spending the night there. Power comes simply as a result of the aspirant's request and his concentration on the desire for power. One of the informants, Dick Mahwee, who sought and received his power in a cave, gave an account of his experiences.[9] His version will serve as a fairly representative statement of this manner of acquiring power.

> 756 787 159 When I was a young man I had dreams in which I doctored people. I did not take those dreams seriously. My uncle was an Indian doctor. He knew what was coming to me. He told me to be careful in talking, not to speak harshly [in order not to offend the supernatural spirits]. I did not become a doctor from these dreams. Finally, I decided to go to the cave near Dayton. I was about fifty then. My uncle did not tell me to go there. I just decided to do this myself.
>
> I went into the cave in the evening. As soon as I got inside, I prayed and asked for power to doctor sickness. I said, "My people are sick. I want to save them. I want to keep them well. You can help me make them well. I want you to help me to save them. When they have died give me power to bring them back [return the lost soul]." I said this to the spirit in the cave. It is not a person. It comes along with the darkness. This is a prayer to the night.
>
> Then I tried to go to sleep. It was hard to sleep there. I heard all kinds of noises. I could hear all the animals. There were bears, mountain lions, deer, and other animals. They were all in caves in the moun-

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[9] It may be of interest to note that he related his experiences in detail each summer during the three seasons in the field. These accounts recorded a year apart agreed in all details.

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787
157

tain. After I went to sleep I could hear people at a doctoring. They were down at the foot of the mountain. I could hear their voices and the songs. Then I heard the patient groan. A doctor was singing and doctoring for him. A woman with a sage-brush shoot in her hand danced. She moved around the fire jumping at every step. Each time she jumped she said, "hɔ', hɔ', hɔ'." Then the shaman sprinkled water on the patient with sage-brush. The singing and dancing went on for a long time. Then the singing stopped. The patient had died and the people began to cry.

After a while the rock where I was sleeping began to crack like breaking ice. A man appeared in the crack. He was tall and thin. He had the tail-feather of an eagle in his hand. He said to me, "You are here. You have said the right words. You must do as I tell you. Do that or you will have a hard time. When you doctor, you must follow the instructions that the animals give you. They will tell you how to cure the sickness. I have this feather in my hand, You must get feathers like it. You are also to find the things that go with it. Get dark beads. Put them on the quills of the feathers and tie a strip of buckskin to the quills. Also get a hoof of a deer, and down from the eagle. With these you can go to people to cure them. These are your weapons against sickness. You must get three rolls of tobacco. You can use them to tell your patients what made them sick and then you can cure them. The tobacco will also help you if you are choked with clots of saliva when you suck out the disease. With this you are beginning to be a doctor. You will get your songs when you doctor. The songs are now in a straight line [ready for use]. Bathe in the water at the foot of the cliff and paint yourself with i·bi [white paint]."

Then I woke up. It was daylight. I looked around but I could not see anyone. The man was gone and there was no sign of the animals or the people who had been singing and doctoring. Then I did as the spirit had ordered and waited to become a doctor. In about six years I had received enough instructions to begin to cure.

The success of the power-quest is dependent upon the seeker's undeviating adherence to the traditionally recognized form of procedure. If he does not go to the right place or if he refuses to stay in the cave the entire night, failure will attend his efforts. Also, as in unsolicited dreams, the instructions of the spirits must be carefully followed. Consequently, only those who do not abide by these conditions fail in the quest for power. Several informants related anecdotes of men who were unable to acquire power owing to their failure to follow the correct procedure in the quest.

Happy Dave heard about the cave where power is acquired. He went there, but he did not want to go inside the cave. He tied his horse

756 787 159●

> above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river and bathe and put iˑbi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee) [751]

756 787 [768]

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death.

[775]

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power.

> Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

> 756 787 The eldest son does not always get the power. There is no rule, because the power always decides who is to be a shaman. Several doctors here [Pyramid Lake] inherited their powers. One woman has her father's power. She is as strong a doctor as he was. (Dick Mahwee)
>
> In the old days, a shaman before his death did not give away his power. A son or daughter got the power after the shaman died. A few years ago a woman at Walker Lake gave her power to her daughter before she died. I do not think this was done in the old days. (Rosie Plummer)
>
> My father had power from the otter. After he died, I dreamed about the otter and his songs. I never saw my father in my dreams. He did not decide that I would get his power. The otter decided that. Sometimes a shaman can tell before his death which child will inherit the power. One child will talk in his sleep and try to sing. The songs are not plain enough to be understood. Then the doctor knows that the child will have his power after he dies.
>
> When my father was dying, he wanted to give me his doctoring outfit. But I knew about the danger and I did not take it. I knew it would make me sick. If I had taken his outfit he would have wanted his rattle and eagle-feather with him. He [his ghost] would come back to get these things. Then I would have got sick and died. (Joe Green)

Cases of shamanistic power being transmitted to a child while the parent is still alive are also known. In this event, both parent and child are regarded as practising shamans.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father who is a doctor. Both can doctor at the same time. The father will tell the son how to doctor. When a boy starts going into trances, his father knows that some day his son will be a doctor. A woman can inherit power the same way. (Annie Dick)

One informant, Rosie Plummer, inherited her power from her father. He in turn had been the heir to his brother's power. Her account gives the typical beliefs for this way of acquiring shamanistic power.

> 756 787 ● 159 When my uncle was dying, he told my father to take his power. He wanted my father to have the power to doctor. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions for doctoring that way. The next day my uncle died. Soon after that my father began to have dreams. My uncle would appear in these dreams. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father did not like the dreams. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away [so he would die]. My uncle, before he died, had given my father a little
> [778] piece of lead with a hole in the center. The hole was filled with eagle

> down. My father buried the lead and the eagle down. Then his brother's 756
> ghost did not bother him again. That lead and the feathers represented 787
> my uncle's power. After that my father became a powerful shaman. 778
> His power told him to catch rattlesnakes. They did not bite him. He 159
> was told to put sage-brush in his nostrils so the snakes would not hurt him.
>
> Rattlesnake was my uncle's power; then my father had rattlesnake 756
> for his power. Now the snake gives me power. Rattlesnake came to 787
> my father in dreams. That is how he learned to treat snake-bites. 825
> Rattlesnake told him to catch rattlesnakes and take two fangs from 159
> each. He was to do this until he had ten fangs. Then he was told to take ten stone beads that were colored like rattlesnake eyes. He strung the beads and the fangs together. He used this string of beads to treat rattlesnake bites. He could also cure people who were sick.
>
> Sometimes my father caught rattlesnakes and put them around his waist. He used to ride home carrying rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me. He told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me, but it did not bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.
>
> My father died about twenty years ago. Nearly fifteen years later, when I was about fifty, my father began to come to me in dreams. He brought his power to me. He told me to doctor. I dreamed about him three or four times before I believed that I would doctor. After a while the power started to come to me when I dreamed. Then I stopped dreaming about my father. The rattlesnake told me what to do. The snake helps me doctor now. It comes to me when I dream. Several times it has told me to catch snakes, but I have not done it. This has not yet made me sick.

It is difficult to state what proportion of shamans at any one 756
time have inherited powers. Nearly everyone has or had either close or distant kin with shamanistic power. There seems to be a general feeling that at least one child of a shaman will inherit powers. On the other hand, there is good evidence that in many cases a shaman's powers are lost at death. It also seems evident that inheritance here is but a variation on the theme of acquiring power through dream-experience.

Related to the practice of transferring power before death to the son or daughter is the idea that it can be shared with another. However, when a shaman gives his power to some member of his family, usually that person has already been set apart from others as having a predisposition to acquire power. This is exhibited early in life by dreams and by talking while asleep. Transfer in this

12: Heizer E-4 (no date) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

BY ROBERT F. HEIZER
*Director, University of California Archaeological Survey
Berkeley*

The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification 114 of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of [101] the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to.

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time 159 before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's [114] *History of the Big Bonanza* (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144).

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the [595] famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise

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[1] Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227-28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a lesser chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1888, pp. 98-99; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

[p. 1]

159 (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, appears to quote Sarah as stating her father was then about eighty years old. Sarah Winnemucca (1882, p. 252) states that both she and her father were born at the Sink of the Humboldt River (i.e., Humboldt Lake).

[55] The name Winnemucca has been given a variety of meanings. The Pacific Tourist (Williams, 1876, p. 191) says the word means "chief"; DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it means "charitable man." In 1931 Skinny Dave, whose mother was Sis Winnemucca (a daughter of Truckee John or *Wa-hee Winnemucca*, who was the brother of Chief Winnemucca)[2] and whose father was *Numana*
[304] (Captain Dave), told me that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Mubetawaka*, "man with hole in his nose," the name coming from the pierced nasal septum in which he wore a stick or bone about 4 inches long. This nose-pin can be seen in Plate 1, *right*. Thompson and West (1881, p. 151) say that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Po-i-to*.

[177] The feather headdress which Winnemucca wears in Plate 1, *right*, is not an aboriginal Nevada form, but is clearly recognizable as a ceremonial headgear of the sort used by Central California Indians north of San Francisco Bay in a ritual called the *KUKSU* cult. Since he is known to have been in California, it may be presumed that Winnemucca secured this bit of ceremonial finery from across the Sierras.

The Winnemucca we have been speaking about, and who is shown on Plate 1, is often referred to as Chief Winnemucca or Old Winnemucca to distinguish him from his nephew *Numaga* or Young Winnemucca (DeQuille, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Young Winnemucca's picture is shown by Thompson and West (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 144), but they erroneously state (*ibid.*, p. 151) that he was not related to Old Winnemucca. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 60) correctly refers to Young Winnemucca as her cousin.

The death of Winnemucca rated some notice in the press, and the San Francisco Call of October 15, 1882 carried the story of his last illness. Winnemucca died at Coppersmith Station on October 21, 1882, and attributed his illness to having been bewitched by his young wife. Either on the night of his death or a few days afterward (the accounts are not in agreement on this point), the young wife and her three-year-old child were stoned to death as punishment for causing her husband's death. This incident, with the newspaper accounts quoted in full, has been presented elsewhere in publication (Heizer, 1955).

PLATE 2

Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah, whose father was Old Winnemucca and whose mother was a daughter of Captain Truckee, in some way acquired a fair education. She and her father correctly saw that the only hope for the Indians' survival lay in cooperation and submission rather than in war, and that only an informed public could help the Indians by bringing pressure upon the Department of the Interior to appoint honest Indian agents. Sarah's life is one of extraordinary interest, and is too lengthy and complex to be sketched here. In her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, she indicates her birth at about 1844, although a few years earlier she gave information appearing in the Virginia Enterprise (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, that she was then about thirty-one years of age, which would make her birth year 1848. She states in her book (*ibid.*, p. 70) that she was taken to San Jose, California, in 1860 to school, but stayed only three weeks because of objections raised by parents of Caucasian children also attending. The Virginia Enterprise (Jan. 14, 1879) says that she and two of her sisters (Mary and Emma, probably) stayed seven years in a "select school" in San Jose. She was married at least three times to white men; first to a man named Snyder who died on his way to Germany on a visit, next (in 1876) to a Lt. Bartlett, USA, with whom she lived only a short time, and then to a man named Hopkins whose name she still used when she published her book in 1883. Her Indian name is variously given; De Quille

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[2] The death of Chief Winnemucca's brother, Wa-hee Winnemucca, also known as Truckee John, occurred in 1859 at the hand of Augustus Moore, who shot Wa-hee for stealing a valuable mare which he owned and kept on his ranch in Truckee Meadows (Moore, 1878, pp. 15–19).

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, 159 "shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower."

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort 159 of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type characteristic 291 of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is [177] apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in red leather leggings and a pair of mocassins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was [302] brushed smoothly back from her forehead."

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the 159 outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco 648 on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accomplish much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West.

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be determined 159 if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement.

PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

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Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

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1936 PROSELYTER BEN LANCASTER

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The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stagecoach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[14] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

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[14] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

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When the Walker River Reservation was opened for mineral claims in 1907, he W
was there looking for ore. After mining or prospecting "in every mineral district 159
in Nevada," he caught an east-bound freight train in 1916. He worked in Bingham 795*
Canyon, Utah, and, during the war, in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Working for Armour and Company in Omaha, "busting bronchos" near Red 797
Rock, Oklahoma (1919), and bootlegging whiskey in Hot Springs, Arkansas, were a few of Ben's experiences before 1921 when he got a job as a farm hand near Clinton, Oklahoma, and attended a Cheyenne peyote meeting, his first.

Shortly after this, he began "traveling for a medicine company"; and for the next ten years, letting his hair grow and sporting a fancy feather headdress and beaded buckskin clothes, he trekked over the United States selling "Chief Gray Horse's Indian Herbs, a natural laxative." Although he claimed he advertised the medicine for Baker Chemical Company, Cincinnati, and sold it only to stores, he is known widely in Oklahoma as an herb-medicine salesman.[29] He sold his few remaining boxes of medicine to his Nevada converts to peyotism at the regular price of $1.00. The package contained an ounce or two of dry ground "cascara, mandrake, polk root, gentian, uva ursi, licorice, wild cherry, senna, and other herbs," a medicine "strictly botanical," prepared by "Chief Gray Horse Remedy Company, Cincinnati, Ohio."[30] "Hoover's depression," he said, "put me out of business; then I started drifting and getting odd jobs wherever I could."

Ben spent each Christmas with his Cheyenne peyotist friends. Johnny Wright met him there in 1930, and in 1932 he (Johnny) heard that Ben was selling herbs and was married to a white woman who had a restaurant in Lawton, Oklahoma. (Ben refused to confirm this marriage, but Carnegie Smokey [W,2] lived with Ben and his white wife, Sylvia Gray Horse, after he followed Ben to Texas, January, 1938.)[31]

In 1930 Ben told Johnny that he would take peyote to his people in 1932, but he was delayed until 1936. His plans to proselyte among the Washo and the Northern Paiute were secret. "I had cut and dried peyote near Sanderson, Texas, to bring to the Washo," he said, "for I knew these Indians needed it." Near Phoenix, Arizona, he added a cactus staff to the ritual equipment he had obtained in Oklahoma. He conducted his first meeting at Randlett, Utah, for the Ute Indians. At Ibapah, Utah, he held one for the Goshute. About the first of October, 1936, he arrived in Minden, Nevada, where he lived with his "aunt," Susie Dick, and his "cousin," Sam Dick.

For a week or two, he spent most of his time sitting on the curb at Gardnerville, causing quite a stir with his hair bound in colored wrappings falling over his shoulders and his beaded vest, and greeting old friends and acquaintances, both Indian and white. Nothing was said about peyote during that time, and one Indian girl told me she got drunk with him.

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[29] This is confirmed by letters from the superintendents of the Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies, from the secretary and treasurer of the Native American Church, from a Kiowa and an Oto in Oklahoma, and by Johnny Wright.

[30] I saw several boxes and obtained from one its folded leaflet containing this information.

[31] In a letter dated September 26, 1938, the present officials of the Native American Church (the incorporated Indian peyote church) denied any knowledge of Ben's membership in their church. That Ben went to peyote meetings in Oklahoma frequently enough to be considered a member of the Native American Church is confirmed in a letter to me dated December 3, 1938, from Mack Haag (Cheyenne), of Calumet, Oklahoma, former president of the church. He wrote that Ben was a member, had attended many meetings, and was well qualified to start the church in Nevada, although he did not know that Ben had done so.

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CONVERTS AMONG WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

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Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doe (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doe there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doe's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doe was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[illegible] The In-

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[illegible] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who W
used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement 159
that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist 755
missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. 795*
In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only 797
about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after N
February, 1937. W

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute [203]
Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[illegible] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

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[illegible] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

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159 755 *795 797 brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Deeroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Deeroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Coleville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one W mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members. 159

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake 755 (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at 795* the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of 797 digitalis,[a] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lan- N caster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. W When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the [578] sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[aa] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so N converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding W

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[a] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.

[aa] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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159 755 *795 797 [578] light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

N W [578] Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

N W 159 578 *795 797 The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[illegible] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[illegible] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to W
the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate 159
and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been
attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and 795*
because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth 797
about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented
to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an
official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Deeroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Cole- N
ville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice W
and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from [578]
curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a
supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none;
thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated
for a year.[*] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear
brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the
hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, W
for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong." N

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area ex- [177]
tending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were
the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at
which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

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In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural 171
setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. 177
The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche proto-
type is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list 795*

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[*] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern 122
Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of
1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of
California and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used interchangeably 101
in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all statements
apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the
Gidü'tikad^a, or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band [161]
are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, headquarters
for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] 122
to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained 101
from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes,
Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty.

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained 174
is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little 105
of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are
gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods
have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be
seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried
in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole
reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing
to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information.
Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourishing.
At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the 105
older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to 124
the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very

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[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the
tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon;
101 in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian
131 Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes
all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions
as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about
130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record
[K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley,
having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We
know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the
Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is
plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual
Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern
166 ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley.[92]
648 I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of
Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's
group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of
Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer
lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and
finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the
Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered
in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination
with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who
are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows:
161 Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin
Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the
Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the
year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The
1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878
figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the
"Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Klamath NR10

fusion.[101] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, K N 161 ●
Modoc, and Snake Indians.[102]

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[103] N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[104] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[105] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[106] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342).

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51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p.129.

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52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

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53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381.

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

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55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431).

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Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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force is now in the lower part of Sprague River Valley digging roots..." (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, May 31, 1867). 222 648

87. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 395; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 812. 000

88. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-652.

89. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868. "The chief object of the expedition was to visit the Snake Indian tribes, ascertain by personal inspection their precise condition, and take such measures as were in my power to secure a continuance of the peace recently inaugurated." N 648

90. See 2. 3.

91. RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) p. 516.

92. Idem; also RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) p. 715.

93. Idem.

94. "Ocheo's band" (now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute) was brought to Yainax from Camp Warner late in 1869, as the result of a council at Camp Harney in November, 1869 (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 531-532; Meacham, Wigwam, pp. 226ff.; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, Nov. 22, 1869). Part of Ocheo's group wintered on Klamath Reservation at Yainax until 1876-1877 (RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 612; Brimlowe, Bannock Indian War, p. 52), but after 1877 none of the group remained on the Reservation, as census figures for 1878 show.

95. See 2. 3.

96. NA. RCIA. OSFP. Letters Received 915, I. D. Applegate to Odeneal, April 30, 1872.

97. Ocheo's group; see fn. 94, above.

98. RCIA 1875 (CDS #1680) p. 618.

99. RCIA 1876 (CDS #1749) p. 218.

100. RCIA 1877 (CDS #1800) p. 300. This is from the Statistical Tables. The Agent's report of Aug. 22, 1877 reads, "Klamath Indians, 667, Modocs included in treaty, 93; Snakes included in Walpalla, or Yahooskin, 137" (ibid., p. 567). N K 161

101. RCIA 1878 (CDS #1850) p. 788.

102. RCIA 1880 (CDS #1859) p. 202; RCIA 1881 (CDS #2018) pp. 202-203, 343.

726 Panai'na's band, Drake concluded at the end of his campaign, 648 probably numbered "fifty or sixty fighting men and some women [701] and children—it would be impossible to say how many—and is [161] composed in part of Snake Indians proper, who have united themselves under able leadership[163] for the purposes of plunder, and in part of renegades from other tribes actuated by a like motive" (underlining ours).[164]

In June, 1864, Panai'na's group committed several robberies on the northern section of the Canyon City Road;[165] by June 24 Panai'na was farther south on the same road, attacking Richardson's train near Silver Lake.[166] From Silver Lake he visited Sprague River Valley, in an attempt to persuade Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath "and the Klamaths generally" to join him in a war against the Whites.[167]

Two and a half weeks later Panai'na was back in the Crooked River country where, on July 12, 1864, he encountered Capt. George Currey's command. Currey forced Panai'na to flee southeast, to the south side of the desert region of central Oregon.[168] Six days later Capt. Currey's expressman from Camp Alvord[169] saw and was chased by five or six Indians of "Po-li-ni's band" in the mountains twenty miles south of Lake Harney.[170] A little later in July Panai'na was again heading west; Capt. Currey was told that the Snake leader "had joined 23 wickiups at a small lake 30 miles west of Camp Alvord."[171]

Still later in July, 1864, Panai'na moved north again to the ever-lucrative Canyon City road. In the High Desert region some distance north of Goose Lake he attacked Tower and Company's train, killing two men and taking 350 head of cattle, which he drove to Warner Mountain, "the Sebastapol of the Snake Indians." On Warner Mountain Panai'na and his group feasted on the cattle and kept a watch on Drew's expedition for twelve days in early August, as Drew moved east of the Warners. Twice Panai'na prepared to attack the expedition, but decided it would not be safe to do so. When Drew explored Warner Mountain on August 8-12 he found

648 wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the
728 preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath]
[161] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads
[131] to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was
[622] the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

648 131 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under Tchåktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted [161] [511] [262] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as regards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser- [161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when [166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

648 726 For several years after they settled on the Reservation, hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

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In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

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Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panai'na still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

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Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132 shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137 or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136 trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161 approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181 for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221 those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222 northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462 camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824 (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227] storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over, the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251] the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224] birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221 about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222 Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462 [512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups."
[186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They
[464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some
273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[16] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to
[511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

● [161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong
[162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

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[16] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411] 726 The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

● [161] 162 Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

INTRODUCTION

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, 101
belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking
peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

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131 The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 162 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these [161] counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[108] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

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621 The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook [114] [101] of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[69] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

621 101 131 sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

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[113] [108] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[69] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Genega, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tsnoyiet, Tompe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukeo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Postsitsukikuteh.

Wadátkuht

~~600~~ 131 claim" (ibid.). Apparently the Wadátkuht shared the eastern half of Madeline Plains with the Kamötkuht. The Wadátkuht admit only to having used this area for periodic hunting and gathering. They said that it was too cold to have any winter villages there. It seems likely that the Kamötkuht may have felt the same way about this area. The Kamötkuht appear to have been rather close friends, and often relatives, of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, thus a boundary would have slight significance to either group. At the present stage of information it seems proper to represent a boundary line between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains as a broken line to indicate that little or no boundary was recognized by the Paiute people utilizing both areas. The eastern half of Madeline Plains will be considered to be a region of mutual utilization by both the Kamötkuht and the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Large archaeological sites in Madeline Plains indicate considerable occupation in some pre-contact time. These sites need not represent winter villages, however.

McDonald Peak seems to be an outstanding boundary marker between the Pit River people and the Paiute. Ike Northrup even told of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake, which are about eighteen miles northeast of McDonald Peak, being jointly used by Paiute and Pit River people. However, McDonald Peak can certainly stand as a major pivot for the Paiute-Pit River boundary. The use of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake by some Wadátkuht appears to be the exception rather than the rule. It seems worthwhile to mention, however, that Ike stated that Red Rock, about ten miles east of McDonald Peak, was as far as the Pit River people came.

161 A population estimate is rather difficult to make for the Honey Lake Paiute but an estimate of 200 persons made by Gladys Mankins would appear to be about as close a guess as can now be made. My informants gave me a complete census of the two groups of Wadátkuht as of circa 1880-1890, at least far as their memory served them. The Honey Lake group had somewhat more than 30 persons living at the village of Matá. The Secret Valley group had about the same number living together in one of their villages at this same time. Assuming that possibly as many as 25 more individuals were living elsewhere in the Wadátkuht territory at this same time we have a total of nearly 100 Wadátkuht Paiute living circa 1880-1890. This number may be slightly excessive but is probably not too much out of line. Since introduced disease, warfare and accident claimed a great number of Wadátkuht victims it does not seem incorrect to suggest that the aboriginal Wadátkuht

Wadátkuht

population was approximately 200 persons. This number could be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of the expectable decrease in population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group. 161 [177]

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The following is a listing of the names and a description of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names. 103 133

1. Wago' yamos^a ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos^a by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is [137]

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

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At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[177] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim-
161 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the max-
182 imum food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and
[226] mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
[476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be-
[571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the ap-
22 pearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12.

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17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says:

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"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827).

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19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged.

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early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[*]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[*] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [221]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups." [186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They [464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some 273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[18] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to [511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong ● [162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

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[18] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

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776 tion with them. Supernatural spirits never appear to, nor are they ever heard by, anyone but those upon whom they bestow power.

ACQUIRING SHAMANISTIC POWER

756 Both men and women acquire and exercise shamanistic power. A shaman of either sex is a puhágəm. The power possessed by either a man or a woman is likewise known by a single term, puhá. The ratio of male to female shamans, as well as the proportion of practitioners to the total population, no doubt varied considerably from generation to generation. There are at present at Pyramid Lake, in a total population of nearly five hundred, eight shamans. Three of these are women. On the Walker River Reservation, where the population is about the same, there are seven shamans, five of them women, one of whom is a Shoshoni. In past generations, female shamans do not seem to have ever outnumbered the men.

756 In an attempt to arrive at some idea of the total number of
162 shamans and the ratio of men to women practitioners, I asked
562 informants to name all who could be remembered as possessing power for curing purposes. The results at best are only approximate, but some conception of the frequency with which men and women become shamans is suggested. At Walker River several people, after a lengthy discussion among themselves, were able to name twenty shamans who were living about 1900. Of these, five were women. Three of the men were said to have been much more powerful shamans than the others. No doubt the population was somewhat greater at that time than at present, but figures are not available. Joe Green was able to name nineteen shamans living at Pyramid Lake about forty years ago. Of this number, two were women. At that time the population on this reservation was nearly seven hundred.

All informants were certain that in former years the number of shamans was considerably greater than it is today. Consequently, these estimates may serve only as a clue to the proportion of shamans, perhaps in the order of twenty to seven hundred people, at the same time giving a rough idea of how many of the shamans were women. Obviously, these ratios must have shifted from decade to decade.

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LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

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sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621
gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131
canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent
of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough.
Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near
the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many
sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people
who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162]
Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the
Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more [114]
correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place"
given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115]
born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place
is ŏ-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1[1] although [103]
ŏ-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see
sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches
was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the
lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221]
seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224
spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

N
W
103
● 162
171
484
*795

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on middle of p. 123]

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	350	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

N
W
171

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

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[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(*Concluded on next page*)

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

N
W
171

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

N
W
162
795
[103]
[171]
[484]

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-
[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

N
W
162
795
273
756
157
563

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute N.R13
Washo NT20

N
W
162
171
4795

TABLE 4

ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley			Mono County				Total by tribes				Total
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O	P	W	S	O	P	W	S	O	
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	2	51	3	3	213	15	11	18	620	281	58	41	1000
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	6		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	32	8	3	88
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	27	8	3	83
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1		20	2		2	26	12	3	2	43
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1												5			5
Mixed-blood households								2			1												3			3
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1												1	2		3
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1															1			1
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2							2	2		2	6	6	2	2	16
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			52	1	1	3		24		24		2	26	3			96	58	2	3	159
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			35	1		3		24		24		2	22	3			91	41	2	3	137
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9			9	1			39	18	1		58
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1								4				5	17			22
Mixed blood households								4		1								2				3	4			7
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1							1	1		1	3
Attended only other meetings	7							1														7	1			8
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7							7	4		1	12
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2	1	1			5	3	1	3	12
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	112	2	22	1	1	161	4	11	15	479	191	48	35	753
Full-blood individuals	89	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1	102	3	11	14	404	174	44	32	654
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	52		49		10			54	2	6		196	76	21		293
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2			59	1		1	75	17	4	3	99
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2			27	1			38	11	2		51
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		2	2	2	1	1	14			15	25	10	3	21	59

gories, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For N
example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were W
prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent 162
were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; 795*
and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 3.8 per cent were prosperous. There is some question
about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in [273]
this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having
been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

TABLE 5
Other Peyotist Communities
(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	Total by tribes (P)	Total
Total population	128	359	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6
Totals of All Peyotist Communities

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

liquor than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the [563]
rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed.

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received *from* more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

N
W
162
171
*795

The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

N
W
162
563
*795

Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

Wadátkuht

103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
[162] least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children'
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area with the result that a very large number of stone projectile points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite important even in ancient times. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections 25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife. This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sóhud^{a} as

583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

591
583 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

each. He thought that a family averaged between six and eight chil- 163
dren, but most of them died in infancy; "sometimes nearly all died."
Minnie said that in the old days a woman did not have more than
three or four children; she may have been counting only those sur-
viving. However, she remarked in jest, "Nowadays they have too [842]
many children. They eat hogs and chickens; hogs have lots of pigs
and chickens have lots of eggs. I guess that's why they have so many
babies now."

DEATH OBSERVANCES

When a person—man, woman, or child—died, his friends and 765
relatives gathered, and cried, and wailed. Both men and women cut
their hair short as a badge of mourning and buried the hair or "just
threw it away."

The haircut showed camp visitors that a person had lost a relative—mother, boy, daughter, or wife—without his actually having to tell about it (JB).

If a person felt very badly he might take an arrowpoint and slash his face, forearm, upper arm, and thigh, but not his chest. This was done in mourning an adult. Sometimes mourners threw ashes on their faces; sometimes they did not bathe for "a long time." The face was not painted black, nor was there any mourning necklace, but both of these traits were known as Achomawi customs. Minnie said that mourners took a sweat-bath, otherwise the children of the deceased would die. A person in mourning refrained from hunting a couple of days, but he was free to eat the first game he captured. Mourners were told, "You have children; you had better try to live."

An expiring individual was not moved outside to die, nor was a 763
corpse removed by a special exit. The body was not washed before
interment, nor was it oriented in any particular fashion. It was 764
wrapped in "good tanned deer skin" and carried on horseback or, in
the old days, by two or three men. Formerly it was not taken far
away and the camp was moved; but with the advent of horses, it was
taken well into the hills. There seems to have been no marked fear
of contamination, as persons handling the body were not required to
bathe or to change their clothing.

No grave was dug; a few rocks were removed and the body depos-
ited in the cavity. As Joshua put it, "Just hide him away in the [766]
rocks." Sometimes a man's moccasins and bows were placed along-
side. One informant,[211] reported cremation for certain cases. "Some-

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[211] JB.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can
work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the
category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have
jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons.
In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The
younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning
for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has
changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions,
drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty,
and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire
family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very re- [165]
cently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison
with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bid-
well boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools
are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little
changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days.
Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad
supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people
still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work
for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some
women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the
garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger
people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, begin-
ning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have
become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of
the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to re-
formatories.

755
753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his
[787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.
781] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that
probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his
devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild
[164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his
blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind
and his daughter is blind.

753
755 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I
met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry
worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred
[156] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by
having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he
was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry
[777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he
went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south
of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home
she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[584] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going
around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself,
128] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that
so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
758 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in
the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp.
Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
[832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
837] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show
it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that
she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

754
band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. 164]
The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [754]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

Cause of Disease

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753
ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757]
The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164]
that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774]
may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [688]
their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787
dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755]
intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754]
sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294-295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114]
cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

Wadátkuht

that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem 881
that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologi-
cally for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of [413]
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called muh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eli- 881
gible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening. [574]

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in 165
camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie
Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small
because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so
severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred
lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly
burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and 177
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white
people came there were no old people, everyone was young and
there was little sickness. The name for small pox was
tasi'yub^a, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medi- 757
cinal properties but it was not always possible to make
botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications
are not complete.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648 of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657 the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464] can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons. In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511 of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores. A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273 entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164 the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently [165] many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871 Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177 seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

Wadátkuht

Endurance. An example of endurance is shown by the ten mile run Kitty and several other girls made from Litchfield to Kasawihnaid on Parker Creek. They left with some women to pick chokecherries, but the girls ran on ahead and filled their baskets before the women arrived, and immediately returned to Litchfield. (They got a ride in a wagon part of the way back.) This sort of activity parallels the great endurance shown by the girls at their puberty ceremonies where they had to run long distances and were allowed little sleep, and little to eat and drink. 147

The stamina of the men is demonstrated by the long distances they were capable of traveling by foot in remarkably short time (see the section on "Supernatural Helpers").

Standards of Beauty and Intelligence. People were not judged by their physical beauty, but on their abilities. Good looking or exceptionally intelligent individuals did not live to a ripe old age. 156 [165]

Standards for the Differentiation of Several Indian Groups. 186 A Paiute could tell a Maidu by his snag teeth. The Paiute had better teeth. A Washo could be told by his voice, as could a Pit River. That is to say, when these two peoples were speaking English, as they could obviously be known when they spoke their own languages. A Washo had a rather high pitched voice. The Pit River people had a different sort of voice..."you can tell". A Paiute usually could be told apart from the others by his tattoo marks.

Methods of Sitting. Joaquin is said to have sat in a position natsí kwunt^{kató}, "to sit with your knees up". He could sit in this position for hours, but when Gladys tried to do it she found it very difficult. Joaquin's back was straight, his heels against his butt, and his knees at his chin when seated in this manner. He did not need to use his arms to hold his legs against his body, but would have his hands free to work, and he had no backrest when seated in this position. 516

Women sat cross legged, dapatni^{kató}, "double up set". To sit with one's legs out in front was muda kató. With one's knees on the ground and butt resting on heels was sidá^{kató}, "kneel set". To kneel was sidákwun^{a}.

Personal Cleanliness. Kitty said that Joaquin had a propensity for taking cold baths in the morning, but she did 515

Wadátkuht

that she should not cry.

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that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologically for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley.

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Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73]

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In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley,[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78]

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The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K N 648 mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[80]

K N 101 s 131 648 721 That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K N 648 166 By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

N 648 166 Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

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> do....[but] on the succeeding night [Oct. 4, 1866] they left the reservation, taking with them some horses and guns belonging to the Yahooskins and Klamaths, and a [wagon] train sent out by Captain Sprague to convey their property [from Sprague River Valley] to Council Grove returned, and a hostile force was sent out instead [to capture them]....I became convinced that danger [from the Snakes] was imminent. Early in October I commenced the fortification of the agency buildings, which were completed....[63]

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The help they had given Applegate and the military in the summer of 1866, and the abrupt withdrawal of Maj. Rinehart's Snake captives from the Reservation in the fall, made MotcunkaškEt and his people apprehensive; consequently they removed temporarily from Sprague River Valley to the vicinity of the Agency, where they spent the winter of 1866-1867.[64] This move brought them in close contact with the Upper Klamath Lake group of Klamath. Friction evidently developed between the leaders of the two groups, for on January 31, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington,

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"There has been considerable excitement occasioned by an attempt on the part of Moshenkosket chief of the Yahooskins [underlining ours] and his followers, to depose High chief LaLakes and become High Chief himself. But the attempt resulted in little more than a great deal of talk and excitement, and the revolution has been stayed."[65] Here we have our first specific instance, in an excellent source, of misapplication of the name Yahooskin to the Sprague River Klamath group. In another monthly report written on May 31, 1867, Applegate makes it clear that the Indians he refers to as "Yahooskins" belonged in Sprague River Valley[66]--and nowhere in his correspondence or reports does he mention any other Indian group as belonging in Sprague River Valley in 1867.

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There is also other evidence, both direct and indirect, indicating that the post-Reservation Yahuskin were Drew's Sprague River Valley Klamath group, to wit:

a) In 1867 and 1868 the Statistical Tables in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the "tribes" of "Klamath Snakes &c." of Oregon as "Klamath, Modoc, and four bands of Snakes." These "four bands" are Huntington's Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N ● 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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fusion.[101] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[102]

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f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[103]

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g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[104] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[105] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[106] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute).

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3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they?

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Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which continued to remain isolated 648
and undescribed. However in the late fall, as we have already noted, Huntington obtained by the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin Snake treaty of cession the entire Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, embracing some 5,000 square miles.[132]

Two years after the 1864 Klamath treaty cession, in October, 1866, 649
a small military expedition from Ft. Klamath "had a fight with a band
of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [Abert];" fourteen Indians 166
were killed and many wounded.[133] In September of the next year (1867) Lt. Small, then commanding Ft. Klamath, captured five Snakes at Silver Lake, and fourteen on Chewaucan River, between Summer and Abert lakes.[134] Small took his prisoners, nineteen in all, to Ft. Klamath, arriving at the fort on September 22, 1867.[135] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a council with the Indians on the Reservation, including the newly arrived Snake prisoners.[136] Two days later, on October 1, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington requesting a Snake interpreter; to justify the request he remarked in his letter, "Besides the Ya-hoos-kin Snakes there is a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the Reservation. These last mentioned Snakes are parties to the Snake Treaty and are residing quietly and harmoniously on the Reservation in pursuance to the provisions of the compact."[137] In none of his previous correspondence does Applegate mention that any of the Walpapi had returned to the Reservation; this is the first reference to Walpapi having settled there since Panaiña had decamped in the spring of 1866. Obviously Applegate's "division" of Walpapi consisted of none other than the nineteen prisoners which Lt. Small had brought to the Reservation eight days previously from the Silver-Summer lakes region.

Less than a year after the first small detachment of Silver-Sum- 101
mer lakes Paiute had been brought onto Klamath Reservation the re- 166
mainder of the Indians from Silver and Summer lakes voluntarily re- 648
moved to the Reservation.[138] These later arrivals numbered around a hundred souls, and were also immediately referred to, in Agency correspondence and records, as "Wall pah-pe Snakes."[139] The applicability of this name, for Indians deriving in 1867 and 1868 from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which had been ceded on the authority of the "Yahooskins" in 1864, is reserved for discussion in the second half of this paper.

648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[146] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panai'na (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through [166] [101] references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151]

648 726 We hear of Panai'na earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panai'na's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panai'na engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

648 people," he told Applegate, "were not all upon the reservation,
728 but he would bring them within its limits immediately."[194]

Two months later, at the end of December, 1865, Lindsay Applegate met Panai'na again at Ft. Klamath. This time Panai'na had with him four men, and eighteen women and children, all of whom had been wintering in "Moshenkosket's Country." The Snake leader told Applegate that this group comprised all of his people who "were with him on the Reservation....the greater part of his people in opposition to his wishes had gone to pass the winter in that part of the country where his wife was taken prisoner in 1864, and that they had promised to join him on the Reservation early in the spring."[195]

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166 After Applegate left Ft. Klamath Panai'na and his group returned to upper Sprague River Valley, where they stayed until April 22, 1866. On that date Panai'na, Tchatchaktchaksh, and the other Walpapi suddenly ran off without telling either Motcunka'skEt[196] or LaLakes that they intended to leave the Reservation. A messenger from Motcunka'skEt to Maj. Rinehart reported, a few days after the fact, that the Snakes had left as the result of a summons to war from the Snake chief Howlark. Two Indians were sent out by Motcunka'skEt to find where Panai'na had gone. Rinehart later reported to Huntington that these scouts "went to Summer Lake then to Silver Lake and found no Indians but saw one fire far northward towards Dechutes river. They seem to think from tracks and signs that he has gone to the vicinity on Dechutes where you captured his family and killed those Indians. The Klamath chiefs agree unanimously that he has broken the treaty and deceived them and that he has gone not to return."[197]

At first Huntington was inclined to be hopeful that Panai'na had merely returned to spend the summer "in the region between Crooked River on the north, Harney Lake on the east, Summer and Upper Klamath Lakes [Klamath Marsh] on the south, and Mt.
[137] Paulinee and Queah Valley on the west. This tract of country included in these bounds... affords fine grass. This band of Indians

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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have inhabited it heretofore and, in my opinion, have done so this past summer."[198] This however was a vain hope. Panai'na never returned to Klamath Reservation although, as we shall see, various other Northern Paiute associated with him did return.

While he was on the Reservation Panai'na and his people did not receive any benefits under the 1865 Walpapi treaty.[199] On July 5, 1866, the Walpapi treaty was ratified, and proclaimed July 10; therefore benefits under it were scheduled to begin in the fiscal year 1867-1868. At the time of ratification the only Walpapi Snakes on the Reservation were two captives the Klamath had taken, who claimed to have signed the Walpapi treaty, and whom the Klamath had turned over to Maj. Rinehart. Rinehart states: "One of the prisoners is named 'Gil-te-wa'[200] and is blind in one eye. The name of the other is unknown to me–but he says he signed the treaty." With the Walpapi treaty ratified, Rinehart was anxious to capture as many Snakes as possible, and states that all of the Klamath chiefs had promised him aid in doing so except Motcunka'skEt, who would therefore be closely watched.[201]

The Klamath brought several other Snake prisoners to Ft. Klamath during the summer of 1866. On July 8 they captured "another Snake named 'La-pa-k-u-git' and reported that three other Snakes were lurking in Sprague River Valley." Maj. Rinehart sent ten soldiers, ten Indians under Blow, a Klamath treaty signer, and the Snake Indian Giltewa as a guide, to capture these Snakes.[202] This party succeeded in taking four Snake men, two women and five children. The men were taken to Ft. Klamath, the women and children being left "at Moshenkaskit's on Sprague River."[203]

Near the end of July, 1866, Lindsay Applegate was able to report to Huntington that

> Major W. V. Rinehart... has captured altogether and brought to Fort Klamath...up to the 20th Inst. about 16 Snake prisoners. They have been captured usually on the headwaters of Sprague River. Two have escaped from custody and one was killed attempting to escape. Thirteen women and Thirty children are on the Reser-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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> vation with Moshunkosket's people having been left there by the capturing parties of soldiers and Klamath Indians. These women and children are those who belong to the prisoners at the Fort.

Applegate attributed the Army's success to "the war [against the Snakes] farther North," which probably drove them to take refuge in the Summer-Silver lakes-upper Sprague River country.[204]

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In the meantime, little is heard of Panai'na after he left the Reservation. On Aug. 10, 1866 Capt. Walker[205] with a party of infantry pursued Panai'na "and a large band of warriors. They attacked them, but were driven back, Captain Walker having had a horse killed under him in the fight."[206] Some time in October, as we have already noted, Lts. Oatman and Small, of Ft. Klamath, engaged Indians near Lake Abert; possibly Panai'na was among them.[207]

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By October, 1866, sixty "Snakes proper—16 men and 44 women and children" had been captured and brought onto Klamath Reservation. Among these were Shas'-took, We-ah'-shau, Ske'-zhe, Sah-too-too'-we and Now-weep-a-cow'-ich, all signers of the 1865 Walpapi treaty, as well as Enkail'toak and Wail-a'-cho-ak. These two last-named, with Shastook, met Indian Sub-agent Lindsay Applegate at Klamath Agency for a talk on Oct. 3, and promised that all sixty Snakes would immediately move down from Sprague River Valley to Council Grove, near the Agency, where Applegate and the Army could keep watch on them. Applegate assured them that if they did as told, and remained faithful "they might yet receive the benefits of the [1865] treaty now ratified and made good." Although he does not specifically refer at this time to these captives as "Walpapi Snakes" he clearly (and with reason) accepted them as such.

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True to form, the Walpapi quickly did the unexpected. The night of their talk with Applegate,

> the head men eluding the vigilance of Moshunkosket and his men[208] escaped to Sprague River Valley, and in the absence of that chief and his men, took two of his

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-ni-ne's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panai'na and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panai'na was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

After Panai'na's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

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The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

"where the treaty with Wollpahpe Snakes was made on August 12, 1865." Applegate's purpose in making this trip was two-fold; to commence farming operations in that section of the Reservation and "to attempt to Secure an interview with the wild Snakes."[223] In both operations he was successful; he started what was soon to become Yainax Station,[224] and several of his Indians met ten Snake Indians on Silver Lake, and persuaded two of the latter to come to Applegate's camp at Council Bluffs. These two Snakes promised Applegate they would collect their people at Silver Lake and immediately come onto the Reservation.[225] By August 28 Applegate was able to report to Huntington that in pursuance of their promise the Snakes had come onto the Reservation, and that "Their chiefs Chock-toot and Enkaltoick, the former of whom was reported killed by troops from Fort Klamath last Summer,[226] are with them.... They say they have long had a desire to get onto the Reservation, but fear of the troops prevented them..."[227]

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A letter from Capt. Thomas McGregor gives additional details on how the Walpapi, or as they are often referred to, "Chocktote's Band from Silver Lake" settled on Klamath:

> I have the honor to report...., that about two weeks ago, during my absence on scout, the small band of Snake Indians infesting the Country about Summer and Silver Lake came on to the Klamath reservation, and are now camped on Sprague River, with part of the Klamath Indians,[228] gathering food for Winter. — Two of these Indians were first brought in by some of the Klamaths, when William McKay (Physician at the Agency) started out and had an interview with the band, and brought them all in peaceabley. Mr. Wm. McKay informs me that there are no other Indians in the vicinity of either Summer or Silver Lakes. These Indians have had an interview with the Indian Agent, who made arrangements with them to remain on the reservation. One of the Chiefs who came in reported that he had lately been to Camp Harney.[229]

648 131 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under Tcháktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted [161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as re- [511] gards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... [262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser- [161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when [166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

648 726 For several years after they settled on the Reservation, hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band N [622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Goʔyʼatikad^{u}, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [164] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyatikad^{ü}, or Deer eaters."[249] N 115 Kelly obtained some folk tales and one historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

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N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N [103] Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishwea-wax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and K [166] Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, within the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L. S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tcháktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

177 had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the peoples under consideration. [114] [121] Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, [648] and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, 177 167 the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our example. 114 115 121 Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in 114 our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 177 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

342 417 sagebrush enclosure was even less formal than the shade, consisting of an unroofed circular enclosure about chest high. The single entrance was closed with a tule mat. The fireplace was in the center of the circle. An enclosure used for shamanistic treatment at the Bidwell camp seems to accord with the above description. Young willows were stuck in the ground to form a fair-sized circle. At the entry they were bent and turned back either side, overlapping with the adjacent willows. The bending was continued around the circle, making a neat top finish.

Several informants insisted that in the earliest times they had no shelter other than the shade and the enclosure. "In the old days they had no wickiup. When it was snowing they just kept on traveling. Some froze to death because they had no rabbit blankets. In the old days they had only two kinds of shades" (DB).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

291 The Gidü'tikadᵃ of both sexes wore skin clothing of Plains type. It seems probable that this style was introduced at a fairly recent date[78] but beyond the recollection of oldest informants. The survival of an earlier California-Basin costume is suggested by the use of the fiber skirt by widows and poor women and by the occasional use of the loin cloth in lieu of the breechclout.

Women's clothing.—A widow or a woman whose husband was not a successful hunter would fashion for herself a knee-length skirt of sagebrush bark.[79] She braided it into a belt from which the bark [171] hung loose in front and back but not at all on the sides. This is evidently the familiar California double apron. It was called nakwi', skirt; the front and back sections did not have separate names.

A more prosperous woman wore a buckskin dress (kwa'sü). Antelope hide could be used, but "it was pretty thin." Some women had two dresses, some three. All were alike; there was no "best dress." Two of the largest hides were required for the woman's garment, which hung from her shoulders. According to one informant additional pieces were used for sleeves, but this is doubtless a recent innovation. The head end of the hide was at the bottom of the dress;

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[78] De Angulo, 318, and Spier, Klamath, 207, feel that the Plains costume is late.

[79] "Just like the Hawaiians wear" (SA).

294 Slashes are made in pairs just below the cuff and a thong[88] run through. When putting on the moccasin one pulls on the tongue and wraps the cuff about the ankle, inside over outside. The thongs are crossed on the instep and caught through the first loop on either side. They are then brought back to the instep, crossed again, and caught through the next side loops. They are finally returned to the instep, recrossed, and wrapped about the ankle once or twice and tied. Sometimes there is but one perforation at either side, just below the cuff and alongside the tongue. A thong is run through these holes (under the tongue), crossed on the instep, carried back and around a couple of times, and tied at the back.

The two right sides are placed together, sewing is done on the wrong side, and the moccasin turned when finished. Some specimens have welt seaming, that is, a narrow and discrete strip carried in the seam between the two surfaces which are being joined. This gives a ridged effect which is well shown in the skin cradle-covering, plate 30*a*. The cuff, sole-upper, and back seams of Nannie Ochiho's moccasins were all welt sewn. Daisy Brown thought that this technique was unknown in the old days.

●171 294 Welt seaming seems to be fairly general but has attracted relatively little attention. Teit[89] mentions it for Thompson; and Mason,[90] for Kutchakutchin, Naskapi, Sitka, and Shoshone specimens. A Klamath-Modoc moccasin[91] collected by Barrett has welt seaming, and Dr. Spier tells me that it is also found among the Okanagan. Although Wissler does not mention it for the Blackfoot, his figure 78, and possibly figures 90 and 91, suggest a welt seam. Judging from the few Plains specimens available, it does not seem characteristic of that region, a fact which may or may not be of significance. A check of museum specimens would determine if the distribution is primarily northern and if the welt technique tends to associate itself with any particular moccasin pattern or patterns.

The analyses of Wissler and Hatt leave little to be said concerning moccasin patterns, but their distributions may be extended somewhat. Wissler[92] notes Pattern 8 for the Western Cree, Thompson, Nez Percé, Sarsi, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Northern Shoshone.

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[88] One selected at random measured 62 inches in length.

[89] Thompson, 210.

[90] Primitive Travel and Transportation, 346, 348, 352, 353.

[91] Cat. no. 1-12447.

[92] Blackfoot, 128, 142, and distribution table, 151; also Wissler, Costume Decorations, 106.

To these, Hatt[93] adds the Chippewa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Salteaux, and Sioux of the Upper Missouri. He also notes a specimen from northern Utah. By virtue of Teit's recently published paper,[94] the Plateau distribution can be extended to include "all the interior Salishan tribes," and specifically the Coeur d'Alene, Okanagan, Flathead, and Spokan. For the Shuswap, Teit[95] states that "a few people of the southern bands wore moccasins sewed on one side like the most common kind used by the Thompson tribe." Spier and Sapir[96] note Pattern 8 for the Kalispel and state that it is the prevailing style on the Yakima reservation today. Pattern 8 is also known from the Klamath,[97] and de Angulo[98] reports it for the Modoc and Achomawi as well as for the Surprise Valley Paiute. 171 294

The above distribution is a northerly and westerly one but the situation is complicated by the presence of several different moccasin types and by chronological considerations. The absence of Pattern 8 among certain Plateau groups, namely Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Wishram,[99] also requires explanation. The style is traditionally old among the Blackfoot, Thompson, and Coeur d'Alene, and recent among Spier's Klamath and Okanagan.[100] Unfortunately I have no data concerning its age among the Paiute. When asked, informants invariably replied that it was the old-time form. I do recall being shown a modern specimen which, as nearly as I can remember, accorded with Wissler's Pattern 10. In response to a leading question, my informant said that it was probably a "white man's moccasin." At the time I was not aware of the situation to the north and did not press the point further.

Mittens

Gloves were unknown in the old days, although at present they constitute one of the principal articles of native manufacture. Dr. Sam said that when women were traveling they sometimes wore buckskin "mittens." Pindy said that women tied a rabbit skin, fur side in, on either hand. A similar arrangement of wildcat hide covered the whole of both arms, muff fashion. Neither the "mitten" nor the "muff" has a native name. 291

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[93] P. 179.

[94] Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, 72, 234, 334.

[95] Shuswap, 506.

[96] Wishram, 207.

[97] Spier, Klamath, fig. 21*b*.

[98] P. 319.

[99] Teit, Lillooet, 219; Teit, Shuswap, 777; Spier and Sapir, 207.

[100] Wissler, Blackfoot, 128; Teit, Thompson, 209; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 72; Spier, Klamath, 209; and Spier, in conversation.

Joshua also gave a very fragmentary account of what he called a Rain (?) dance (tobo'nigü), but it was not mentioned by other informants. 535

In this dance you jump up and pretend to shoot with a bow and arrow. Two singers, dressed as antelope, get inside the circle. They look as though they were angry.

Evidence on the Ghost dance is both meager and garbled. If informants are to be relied upon, the California and Oregon Paviotso were more or less skeptical from the start. The only positive evidence of the 1870 Ghost dance lies in the statements: "I heard the talking twice"; and "they tried it before Jack Wilson too." But part of Joshua's account seems to apply to the earlier appearance. 171 535

Before white men settled here, some fellows from Nixon (Nevada) brought songs (I was about twelve years old).[228] They told the Paiute, "We are going to have our mothers and our fathers come back. When the sun comes up, keep on dancing and then go in the creek." Everybody danced and then swam in Bidwell creek to make them tough. After this one man told them, "Put on white paint. Some put on yellow paint." He would say, "You know—[naming a deceased person]. I am talking to him." At Nixon they heard talking in the night. Sometimes they danced four or five nights. All the dance bosses are now dead.

When I was about sixteen years old I saw them dance near Lowell's store (Fort Bidwell), at the foot of Bidwell mountain, over near Anderson's (just south of Cowhead lake), and the other side of Dick Ochiho's where the reservoir is now. All these were nice, flat, open places.[229]

The remainder of Joshua's account applies to the 1890 dance, although he underestimates the period by ten years.

About thirty years ago when we were taking up land, Frank Spencer came from Yainax with songs, and after him other people. At Nixon (Nevada) they made hard wind and rain come. These Paiute did not believe this because they didn't see the things.

One man from here went to Nixon. They were going to show a ghost. Everybody went to Nixon—some Bannock, some Warm Springs Indians, and some Achomawi. George Winnemucca from McDermitt went, too. Jack Wilson was there.

They sang at night and set up a long pole like a post. They made a fire in a circle. All the good men sat down and listened. Three or four went to one side and sang. They began to get stiff and lay down. They lay there maybe two hours, muttering as if talking in dreams; they were talking with ghosts. The ghosts told them, "We are coming back"; but they never came. When the men came to [consciousness], they had nothing to show; it was just talk. The dead didn't come back; so we didn't believe.

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[228] He is now between 65 and 70, 67 he thinks.

[229] These are probably the usual dance grounds and need not apply to the Ghost dance.

> Jack Wilson had Indians dress up and act like ghosts. They came and talked with the people. Afterwards some followed them and found they were impersonators.

Piudy's account is more detailed and his dating correct.

> A man whose name I don't remember brought the song from Nixon about forty years ago when the white people were already here. He taught two or three (all dead now) those songs. They said that the dead would come to life. When our people heard that they tried it, but danced only one night, not five like the Nixon Indians.
>
> Our people danced and prayed (nani'stuhai) and said, "My mother is coming; my father is coming." They swam in the water too, but there was no pole and no special kind of clothing. The Silver Lake Paiute may have danced one night like these Indians; but Dr. Sam said that he never did believe in it.

Upon another occasion Piudy remarked that white paint was not used as facial decoration prior to the Ghost dance, but whether this refers to that of 1870 or 1890, I do not know. If Joshua's statement is correctly attributed to the earlier appearance, the white paint would date from that period.

The reference to Dr. Sam in Piudy's account is of some interest in that it suggests the limiting effect a powerful personality may have on diffusion. A brief statement concerning the dance among the Silver Lake Paiute was secured from Dr. Sam:

> Once Frank Spencer (Wü'nayiga) brought word from Nixon that if we danced the dead would return. He was dance boss and he sang. Everyone danced in a big circle around a fire. A man and a woman were partners. They danced all night every night. Frank Spencer talked to the ghosts. Soon the people stopped because they did not believe the dead would return.

I have no material on the 1870 dance among the Oregon bands; the above refers to the 1890 dance.

The accounts are far from satisfactory and even these were got with some difficulty. A number of informants claimed not to remember the dance at all or stated that they had heard of it but vaguely. It seems unlikely that this should be attributed to reticence due to emotional associations; perhaps there is rather a reluctance to admit having been duped. Or again, informants may really be correct in insisting that their attitude was one of skepticism. The Ghost dance may have been a non-spectacular affair which made little impression on them. Yet this would be singular in view of the fact that the whole movement had its inception among their Nevada congeners.

ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans 171•
did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on [241]
vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute [262]
south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1] [224]
His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one 000
of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appalas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

Hunting and Fishing.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hüwa, a Tö'+intesà+u seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

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[1] Chamberlin, 335.
[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

As would be expected from their location, the Ute shared the traits of the Plains as well as the Plateau Indians in their economic activities. They hunted buffalo and elk as well as deer and rabbits. The practice of eagle-catching in pits by the Uintah may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection as a typical Plains feature. Large game was killed in the late fall or winter. Deer were driven to a deep pit between the converging arms of a sagebrush enclosure; this was done near the site of Fort Duchesne. Buffalo (*qutc*) were pursued on fast horses and the kill divided into small pieces. Rabbits were hunted communally; the Uintah used nets, made from bark fiber, but the White River band (according to Little Jim) did not. Sometimes jack-rabbits were hunted on horseback. If the rabbits were in the thick brush the Ute would set fire to the brush and kill the rabbits, which then ran out of their hiding-place. 000

The Shoshoni likewise display a mingling of Plains and Plateau traits. In the winter buffalo were pursued on snowshoes (*dzink*^{u}) of large oval shape made by the men; the animals were run into deep snow from which they could not extricate themselves. Before the people had horses they would surround a herd and close in on them; the buffalo very rarely attempted to break through, but merely would go round and round within the circle. When a man crawled up to a herd alone, he hardly ever got more than one animal. After horses were obtained the surround was no longer necessary. My informant never heard of running buffalo down a cutbank. Mountain-sheep were pursued with, say, four dogs, which chased the animals till they were exhausted and brought to bay on a rock. In pursuing antelope a hunter covered himself with an antelope head with the horns; when he caught sight of his quarry he imitated a grazing antelope and thus sneaked up to the animals till he was able to shoot one or two.

The Wind River Shoshoni deny having eaten roasted ants, but they did not scorn small game. Ground-hogs were driven out of their holes with a very sharp barbed stick. A trap was used for a species of squirrel, so that the animal nibbling at the bait would pull down a big rock on itself. Rabbits would sometimes run into a rotten log. Then the hunter plugged up the hole with sagebrush and started a fire, fanning the smoke into the log. After a while the victim attempted to get out, but was prevented by the plug. When it stopped squealing, the hole was uncovered and the dead rabbit was pulled out. Hunters also hung snares of tough bark fiber from trees and scared the rabbits into the nooses.

While I find no reference in either my notes or the earlier writers to the eating of fish by the Paiute, other Shoshoneans made extensive use of this article of diet.

262
171.

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'ts*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
[415] the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
[251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'ūsd, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qôgi*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ŭ''ūts*, little onions; *ðsi*;
a'qö'; *kusíək'*; *qôγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+į*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubûs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tūpá-qwana* or *tŭ'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 73; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

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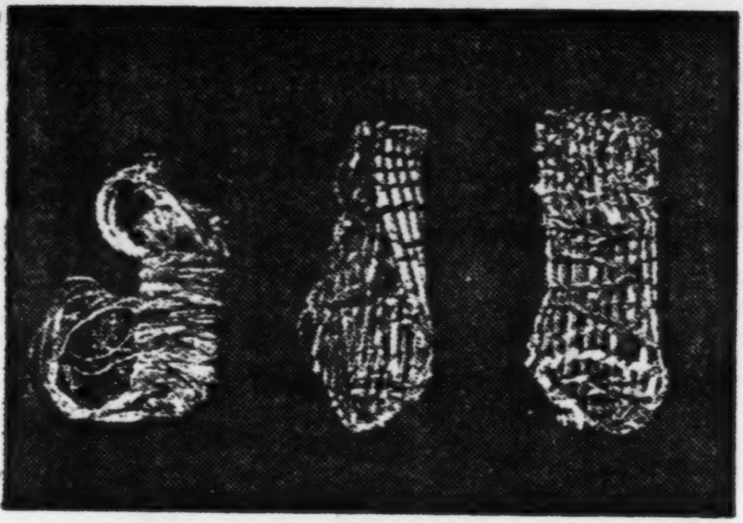

Fig. 5.

342

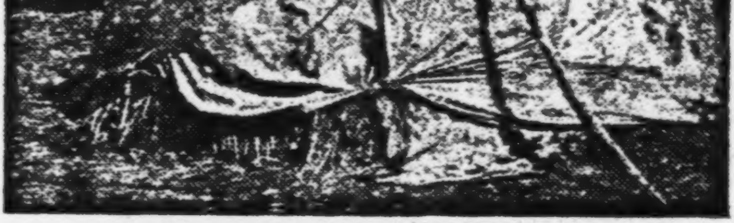

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5 *a-c* (50.1-8639a, 7966, 7965). Sandals. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, *c*, Paviotso.
Fig. 6. Tule Lodge of Pyramid Lake, Paviotso, with Canvas Covering.

[P. 208 is blank]

252 412 (*wiɔnodn*ᵘ) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

276 [170] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

[824] The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa*ᵉᵐ. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayá*ᵃ. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsiabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawdγodp'*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene mensiesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

DOGS.

224 231 262 171 Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212–214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 343.

000 animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

224 231 The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

000 The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

DRESS.

[291] [171] The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump'*. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and 342. describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over [824] a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.

[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.

[3] Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.

[4] Reed, 40.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size (Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. [412] The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a [415] beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside. [354]

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the 000 Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available. A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether [171] the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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[1] Mooney, 1049 f.

[2] Lowie, 183.

000 ground. and a fire was built around them. All the pots were undecorated. After completing a vessel, a woman would fire it all night, then on the following morning if it were struck the sound heard would be like that of a metal kettle. The Ute also made earthenware containers. At Navajo Springs, Colorado, I was told that meat was formerly boiled in such vessels, being then served on basketry trays. On the Uinta River Powell found fragments of pottery[1] and Stansbury encountered similar remnants of the potter's art in the same general area.[2] Though Powell seems inclined to view these finds as vestiges of a higher civilization than that of the Ute, we may reasonably assign plain pieces of pottery found in this territory to the immediate predecessors of the historic Shoshonean occupants. Jim Duncan, a Uintah Ute, told me that among his people both stone-boiling with baskets and pot-boiling had been in vogue. The former method was repeatedly referred to by Ute informants. The pots were made by a few of the women and were purchased by the rest. Another informant from the same Reservation mentioned the fact that black earthenware vessels with decorated rim were dug up from time to
[323] time in the vicinity. Thus, the Ute, Paiute and (if early accounts may
[171] be trusted) the Northern Shoshoni made pottery, while the Wind River Shoshoni and Paviotso did not.

Specimens of Shoshonean pottery are to be seen in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

Preparation of Skins. The Moapa Paiute remove the hair with the bone or rib of a mountain sheep. They rub the brains on the flesh side, letting them remain for ten days or even a month so that they might soak through the hide. The skin is next soaked in water over night and wrung out next day, softened and allowed to dry. It is then quite soft. Sometimes they smoke the inside, but my interpreter declared that this was a custom started only a short time ago. Cow chips are used to make the fire, the skin is sewed up Shoshoni fashion (see below), and exposed to the smoke all day. After this process the skin is impervious to water, which just runs off it, and it never gets hard when drying after an exposure to rain.

The Shivwits use the sharpened shinbone of a deer to take off the hair. The hide was kept in warm water, then put on a smooth post and allowed to lie against a tree trunk, the hair being removed by downward strokes. Warm water is again used to soak the skin, which is wrung out

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[1] Powell, 43.
[2] Stansbury, 182.

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*ticoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tügwü'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

286
281 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end. 531

287 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso
171 made no quillwork of any kind.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
[237] maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-
[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cŏ'dzild* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening
[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

•171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
285 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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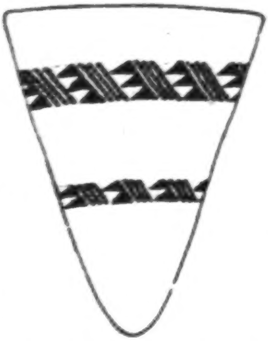
[1] Mason, (b), 489 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

• 171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*ᵉ, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tü'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nöᵒ*. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.



[531] →

[412] →

Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamō'"nö, ya'tá*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 237]

285 sperical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion; though the point of the cone is somewhat rounded, the vessel cannot stand. There are two lugs of twine and hair, connected by a modern band. The remaining bottles stand without difficulty, all having a flat bottom, which in two cases is dented in the center.

171 285 The Paiute share most of the forms of the Paviotso, but on the basis of the available material they seem to have a greater variety, especially in the coiled technique. To what extent there may be local differences, it is impossible to determine from the collection, which includes only a few Shivwits specimens. Of these a large conical gathering-basket does not seem to call for special comment and an openwork twined tray differs from a Moapa equivalent mainly through its broader, less ellipsoidal form. A very coarse but not open-twined tray (Fig. 19b), and even more so a shallow coiled bowl present a distinctive appearance. The Shivwits, like the Pima,[1] use the pods of the devil's-claw for black splints in making designs.

000 Turning to the Moapa pieces, which constitute the bulk of the Moapa collection, we find among the water-containers one striking difference from those of the Paviotso in that two of them, both jar-shaped, are coiled (Fig. 21). They are flat-bottomed and retain part of the pitch used to render them water-tight; the lugs and carrying-rope are shown in the illustration. This type is shown by Mason[2] and from his statement it appears that Powell collected many specimens of somewhat varying shape but in the same technique from the Utah Paiute, i.e., from the Shivwits and Kaibab. [171] The twined bottles include a flat-bottomed specimen recalling the Paviotso pattern and several pear-shaped pieces (Fig. 20c) rather more bi-conical than the Paviotso equivalent. The larger jugs are called *ōts*; the smaller, *o'tsáts*.

171 285 291 Three hats (*qaitsoqot, qaitsogots*) conforming to the same shape (Fig. 17) are all twined like those of the Paviotso. A single Bannock specimen is likewise in this technique. This fact is significant because it aligns the Shoshoneans with the northern rather than the southern Californians.

000 The gathering-baskets (*ātis*), which vary considerably in size, are all twined and fall into two main categories according to whether the twining is close or open. Fig. 22 shows perhaps the best sample of the latter variety. As in several other cases, the inside of the lugs supporting the carrying-band or strap is reënforced with splints or wrapped little sticks. The torsion of the warp strands noted by Mason in a Utah Paiute

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[1] Russell, 133.

[2] Mason, (b), Plates 32, 117; 239, 361, 489, 496.

000 gathering-basket[1] is noticeable in a number of my specimens also. Its shape is not duplicated in my Moapa collection, in which all pieces but one are conical and even the aberrant form may be conceived as a rounded cone, but a basket bought from the Lemhi Shoshoni closely approximates it. The close-plaited Moapa (specimens 50.1-8616, 8618) [285] [531] [171] gathering baskets are also conical; they exhibit various ornamental patterns. The large Utah Paiute specimen figured by Mason[2] is decorated with a motive practically identical with that on a Paviotso basket (Fig. 16).

A twined basket of unique form is shown in Fig. 23. The ornamentation, which is in two zones, is visible on the inside, but the patterns are externally stressed by a black coating.

[285] [171] The pointed open-twined tray (*yant^u*) of Paviotso shape also occurs in Moapa, but there is also a markedly less peaked specimen (specimen 50.1-8592), while another is definitely elliptical (specimen 50.1-8594). The close-plaited trays are likewise of more varied shape than those of the Paviotso; representative forms are specimens 50.1-8575, 50.1-8597, 50.1-8577, 50.1-8599. One name applied to these trays at Shem is *ta'qwū''yo, ta'qwāī'ō*, the Moapa term being *^{ta}'qōy^u*.

Though I did not buy any Paiute seed-beaters, their occurrence is attested by a pair from southern Utah figured by Mason.[3]

The coiled baskets from Moapa are for the most part flat-bottomed. By far the most common shape is the bowl, which varies considerably in size. *Qo'tsits* is the term applied to a coiled bowl, said to have been water-tight and used for a plate, but *tsītsowats* was also noted. The largest suggests a laundry-basket, being provided with lugs. More characteristic samples, also noteworthy for their ornamentation, are seen in Figs. 24, 26. Practically all the basketry-bowls have some decorative motive, as shown in Fig. 18, though in some cases it dwindles into insignificance. In a number of specimens the shape is not distinctively that of a bowl but assumes rather ellipsoidal outlines. A very neatly worked little basket, recurved at the top and markedly truncate at the bottom is shown in Fig. 29b, and a large basket with a lid quite distinct from all the rest is seen in Fig. 25.

At Moapa I unfortunately did not secure any sandals, but a pair made to order by a Shivwits (Fig. 5a) is of considerable interest, both because quite different from the tule, equivalents of the Paviotso and because strongly suggestive of the cross-woven Basket-Maker sandals described by Kidder and Guernsey.[4]

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[1] Mason, (b), 493.
[2] Mason, (b), 494.
[3] Mason, (b), 492.
[4] Kidder and Guernsey, 158, Pl. 67.

TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or 000
horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.[1] Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all.

Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets 482
carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits 171
say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes.

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wading, 000
but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").[2]

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *posintsaxdp*^{i}; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*ū*^{u}*s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *simpuv*^{i} grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a 223
balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat 501
shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saib*^{i}, while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toib*^{i} or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success-

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[1] Wilson, 104.

[2] Ibid., 20.

223 fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long
501 willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for
a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some
specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting
occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward
the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed
aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it
alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the
171 tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in
501 the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the
balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc,
Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal,
Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

000 The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the
basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as
found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of
any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's
"lattice" form.[1]

171 As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is
the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the
854 Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle
of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the
bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and
Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awning
000 above the infant's head. The largest cradle in the possession of the
Museum (specimen 50.1-6930) is of this category; it was bought from a
Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b)
shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle: to enhance the æsthetic effect
the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece
closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre
Ute[2] and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern
and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1-6930 also shows the
two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge
the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back
has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni cradle,[3] which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

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[1] Handbook, vol I, 357.
[2] Mason, (a), 526.
[3] Lowie, 190.

000 type: a hoop encloses a series of *transverse* willow sticks gradually shortened toward the bottom and united by three strings passing through perforations near the extremities and center of each. The general shape is thus similar to that of the board cradle, while the arrangement of sticks recalls the Plains Indian backrests. A specimen from the Lenders collection (50.1-885) conforms to the usual basket-work type in which *vertical* rods are held together by a basketry technique (see below). A Ute variant of this order from southern Utah is described and illustrated by {854} Mason.[1] Compared with Paviotso and Paiute equivalents to be noticed {171} presently its most distinctive feature is the use underneath of an ellipsoidal hoop that bulges beyond the frame laterally, but does not enclose it vertically; the sticks project beyond it both above and below. The rods are united by twining, there is an awning, and the white buckskin cover encloses the entire frame, rods as well as hoop.

854 171 285 The Paviotso use a diminutive cradle (*sa'ki'hubə*) with rounded hood at the top during the first month of the infant's life (50.1-7963); the basketry technique is that of simple openwork twining. In general shape this specimen is not unlike one of the two Shasta cradles illustrated by Dixon.[2] It is carried in the arms. Later a second cradle (*hūbb'*) is made, which remains in use until the child is able to walk. The Museum has three specimens of definitely known provenance,—two uncovered and one, lacking the awning, covered with buckskin. Four covered pieces catalogued as "Paiute" (50.1-2110, 50.1-4026, 50.1-4025, 50.1-5991) may, however, with great assurance be ascribed to the Paviotso, making seven full-sized specimens in all.

In both covered and uncovered cradles the greater part of the structure consists of parallel rods united by openwork twining, and the awning is likewise of uniform pattern to be described below. The main difference is in the framing, which leads to a difference in the outer shape of the two variants. In the uncovered variety, represented by a Pyramid Lake specimen (50.1-7912), the two framing rods, which are united to each other by wrapping, are on all sides parallel to the framed rods, which they closely adjoin, so that there results a compact quadrilateral narrower at the bottom than at the top. The covered pieces may be represented by the Pyramid Lake cradle shown in Fig. 34b, where the frame consists of two looped sticks applied from top and bottom respectively, so that the total appearance of the cradle suggests the Nez Percé pattern or that of the Ute, if rounded off below. The skin covering extends

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[1] Mason, (a), 527.

[2] Dixon, (b), 434.

854 over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the
171 average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper
285 loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a
distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the
joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks. The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120
854 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the
285 sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an
alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Mu-
531 seum specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belong-
171 ing to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants
associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's "Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso, has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.[1]

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.[2]

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.[3]

000 Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

[854] The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso
[171] type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of
[285] the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow
projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,[4]

Text Continued on Page 257

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[1] Mason, (a), 528.
[2] Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.
[3] Dixon, (a), 200.
[4] Mason, (a), 530-534.

000 that is to say, it is an arch secured to the sides of the frame. In structure, however, this arch differs from those figured by Mason, since it consists of a considerable number of thin-bowed rods united in pairs by twining, which is done in such a way as to produce a decorative pattern of approximately V-shaped elements.

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•171
285 The Shivwits cradle (Fig. 33a) is double-bowed like the covered Paviotso type. In place of the compound arch of the Moapa cradle there is a single bent stick connecting the two sides. From near the top, the flat frame formed by the twined rods, there rises the twined basket-work awning, which gradually expands from a width of 2½ inches to 6 inches and is secured to the center of the arch. Compared with the Paviotso awning, which it resembles in general position, the Shivwits awning differs in being longer, narrower, undecorated, and almost flat instead of definitely vaulted; its support consists of a single rod where the Paviotso cradle usually has six and is more or less vertical to the plane of cradle frame instead of forming an obtuse angle with it.

GAMES.

000 In his monograph Stewart Culin has given rather careful consideration to Shoshonean games and I here merely offer personal notes and observations.

Among the Moapa Paiute the cup-and-ball game (*tö'dsip'* or *tö+dsinimp'*) is popular in a definite form, a cottontail skull being caught on a *pasta* stalk originally connected with it by means of *wu'tsi* string. A model was obtained (Fig. 35). Each of the tooth cavities counts 6, the holes on the side 10, any other hole 1, the front teeth 6, while catching the minute hole on the inside of each row of tooth cavities at once wins the game regardless of the score, being equivalent to countless points. It is said that a person who loses this game gets bald-headed.

The Shivwits use the bull-roarer (*nánimü*), but only as a children's toy, as which it was instituted by the mythical character Wolf. A father would make one for his children to play with. Fig. 36 represents a model.

A figure by Powell indicates the playing of the hand-game by his Paiute.[1]

The Ute of Ignacio thus described their manner of playing the hand-game (*naiyu'k· apârau*). All the players at any one time are of the same sex but both men and women play the game. Formerly the caches consisted of two elk teeth tied together, and each player had two. If the

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[1] Powell, Fig. 46, facing p. 128.

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000
advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624
rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. 224
Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed to know most about it. 223
He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. [628]
They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622
authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623]
> said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither subchief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606
Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171
group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000
that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

It is interesting to note that suggestions of classificatory terminology are most conspicuous at Wind River, as we should expect. The lack of distinctive cousin terms and still more so the use of reciprocal stems for the grandparental relationship are perhaps the outstanding features of our Plateau Shoshonean systems. The most interesting variations occur, as noted by Sapir, as regards the designation of the uncle-nephew categories. Thus, the Paiute and Ute are found to use reciprocal stems, while the Paviotso have correlative stems not etymologically connected (e.g., *hai'* and *hûza*, *ütsi*^{ri}, and *ïnandk*$^{\cdot wa}$). 601 171

RELIGION.

Information on the personal aspect of Shoshonean religion is extremely sparse and the following notes are given mainly to stimulate further inquiry. 000

Among the Shivwits supernatural power did not come in solitary fasting but in dreams. Cünáwaʙ^{i} was prayed to for success in the chase, and after game had been killed some of the fat was thrown in all directions as an offering to him. Prayers were not addressed to Tüʙáts. The Moapa believe that Cotsípamâpöt never aged and never died. Cünáwaʙ^{i} and Töʙáts also are still living and sometimes people say the dead go to them.

Women, as well as men, might be doctors. Moapa is the center of the earth.

The object of the Southern Ute Sun dance[1] was primarily the attainment of a shaman's powers, secondarily the cure of sick men. The leader was of course possessed of shamanistic powers. Sometimes as many as forty men participated in the ritual, but only a few of them attained their wish of becoming medicinemen. Some Ute would take part in four or five ceremonies before having their hopes fulfilled. When exhausted from fasting, a person would faint and then he might dream about eating and the Sun would tell him that he was to be a medicineman. After a while he would wake up and feel quite well.

It should be noted that the Sun dance is a very recent acquisition of the Ute. At Ïgnacio I was told in 1912 that even the Utah branch of the tribe only got it from the Shoshoni about twenty-two years ago. Prior to that time the shaman (*pŏ'aγat*) apparently got his power in dreams without fasting. Some shamans were good (*díte-pŏ'aγat*), others bad (*ŏwú-pŏ'aγat*). The latter were sorcerers who caused people to fall

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[1] See this series, vol. 16, part 5.

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are
up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking,
the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 171
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both
Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will 845
also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is 829
thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the 000
Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.

[2] Ibid., 13, 47, 48, 50, 57.

600 obtained through dreams. Long ago the Shoshoni would go to the hills or rocks in the mountains where there was "a kind of writing." There they would sleep for from one to three nights in quest of a dream, but without fasting; in the morning they went back home. Some animal or person might appear to the would-be visionary and tell him he was to be a physician. Not all the shamans used the same form of treatment, but all sang some songs. They made different marks near the fireplace and perhaps stuck a feather up by the mark. The shaman (*púhagant*) would place a feather on the affected part of the sufferer's body and suck at the other end, then blow away or vomit the disease. Only the doctor himself saw what he vomited. If a shaman cures his patient, he gets $5 or possibly a horse. Once a white man cured by an Indian doctor gave him $20 or $25. If there is no cure, there is no fee. My informant had never heard of evil shamans trying to kill personal enemies. The shaman administers no drugs, though all Indians have knowledge of certain medicinal roots or weeds, which is not acquired through dreams. Nowadays medicinemen get power by dreaming while at home. One informant had heard of a shaman who doctored gonorrhoea, like Tumodzo of the Lemhi,[1] by suction; this probably made him bald-headed. His treatment was based on dreams and he never used roots.

Some people claimed to receive power from dwarfs called *nü'nümbi*, who are described as only from two and a half to three feet in height but with big muscles. This would fit the dwarfs of Crow mythology, but these are uniformly benevolent, while the *nü'nümbi* are regarded as generally of evil disposition, killing people with bow and arrows so that the Shoshoni are still afraid of them. They are always naked.

The Wind River Indians owned medicine bundles, especially for war-like purposes. These were composed of bear claws, otterskins, etc. Most of them contained eagle feathers as part of the sacred aggregate. The bundles were generally kept on a tripod behind the tipi, being only taken inside when it rained.

775 When one informant was a boy he heard that there was one part in
774 the human being called *mügua* different from the body and surviving it.
171 Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi[2] and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity.

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[1] Lowie, 228.
[2] Lowie, 226.

000 but it suddenly dived into the water and was seen no more, though the sound it made was heard all night until morning.

Wáwanabidi had never seen a water-buffalo but had heard other Indians describe it. It resembles a buffalo, but its horns are somewhat different. An Indian now dead told my informant he had once seen a pretty woman with long hair on the ice covering Bull Lake; as he came close, she suddenly went under the water.

Wáwanabidi, when a child, was terribly afraid of the ogre known as Dzŏabits, who plays a part in Shoshoni folklore. After hearing a tale about him he would be afraid to go out in the dark. A water variety of this monster, Pán-dzŏabits, was used as a bugbear to terrify children; he was said to carry children in a big bag.

When buffalo were scarce, the Shoshoni would cut out the sinew of one buffalo they had killed, blacken their fingers with charcoal and dot the sinew black with them. Then they placed the sinew on the ground and built a fire over it, causing it to draw up so that the ends would come together, when they removed it. This symbolized the coming together of buffalo from opposite directions, and a few days later they expected to find buffalo.

825 The Paviotso have a curious belief that the horned-toad speaks the Paviotso language and is able to kill a rattlesnake and Annie Lowry even declared that she had seen a contest specially arranged for the benefit of skeptical whites in which the toad worsted the snake. This notion [171] is shared by the Ute. On the Uintah Reservation I was told that sometimes a rattlesnake would find a young horned-toad (*tsinqámqatsits*) and kill it, then its mother would get furious and kill the snake.

000 When there was measles or smallpox in a Shoshoni camp, the doctor would give a dance in which both men and women participated, shaking dewclaw rattles known as *tŏcitŏmp*. The dance was called Horn Dance (*ăp nóqára*). It lasted for two or three days and was limited to the period of an epidemic.

CEREMONIES AND DANCES.

Both in number and complexity of ceremonials the Plateau Shoshoneans are noticeably inferior to the Plains and Pueblo Indians, and even of the slender stock of performances known to them in modern times some are demonstrably due to recent borrowing. This applies to the Sun dance of the Ute and Wind River Shoshoni, which has been dealt with in a separate publication and to the wailing ceremony of the Southern Paiute, already mentioned (p. 279).

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By Jaime de ANGULO and L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days[1] at Fort Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged around the camp also helped me. 114 [101] [102] [113]

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior Basin area for California[2], to form a culture province apart, with a 115 121 114 191

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[1] I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

[2] For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

114 171 typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite [121] points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

128 In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value howere, since so little has been published on this people[1].

121 I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

101 [131] The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

133 This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

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[1] For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership 622
if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less
cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups
impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering [621]
over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the 342
summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient),
were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework
of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large
enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm
even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in
view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this
could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles).
Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation 342
between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California 171
house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least
for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved
in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of
Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of
house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with
two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut
themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean
hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr.
Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers,
slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars
of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the
tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three 342
foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only
one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it.
Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has [137]
pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at
least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming
and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable
how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much [198]
greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

SWEATING, AND SWEAT-HOUSES.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typi-
[177] cal Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of wil-
low wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found to-
[171] day in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
[177] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many
people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made
a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting
around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As
for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems
that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the
old men frown on it.

CLOTHING.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men
wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with
fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings
were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The
shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the
chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back
between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made
use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the
loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative.
There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The
statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men
wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite incon-
ceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisi-
tion (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
[174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing
nothing but a kilt.

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the 291 Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves. Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually wore only the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometimes donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest. As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it that way.

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their [302] shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the women a basket-cap (also like the Pits).

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same [171] as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a [281] single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added : one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly Californian mocassin.

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain and snow.

WEAPONS OF HUNTING AND WAR.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of 411 the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different : the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the [171]
arrow on the right hand side.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262 Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251 cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252 mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417 pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altough this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796 people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756 as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787] constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171] viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773 stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171] emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [776] assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276 pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171] his own people very seldom made them that way.

501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

Résumé.

105 171 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit eved fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.)[1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

General Impression.

197 193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

Phonology.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

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[1] See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

756 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of
114 the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2]
787 Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise
Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturi-
● [171] ty, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers
from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

755 Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary
in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only
171 mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor,
while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently
played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corrobo-
787 rated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise
Valley Paiute.[7]

756 The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back
the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is
[755] confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley
are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in
[224] detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley
Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used
[778] in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco,
beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that
[171] employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens
Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*.; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

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648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N
789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N [756]

N [776]

"I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

N [171] [174]

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

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726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

N [712]

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

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159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with rye grass and tule mats. 343 344

CLOTHING

1. *Sagebrush Clothing* (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had 291 heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings.

2. *Badger Skin Aprons.* These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One [281] informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin.

3. *Women's Skin Dress* (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following 291 differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top 281 and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the [301] bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. [171] Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress.

4. *Men's Clothing.*

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the [301 bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells 602] threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried.

PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
114 the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
595 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished
171 field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and
Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.
584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.

[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

121 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely,
177 for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of
171 diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a /21/ judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important /7/ in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful /21/ history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at important points. /14 At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but

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[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

756 fashion appears to happen frequently, for it was described by a number of informants who knew of several shamans who had acquired power from a parent during the lifetime of that individual. On the other hand, sharing power with any person not so disposed is not a common practice. Only one incident of transferring power in return for property or other considerations was recorded.

There are, then, three general ways in which the Paviotso may acquire power, but all depend fundamentally upon the same type of experience. In spite of the many opportunities thus afforded for acquiring power, it is evident that relatively few people actually become shamans. The explanation doubtless is to be found in the danger involved in both the acquisition and the use of supernatural power.

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171 Another point that emerges from these accounts is the extreme simplicity of the voluntary power-quest. Essentially, it is little more than the deliberate seeking for the usual dream-experiences accompanied by rather simple tests of the candidate's courage. The long and arduous physical exertions that characterize the Plateau quest and the fasting and self-torture of the search for power on the western Plains are totally unknown to the Paviotso. It is as though the deliberate quest for power here were lightly superimposed upon an older basic pattern in which shamanistic power was derived from dream-experiences alone.

Loss of Power

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688 A shaman is never secure at any time in the possession of his power. Careless treatment of paraphernalia or the flouting of instructions given by the spirits may deprive the shaman of his ability to cure disease. Moreover, careless or malicious acts of others may endanger the shaman's power. If a spectator at a curing ceremony does not carry out the precise requests of the practitioner in handling food, painting the face or body, maintaining silence at specified times during the performance, or other special forms of behavior demanded of those present, harm in the form of failure to effect a cure as well as sickness for the shaman is likely to follow. Frequent instances of illness and loss of power among shamans were attributed by informants to these or similar missteps or to abuses in utilizing the special powers conferred upon these people.

wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a 756
wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not [756]
relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In
short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to
gain marked economic privileges.

Summary

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is 755
the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public
participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional
crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely
lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire ceremonial [790]
life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of organization, 756
Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several
features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in acquiring
power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt
acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all [754]
shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indicate
the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be regarded
as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in
emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity
of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel combinations
of practices found widely over western North America, [171]
the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are
unique.

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N W 175 276 short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

N W 177 276 *795 Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

N W ● 171 177 276 *795 The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[7] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

IDEOLOGY OF PEYOTISM

N W 182 276 *795 In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

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[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[4] Beals, 1932, 216.

[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 56.

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to W
the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate 159
and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been
attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and 795*
because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth 797
about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Cole- N
ville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice W
and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from [578]
curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[illegible] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting,
for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong." W

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In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area ex- [177]
tending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

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In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural 171
setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. 177
The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche proto-
type is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list 795*

[illegible] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

N W 171 177 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 N W 171 177 562 *795 [841] Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

N W [796] La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

N W 171 177 *795 The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

N W [533] The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N W [534] [237] [755] Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

N W 171 177 795* [346]

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[illegible] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

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"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

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Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[illegible] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

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The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after mid night (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[illegible]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

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[illegible] La Barre, 61.

[illegible] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[illegible] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

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The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

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The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

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In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[illegible] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes ... and rare is the man who

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[illegible] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to
[761 peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[58]

[743 Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the
[648 chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic break-
[826 fast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure
N better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuc-
W cessfully using peyote.

• 771 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members
787 said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[59] Peyote visions of
*795 dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[60] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new
N peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious
W aspect of the cult.[61]

● 171 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function
276 also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero
*795 as peyote's principal virtue.[62] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[63]

N Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious
W grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First,
178 peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, re-
771 sisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral
*795 speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[64] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is
N implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal
W guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meet-
[797] ing he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[58] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[59] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[60] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[61] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[62] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[63] La Barre, 72.

[64] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into
these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
755 curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
171 singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used;
curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
801 visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—
756 "Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."" Thus,
276 peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
787 common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion,
W one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism,
755 for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
534 aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
276 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
533 a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide,
or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial
801 number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the
sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

Steward, 1933, 318.

N W 157 177 795*

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism.[illegible]

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The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

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Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[illegible] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

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[illegible] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.

[illegible] 1925:868–873.

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of a new type of living."[68] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."[69]

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

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What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

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The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

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[68] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[69] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

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Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who con- W
ducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at 171
Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid 177
shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not 668
doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported 795*
by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The 797
appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also.
Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Chetco Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." Y
A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his [668]
character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted [797]
to join." A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it." And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege. N

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one W
of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters." The Arapaho Sitting 171
Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

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Du Bois, 23, 27.

Tom Garth, field notes.

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One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost [177]
Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its [668]
spread among his tribe."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

N W 171 and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P 668 797 P [276 [431 [578 Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N W 171 The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[79] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[80] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi [795 [797 The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[81] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

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[79] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.

[80] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.

[81] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

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return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.[illegible]

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It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

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In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

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In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

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[illegible] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[63] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

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SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938. 800

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

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[63] Data for the Ute and Washo-Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Comanche N06

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																
	12T	K-A	Ki	Com	Kb	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wn	NoC	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ah 8	Do 1	Do 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	Do 1	Do 2	Win	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

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[783]
[778]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	−		(−)		•−		•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		−	•+	−		+	+	+		−	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•−	(−)	+	•−	•−	−	•−	+	•+	−	+	+	+	•−
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	•−
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(−)		−		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+		−	+	−		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	(+)		−		+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	(−)	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•−	•+	+	−	−	

Element	Occurrence																
	UT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	Do 1	Do 2	Win	Mc C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		•	+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	•+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab B	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

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Washo NT20

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 2	Win	Mo C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	*+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	*+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		*−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	*+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	*+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	*+	+	*+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	*	+	
265a. (See note)															*		

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NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

N 1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

W 2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

171 *795 796 3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

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84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

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95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179-184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its west, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kic: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kic: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

168. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 151). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

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169. De 2: See note 168. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

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782

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

N Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready,
W she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

● 171 215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See
*795 note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

796 216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: ᵈamē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ni'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

N 260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

W 261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

[787] 262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). N

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). W 171

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940. 795 796 000

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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162
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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[TEXT CONTINUES ON MIDDLE OF P. 123]

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

N
W
171

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1936.

(*Concluded on next page*)

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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171 ●

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

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795
[103]
[171]
[484]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	179 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

N
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795
273
756
157
563

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 Northern Paiute NR13 Washo NT20

N
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171
*795

TABLE 4

ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley			Mono County				Total by tribes				Total
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O	P	W	S	O	P	W	S	O	
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	2	51	3	3	218	15	11	18	620	281	58	41	1000
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	6		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	32	8	3	88
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	27	8	3	83
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1		20	2		2	26	12	3	2	43
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1												5			5
Mixed-blood households								2			1												3			3
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1												1	2		3
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1															1			1
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2							2	2		2	6	6	2	2	16
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			53	1	1	3		24		24		2	26	3			96	58	2	3	159
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			35	1		3		24		24		2	22	3			91	41	2	3	137
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9			9	1			39	18	1		58
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1								4				5	17			22
Mixed blood households								4		1								2				3	4			7
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1							1	1		1	3
Attended only other meetings	7							1														7	1			8
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7							7	4		1	12
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2	1	1			5	3	1	3	12
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	112	2	22	1	1	161	4	11	15	479	191	48	35	753
Full-blood individuals	89	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1	102	3	11	14	404	174	44	32	654
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	52		49		10			54	2	6		196	76	21		293
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2			59	1		1	75	17	4	3	99
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2			27	1			38	11	2		51
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		2	2	2	1	1	14			15	25	10	3	21	59

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171
*795

The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

Totals by Tribes for Carson Agency

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

Percentages of Peyotists and Nonpeyotists for Carson Agency

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

N
W
162
563
*795

Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

Mixed-Bloods in the Analyzed Communities

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

N
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128
795*
602
171

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; ss, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; nc, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

N
W
171
602
+795

ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, s	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	56	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	59	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, c, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	69	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, a			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, a			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 a, c			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	62	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, c			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 ssl			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	38	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	c, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	58	P	1				

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[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

(Continued on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d			
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, e
57. Gregory, N.	F	50	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	h			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	h			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				nph
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			w, fl
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1			d	ss, sl
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b			
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, sal, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, s, 3 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 s, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, s, 3 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 s, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, s, 3 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	32	P	1	ml, 2 sal, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 sal		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P-(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 sal, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P-(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 sal	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 sal, h, m, bl	2 sal, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d		s	
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss		b	
86. Walker, C.	M	59	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 sal
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 sal
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, a			f, stm, u, a
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				d
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	50	P	1	3 s, gs, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	a, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	a, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	a, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, a			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 c			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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Active Peyotists in the Washo-Paiute Cult—(*Concluded*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	ss	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 s, ss
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, a, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl, d, 2 ssl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, ss, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, ss, 2 u	ss	gf, 2 u	bl, ss
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		a			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			s, gs
109, Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, a, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

Wadátkuht

103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designa-
tion for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^a ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp
at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife.
This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sohud^a as

Wadátkuht

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching 361
for the native houses constructed at this village. Except
for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about [824]
one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the [342]
Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not.

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as 22
might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin [171]
pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed
to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed [423]
producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family getting there first expecting to have no competition unless
they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often in- 22
vited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn- 648
rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility.

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only 22
among those families too improvident to secure and store an 185
adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households 735
that worked diligently collecting food during the other three

Wadatkuht

342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 [177] At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house, called típugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. It seems quite likely that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupínabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. W [825] [771] The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. W [361] It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). W N [177] Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Whirlwind (pitesmava)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730. People threw water on whirlwind	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730a. People threw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
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787

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2732. You will carry a deer	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	·	·	·	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
2738. Crow call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2739. Dove call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740. Meadowlark call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Various (See also 2296a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
2741a. Finger rots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	·	·	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2743. Gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
2745. Informants had only heard of them	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2748. "Devil"	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

[p. 418]

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [172] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis N [772] Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians." [P. 431(N)]

N 412 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).

W [413] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. KH: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.

883a. KH: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).

890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). KH: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.

906. Tg: DS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.

909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.

N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).

935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).

N [172] A [411] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m). AE: Sinew-backed

[P.432(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 413 ● [172]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).

1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).

1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).

1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).

1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N 415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).

1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.

1017. Ki: - (BA).

1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W [415]

1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 [172]

1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).

W [411] A [411]

1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

N [281]

1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tökuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N 285

Materials

N [172 177]

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tö: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172]

1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

N [432]

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

[p.433(N)]

N 285 [418] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [285] 1039a. K2: DM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use.

W [285]

1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [174E]

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

N [177, 172]

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Kl: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

[p.433 (R)]

N 235 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [235] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

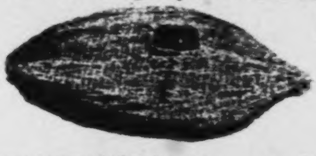
N [172]

Basket Forms

N 235 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya‘ta´)" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idīwa, kawono.

N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

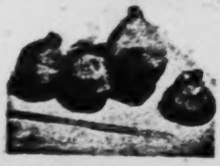


N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.



Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.434 (W)]

285 1103. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 273). Wd: -
441 (BJ).

1114. Paviotso: Mush bowl (Lowie, 233-234, fig. 13,b).

1115. When baskets of one type were made by both coiled and twined technique the generic name was used for both, except when they were distinguished by adding adjectival words "töt-sic'kwa," meaning coiled, or "töwic'kwina," meaning twined.

1117. Kl, 2: Field Museum has two pitch-coated coiled food bowls from Pyramid Lake (Steward, 271).

1118. Tg, Wd: Boiling basket pitched on outside then placed in hole so it would not fall over.

1119. Ki: + (Kelly, 123).

1120. See note 1115.

1121. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

WEAVING

Skin Blankets

286 [172] 1140a, 1141a, 1142a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50, 51).

1144. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 228). Steward, 270, describes this type for Death Valley Shoshoni.

1144a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270).

1145. Ki: Kelly, 137, confirms use of vertical loom.

Feather Blankets

[287] 1156, 1160. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50).

1157. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270). Ki: - (Kelly, 136).

Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

1165. Paviotso: "For babies, blankets of sagebrush were made" (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1168a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 56).

Nets

1180, 1180a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 85).

Cordage

288 1184a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pls. 36,h, 73).

1185a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73, pls. 35, 73). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1186-1190. Paviotso: "Used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (toibi) to make rope." "My interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends" (Lowie, 233).

[172] 1189. Lovelock Cave: Rope (tule bark) found in cave had a right or clockwise twist, whereas

N
283 string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise
[72] twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N
323

N
[114]

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N
854
482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W
[854
482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[304
756]

MUTILATIONS

N
304

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

1306. Owens Valley: −, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kü: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W
[304]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(A)]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 301 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
● 173] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
A 1333. Tö: Bought from California. AE: Only
[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads
on dress. Obtained from California Indians W
of Achomawi.
1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention
to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal
septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung
W to wear were the only bone beads.
[301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also,pl.
[172] 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N 302 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.
N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face
302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
246 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red
[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
A 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,
[135] SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green
[322] and blue.
N 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abun-
[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of
Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John
T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny
powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another
mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-
N rial as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is
[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena,"
which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil
spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got
A from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from
[439] the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2
302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of
otter fur" (Curtis, 61).
1382. Ki: – (Kelly, 115, but she cites De
Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).
1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair
from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before
that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed
W braiding style before white people arrived.
[302] 1387. Wa: – (Smith, notes).
N 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
[172] 1396. Tö: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

Washo NT21
Achomawi NS5

N 291 1481-1483. Paviotso: "The more prosperous wore skirts reaching to the knees" (Curtis, 69).

1488-1497. Paviotso: "Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind" (Curtis, 69).

A [291 281] 1493. AE: A shredded-bark apron was part of shinny costume, its only use.

1503. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 53). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): fiber skirt used by poor people.

W [291] 1506. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Leggings

1516-1517. Paviotso: Men wore fringed buckskin leggings; women wore no leggings (Lowie, 217).

1517. Ki: + (Kelly, 109).

Footgear

N 291 281 294 1527. "Two-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; additional top or tongue might be added to either type (Loud, pl. 21). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 47).

● [172] 1538a. Lovelock Cave: Moccasins beaded with Olivella were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 21).

1539. "One-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; tongue, top, or sole may be added. Wd: + (BJ). Ki: Kelly, 110, figures a moccasin in construction, and remarks it is like Wissler's pattern 6.

1540. Wd: - (SC).

1549. Wd: - (SC).

N [172] 1554a. Small moccasins with hair on found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 22,e).

1555. Ki: Kelly, 109 (pl. 27), describes and pictures bark moccasin. (Figured are John T. Reid specimens.)

1556. Wd: - (BJ).

1560. Kü: + (AL); she said badger hide toughest material for soles, and that hair left inside to keep feet warm.

1561. To: + (BS). Wd: - (SC).

N [172] 1562. Sandal a sole with strings or straps to hold it on the foot. Kü: + (AL). Although many sandals were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, pls. 22, 23), GN insisted that "the Paiute didn't wear shoes like Jesus wore. I've seen pictures of Jesus." Paiutes mostly went bare-

N [481] foot in old days and traveled at night to avoid hot ground, GN said. AL said she saw old Indians wearing sandals of tule, grass, and rush.

[P.436(B)]

N
436 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
177 ute. Kü: Shell beads obtained from California to
489 use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
W [439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N
276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field
Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by
some informants that the elbow pipe was aborigi-
nal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe
N on her plate 32,b.

[177 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a re-
cent introduction.

172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men
[276 smoked much in old days.

[756] 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Moun-
[782] tain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Töt-
sikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and
Old Winnemucca.

N 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering
[756 of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the
782] pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N
Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa'P".

249 1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

824 1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita,
Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with
Nicotiana.

N
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534
Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians
W when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
[534] (Smith, notes).

N 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

[172 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only
756] by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a
deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley:
+ (Steward, 278).

N
[172] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line
N along a buckskin string; the string is wound
[281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his
informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on
[178 skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa:
759] Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the
Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that
time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [177] 1986. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2006. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

● N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Km: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N 586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2060. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439b]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] ● 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

A [764] 2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt.

N [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Kl: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283).

N 784 2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Kl: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

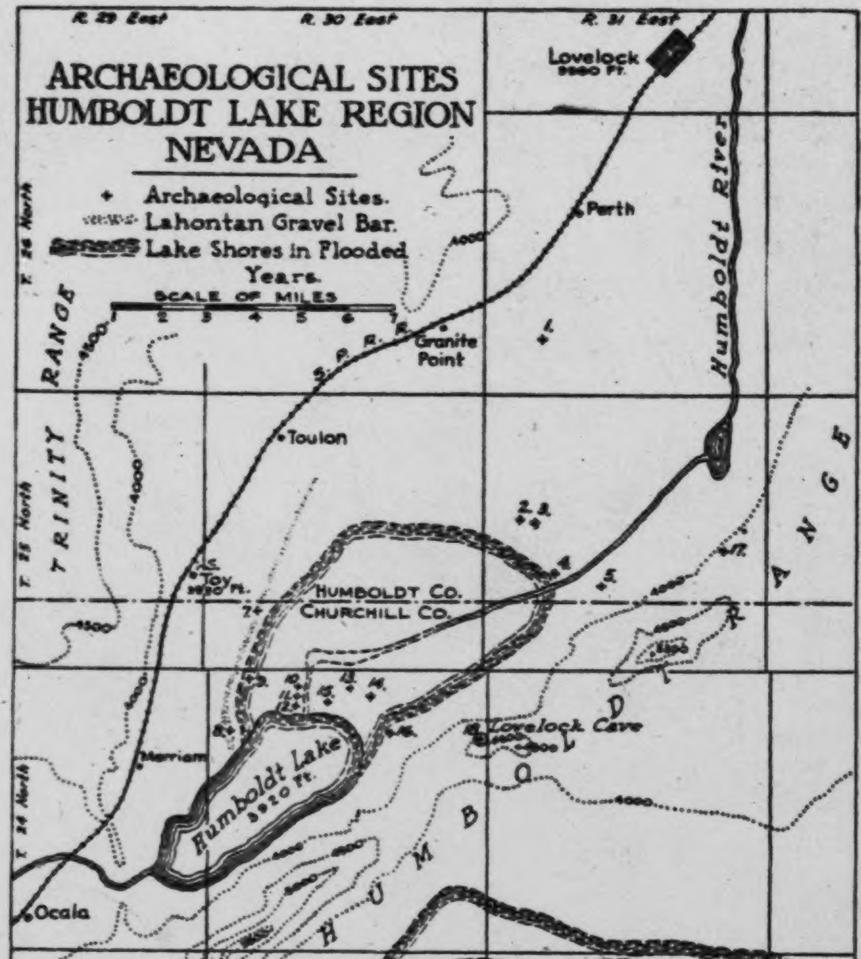
2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p 443 (A)]

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
● 172
131
133


ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION
NEVADA
+ Archaeological Sites.
Lahontan Gravel Bar.
Lake Shores in Flooded Years.
SCALE OF MILES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
R. 29 East
R. 30 East
R. 31 East
T. 26 North
T. 25 North
T. 24 North
T. 23 North
Lovelock 3960 FT.
Perth
Humboldt River
Granite Point
S. P. R. R.
Toulon
TRINITY RANGE
Toy 3930 Ft.
HUMBOLDT CO.
CHURCHILL CO.
Merriam
Humboldt Lake 3920 Ft.
Lovelock Cave
HUMBOLDT RANGE
Ocala
Ocala Cave
Carson Sink 3860 Feet
4000
4500
5000

MAP OF HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION

[End Plate 1]

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was 224
firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform
of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than
words of how the weight was released.

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not 291
even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute
never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. [136]
It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from [172]
twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that 291
way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes [172]
of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of
the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good [178]
hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin [231]
blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east.
Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful [136]
on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that [224]
no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin.

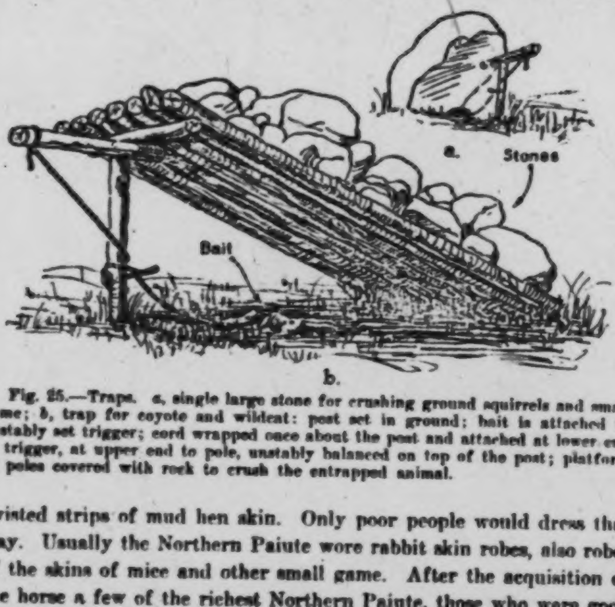


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Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and 224
children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them
into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would
follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across
a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

.824 [285] sehI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to se in composition; for example se-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sihopi, sihupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] [262] [226] taEpi. greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (chotetoma) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tis'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, toiwa, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwekobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuis, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to 186
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i,
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason 829
for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exter- 829
minated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid
lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the [727]
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or
throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern [648]
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute 114
implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that
they must have been made by the Pit River Indians.

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the northwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tobaitsha.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadatU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [361]
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadatU. On both sides of the ridge [103]

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9. Moa mutsakian^{o} ("Rough Point") (moav^{a} - "rough"). This rocky point is about five miles northeast of Doyle and may be considered a northern extension of the previous feature. Rough Point is located in T25N/R17-18E and got its name from the rough granitic rock of which this feature is composed.

10. Babáktud ("Big Mountain"). The large mountain a few miles southeast of Flannigan, Nevada, is given this name. Neither this feature nor the following one is considered to be in Wadátkuht territory, but are said to be in an uninhabited region rarely visited due to the scarcity of water. Archaeological sites recorded at several places in this general region testify that the area was not always unoccupied. [172]

11. Kaibak^{u} mutsakian^{o} ("No Wet Point", i.e., "Dry Point"). This is a range of mountains a few miles northeast of Flannigan, Nevada. This feature, as with the preceding one, is said to be in an uninhabited region. The name for this feature gives the reason for the lack of occupation.

12. Tusí katu' ("Bunch Grass Mountain"). Hot Springs Mountain east of Honey Lake bears this name.

13. Hunuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). The flat at the western base of Hot Springs Mountain was given this name. The Wadátkuht had a camp on this flat but the informants could not recall its name, or if it had one. [361]

14. Paí dupid^{a} ("Rocks to Bottom"). This is the name given the rock formation on the west face of Hot Springs Mountain. The nearly vertical rock faces of this feature have a pyramidal shape. A snow slide here before contact times killed a herd of deer which was utilized by the Paiute people.

15. Tuhu' ta ("Wildcat Hole"). This point of land which has distinct Lake Lahontan wave-cut terraces on its slopes is located slightly more than two miles north of Wendel. Wildcats are said to have inhabited the caves in the rocks on this point. The track of the Southern Pacific railroad goes around the base of this point.

16. Tukwí mutsakian^{o} ("Burned Rock Point"). This name is given to a sort of lava shelf, or tableland, partially surrounded by low cliffs, or rimrock. This feature is located about two miles northwest of Tuhu' ta and apparently got its name from the lava rock. The Southern Pacific

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103 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features
133 belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudak^w ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudak^w. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch"
in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on
the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the
summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline
Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring pro-
vides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this
spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28.
[312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring
but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains
because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter
[224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley.
In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And
it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline
[172] Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht. Evidence
in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that
this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pówhanun^o ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain,
Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and
[224] Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular signifi-
cance because deer were hunted here.

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103 picking chokecherries nearby. The informants reported that
361 he was never successful.

[172] This site was an occasional winter village for Joaquin and his group of Wadátkuht composed primarily of his own family. Aboriginal occupation is indicated by chipped stone projectile points, flake knives of stone, thermal fractured stones and similar evidence. This village site has the archaeological designation of Las-34.

Parker Creek, which flows by the site, apparently has the same name as the village. In the vicinity of the village and along the creek chokecherry bushes grow abundantly, thus an important source for chokecherries for the Wadátkuht.

2. Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} ("Oak Tree Row"). This camp is located about 1½ miles south of Buntingville among pine and oak trees (T28N/R13E/Sec. 23). The Wadátkuht gathered acorns here and the bedrock mortars in the area attest to the same use of the area in earlier times. In more recent times a group of Maidu lived in this area until about 1930 which seemingly demonstrates a modification in the aboriginal occupation pattern.

3. Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o} ("Oak Tree Point"). This camp, as with Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, was situated among pines and oaks where the Wadátkuht could take advantage of the acorns. It got its name from the fact that a timbered spur, or point of land, extends eastward toward the shores of Honey Lake (T27N/R14E/Sec. 8).

A family of Pit River Indians lived here circa 1910 to parallel the occupation of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} by some Maidu people. It would seem by these two examples that observance of inter-tribal boundaries ceased shortly after the arrival of the settlers.

4. Sawa katud^{a} ("Sagebrush Set"). This village near the mouth of Baxter Creek was inhabited by the Wadatkuht [172] until after contact times. As indicated by the name this village is in a sagebrush region and marks the site of an archaeological habitation area as shown by the numerous stone artifacts recovered from here over the years by local collectors. The culture deposit of this site (with the archaeological designation of Las-93), however, is shallow. The site is located in T28N/R14E/SW¼ of NW¼ of Sec. 17.

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103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total population
[592] of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial)
house (tɨpugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designation
for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^a ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp
at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife.
This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing
more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how
much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location
was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it
was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south
of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately
one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson,
a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is
Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of
Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sohud^a as

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103 Ike Northrup visited the site with the author but knew nothing concerning its occupation.

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7. Pagúshuhad ("Warm Spring"). This most eastern Wadátkuht winter village receives its name from a spring of warm water that pours out from the base of a series of spire-shaped rocks. It is said that east of this village [312] there were no camps or villages until one approaches Pyramid Lake. Lack of water is given as the reason for this region being unpopulated. This village is a desert village, being some 10 or 15 miles east of the timbered Sierra. It is located at the High Rock ranch east of Honey Lake and just west of the Nevada state line. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-88 (T29N/R17E/Sec. 36).

[412] Pagúshuhad was a winter village for Joaquin and his band of Wadátkuht. Informants report that there is a bedrock metate at this village site.

8. Ishuhpa ("Wolf Water"). This winter village was so-named because the spring here was a favorite place for wolves to obtain water. It is located about five miles northwest of Pagúshuhad, and similarly, has considerable archaeological evidence in the form of stone artifacts which have been recovered from the surface. The archaeological designation for Ishuhpa is Las-46 (T28N/R16E/SE¼ of Sec. 18).

9. Pam^{u} ("Hot Springs"). This name is given for both the hot springs at Amedee and at Wendel. The Amedee site has the archaeological designation of Las-99, the Wendel site, Las-28. Both of them were winter villages, although Ike Northrup said that the people could not remain at the Amedee Hot Springs in wet weather, or when the snow was melting, because the surrounding flat country became too muddy. They had to move to high ground about one mile to the east. This probably meant that the archaeological cave site, Las-90, approximately one mile east of Amedee was used when the area about the hot springs became too muddy.

10. Numúta ("Indian Hole"). Both Tommy Tucker Cave, Las-1 (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956), and Amedee Cave, Las-90, were given this name. It would seem that any cave utilized by these people might be given this same name. Amedee Cave was used by Kitty Joaquin when she was a small girl. She and her family (Joaquin's group, primarily) [172] camped there upon occasion. Recent archaeological excavation in this cave by the author has revealed numerous manos and

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[172] metates, as well as a number of chipped stone projectile points. Tommy Tucker Cave, on the other hand, was not used as a habitation site in recent times. Joaquin had warned Kitty and the other children not to enter the cave, nor did he do so himself as far as Kitty ever knew. Excavation of this cave produced only one mano and no metates, a decided contrast to Amedee Cave, Tommy Tucker Cave yielded numerous shell beads and ornaments, sandals of twisted sagebrush bark, a large number of game counters used in gambling, bone tools and ornaments, basketry fragments and numerous other articles. The upper levels of both caves must be considered to be quite recent, particularly since both are recognized by living informants and one was said to have been occupied. Metal objects occurred on or near the surface of both caves, a fact which tends to substantiate some use and/or occupation in post-contact times.

11. (Name forgotten by informants). During some winters a village was maintained on the flat below and north of Tommy Tucker Cave. The flat was called Hunuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). This was a favorable place because there usually was not much snow. Archaeological sites on this flat include Las-2 and Las-18.

12. Pahodö duhak^{a} ("Sand Creek"). This camp site is situated just east of Viewland and Highway 395 in a sort of sand dune and sagebrush area (T30N/R15E/ center of Sec. 34). Very little information could be obtained concerning this camp which may have, upon occasion, served as a winter village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. A burial was excavated at, or near this site circa 1930 when an irrigation canal was dug.

A Maidu village on the south bank of Sand Slough was located just west of the Susanville Municipal Airport at Johnstonville. The Wadátkuht called this village Pahodö duhak^{a}, also. It was a historic site and cemetery with no evidence available as to the length of occupation there.

[172] 13. Tupí' twaba ("Rock Under Water", i.e., a spring under the rocks). This name applies to the archaeological sites Las-15, Las-45 and Las-91, apparently. These archaeological sites (T29N/R15-16E/ Secs. 13, 14, and 24 of R15E, and Sec. 19 and 20 of R16E) belong, in part, to the late archaeological period as demonstrated by the recovery of clamshell disc beads, dentalia shells and glass beads. Evidence of ancient habitation is in the form of a burial with beads ascribably to the Early Lovelock Period dated between 3000 and 4000 years ago.

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17. ᵏTávi wanud ("Fir Tree Basin"). The informants said the name meant "Cedar Basin", however, the name for cedar is pawap^{i}, that for juniper is wap^{i}, and for fir is ᵏtavi. This village was located at the north end of Horse Lake, the remains of which are presumably represented by the archaeological site Las-13. The village took its name from a cedar (sic) tree which was growing in a sort of basin where the village was located. The region about Horse Lake is a juniper/sage environment so a cedar tree would be exceptional in that region. Susy Buster gave the name for this village and additionally stated that the lake belonged to the Wadátkuh

[172] Judging from the archaeological remains the village here must have been of considerable importance, and/or of long occupation. Numerous artifacts and at least one burial have been recovered from this site.

18. Sigu patsóna ("Sagebrush Spring"). This was probably the major village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, and was Ike Northrup's home village. His father, Nunu'' kai (nunu', "snake", kai, "no"), was a shaman and was headman for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. The village was occupied until around 1900 and the houses were of native construction. One of these houses burned one winter with a complete loss of personal property. It was Ike Northrup's house and he lost his bow and arrows, rabbit skin blankets, some moccasins and other gear.

[439] Sam, or Nunu' kai, raised potatoes at this village for sale to the store in Janesville operated by Jim McClelland. He would trade the potatoes for food.

The archaeological designation for this village is Las-104 (T31N/R15E/Sec. 1). The site is among low sandy ridges about one mile east of where the county road turns west off Highway 395 to go to Karlo. There is a spring and a tall poplar tree at the site.

Although this important winter village may be classed as a nogat, a primary winter village, as is Matá at Milford, there were several other sites which substituted for this winter village. When a winter was too cold the Secret Valley group moved to Honey Lake Valley in the vicinity of Gibson's ranch several miles east of Litchfield. Another winter village was located about one mile west of Sigu patsóna on a sandy ridge overlooking a large meadow. This village, however, seems to have been a recent post-contact village

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POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to 361 modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the [177] abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites.

The justification for mentioning these post-contact [182] habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained.

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its [312] water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^{a} ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried [551] about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death.

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter [525] came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the [172] Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The [224] Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with

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Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhö","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuö", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each 525 [172]

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525 player was provided with a stick which he used as a marker. The marker was placed between two of the upright sticks in the semi-circle, the exact spot depending upon the number of points the player had just made. If the player happened to get points which allowed his marker to be placed between the same two upright sticks in the semi-circle that held the marker of the opponent, the opponent had to take his indicator stick back to the beginning. The object was for each player to try to get enough points to allow him to go all the way around the semi-circle and back to the starting point before the other player. The one who first reached his starting point in this manner won the pot. Sometimes as many as 80 sticks were used as uprights in the semi-circle.

● [172] If Kitty's son has been correct in his identification of the pointed twigs recovered archaeologically we have evidence of such a gambling game being played in prehistoric times in the Wadátkuht area. It was not stated, however, if the Wadátkuht played this type of gambling game. Kitty's son played it in Nevada and may have learned it there rather than as a traditional game at home.

[789] The hand game in which bones were used is called na iakwi. The bones were "filled with something" to give the owner power, or luck in gambling.

525 439 It was pointed out by the informants that trade was actually carried out by gambling as such things as deer hides, baskets, and beads were at stake. Dentalia, called pahuka, were brought in and gambled for such things as horses. The Washo and the Paiute commonly traded with one another with the Washo bringing rabbitskin blankets and the Paiute deer skins. What was not gambled away was then traded.

526 Boys about eight years old played a game in which arrows were shot at a bundle of grass thrown on the ground about 25 feet away. Ike and about six other boys would take two shots apiece, unless one of the boys should hit it first. After the bundle was hit it was then propped against a bush and the boys stood back about ten feet and shot at it. Each was allowed two shots until the target was hit. The target was then put on the end of one of the bows and pushed back and forth on the ground in a V pattern. Each boy, again, was allowed to take his usual two shots until the target was hit. The boy who hit the target (most often?) became the winner and won all the bows and arrows from the other boys.

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A good boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu·pavi'ⁿ) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikadᵃ at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ᵘka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

and none could recall the name of the leader prior to Chocktoot, who lived at the time of the white influx and during early reservation days. 622 173 ●

The chiefly office was loosely inherited, but if a person were thought not capable, someone from another family was chosen by general consent. As one informant put it, "Dick Ochiho is Ochiho's son, but he isn't chief; he wasn't just the man for the place." None of a number of informants could formulate his ideas as to the essential qualities for chieftainship. 622

TORTS

If a person's goods were stolen he accosted the thief, asking him to return the articles. Sometimes a fight would ensue; sometimes the goods were returned promptly or a buckskin or the like given as indemnity. The chief sometimes directed the offender to restore a person's property. 685

There was no distinction in penalty between accidental and deliberate homicide. 682

627

> If someone killed a person, the families would fight all the time. Perhaps the deceased's family would wait, and the murderer would think they had forgotten. They did not have to kill the murderer himself but tried to kill the best one in his family, the best hunter or the best woman. Then they were satisfied.

And again:

> In the old days when a man was killed, his family might wait a year. Then his brother would try to kill the murderer. They did not have meetings over it as now. The murderer's family would say, "Why did you kill him? You had better settle it; give a skin blanket, a gun, a horse—the best you have. Then you will live a little longer."

A murder was not always avenged. One committed by an Achomawi, for example, was unavenged, probably through expedience rather than sentiment. [628]

> When an Achomawi killed a Paiute, we felt sorry, but did not kill back. The chief told us, "Don't get angry and kill someone. You only make it worse."

APPENDIX

There are here appended two verbatim testimonies which resulted from the desire of informants to place on record the events attending their dispossession by the whites, the one topic upon which unsolicited information was volunteered. 115

1. TESTIMONY (P: NH)

I want to tell how the whites came here. The whites took a man named Wiwu from this side of Malheur and asked him, "How about this man Ochiho (Gidü'tikadᵃ chief)?" He said, "Don't kill Ochiho, just capture him." These whites were coming here with lots of soldiers. They made ten Indians come too. 173 ●

Johnny Cook (General Crook?), a white man with no right arm, was head of the soldiers. Another man was called Johnny Howard. They came from the north but not into this valley. They caught Ochiho gathering roots at Atkukwi'b, a mountain across from Plush.

The soldiers told him, "Let's have no more war. Let's both drink this water from the springs and rivers. You people, don't steal anything belonging to the whites. Put your bows and arrows under your blankets, and I'll put away my gun." He said more, "You have nice land here. You steal the white people's things. That's why they sent me here to capture you. Both of us (whites and Indians) will use this timber for fires; both can let our horses eat the grass. We'll be friends and eat together."

After this the white people came. They made a fence and pushed these Indians out. That's all.

Ochiho always wore a leather bag the soldiers made for his papers. They wanted these Indians to go to the Klamath reservation. Finally Ochiho said, "My father and my mother died here. I want to stay." They asked, "Where are your children going to school?" He said, "I don't want my children to go away. I want them to go to school here." That's how they had the school here after the soldiers left.

Some white inspector came from the south and talked to Ochiho, saying he had come from Washington to see if the Indians were behaving well. Old Ochiho said, "You talk to me like that! I think you come from down the valley, not from Washington," and he slammed that leather bag down. After Ochiho died, Dick Ochiho and his wife destroyed the papers in that bag.

2. TESTIMONY (SW:DC)

It is seventy years since I realize what is good for me. Beyond that I don't know. I am about eighty-one years old; I was a full grown man at the time of the Modoc war.

Beyond my age there wasn't a white man in this country. There might have been some in the east, but not here.

The Indians rested the seventh day like white people. Then they had a dance or worship. They danced around a big pole[289] . . . . after which they made the doctor tell what they had done that was wrong, and then they would thrash them. That's the way they did long ago.

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[289] Here follows the account of the shaman who foretold the coming of the whites, p. 189.

In those days the Indians traveled all year around. They were never starving; they had a bow and arrow. The women gathered roots and seeds, put them in sacks of sagebrush and deer hide, and buried them in the ground for winter use.

The Paiute made moccasins of badger skin, coon skin too. Other Indians had a harder time. An old Modoc told what a hard time they had. In winter the women got frozen legs, but they didn't mind. Wealthy women stuffed their moccasins with sagebrush bark. That's what we did.

These Paiute were living by Summer lake and Silver lake when the white people came. They began gathering the Paiute in order to make a treaty. The Paiute have been here on the (Klamath) reservation ever since. When they brought them here, the government told the headman, Chocktoot, to keep his people on this reservation. "If you keep your promise, some day I'll give you a saw-mill and a flour-mill and a blacksmith shop." So this old man agreed. The government told him to get all his people to come here. They told Ochiho to come too, but he stayed only a little while. Then he went back to his own country. The government said, "You invite all the Paiute to come here. Then I'll let you go to your own country near Paisley and Summer lake." But Chocktoot had agreed to stay right here and he did it. The people from Burns had six chiefs among them. They told them they were too many, so they had better stay where they were.

Since Chocktoot made this agreement, the troubles quieted down and we live peaceably now. I know all this agreement. I know it to be a fact. I feel like Chocktoot himself.

Transmitted April 30, 1931.

648 tain any friendly relations with them. Their principal enemies were the Pitt River Indians, who used to live about Stillwater, but were driven out to California by the Paviotso. There is a tradition of the Paviotso [173] killing the Pitt River near Honey Lake. Sometimes they would come, [721] however, to attack the Paviotso. Horses and guns were first obtained by the Paviotso from the Forty-niners emigrating to California.

000 The Ignacio Ute gave the following as the names of their old bands:—

1. Möwátsi; about Cimarron, Colorado.
2. Kapŭta+u; the people near the present Ignacio Agency.
3. Wímenụtci; the Navajo Springs Indians.
4. Paiyútsi; the "Paiute" near Navajo Springs, but on the Utah side.
5. Töwátsi Paiyútsi; genuine Paiute in Nevada.
6. Yapárka+u; Wild-carrot Eaters, the Uintah Ute.
7. Möwátawiwádziu; Ouray Ute.
8. Tāvi-wádziu; those formerly west of Denver.
9. Pagŭwadziu; west of the Uintah.

Of these the Möwátsi correspond to the Moache of the *Handbook*; the Kapŭta+u to the Capote; the Wímenụtci to the Wiminuche, the Yapárka+u to the Yampa; the Tāvíwàdziu presumably to the Tabeguache. The inclusion of the Paiute is intelligible on linguistic grounds.

The Ute were a warlike people and fought various neighboring tribes, including the Navajo, Kiowa, Arapaho, Comanche and Shoshoni.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni spoke of having once been together with the Comanche. They also traveled and intermarried with the Bannock. When my informant was a small boy his people were in the Fort Bridger country and then the Shoshoni split up into the Idaho and Wyoming branches. (Of course Shoshoni groups had been in Idaho long before this, as proved by Lewis and Clark's narrative.) The fact that Washakie is regarded as half Flathead indicates that the Wind River no less than the Lemhi came into contact with Salish tribes. The Arapaho were considered the principal enemies; in lesser degree the Crow, Dakota, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre. The French (Yúhundaibo) were the first whites encountered; the Shoshoni obtained a few colts from them in exchange for buffalo hides and also got flintlocks from them. The Spaniards (Tóyaraibo) came later when the Shoshoni already had possession of firearms. The subdivisions of the Shoshoni have been given in a previous publication.[2]

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[1] Cf. Stansbury, 232; Kroeber, (a), 9; Reed, 83 et passim.
[2] Lowie, 206.

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mud-hen drive.

2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake N [527] Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i¹-nö°ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [322] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or W [226] trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no W [721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discover- N [423] ers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. N 721 173 Kü: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

[p.440(8)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
721 raided them and drove them out of the country
●173 (GW). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave
(LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and
MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tōvusi joined
Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley.
This explains why so many arrow and spear points
have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The
war against Sai is only one about which DV knew.
"The Sai were from around Klamath River and
raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard
that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands
aided in battle. This happened three generations
W
[721] ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger"
was remembered by LR. One person was killed.
Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was
a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The
Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither
wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai
lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed
near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe)
only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in
war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War.
The Indians showed generals how it could be done.
They formed a circle around German trenches (JM).
Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The
Tagō had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm
Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie
Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight
against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Paiute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was
A
[721 generations ago, the other was in historic time
173] and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit
River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and
killed all the girls who had been taken captive
to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble
at home. There were many people killed, "maybe
4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N
778 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered,
832 mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin,
the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm.
753 It is dangerous to possess such a charm because
it might enter one's body through a sore or
something and kill owner. It causes sickness
like blood poisoning. Tō: A mole charm is dan-
N
gerous medicine. One made an Indian boy sick a
[755] little while ago, and he would have died if the
Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was
painted and father was forced to throw away his
mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to
N
be very dangerous.

844 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and
[115] denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement
5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

[p. 441 (A)]

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and [103] threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] [133] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. All mention [114] of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern [411] Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, 186
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason 829
for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist 829
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid
lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the [727]
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or
throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern [648]
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute 114
implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that
they must have been made by the Pit River Indians

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tohatcha.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [361]
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge [103]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY

ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern /22
Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of
1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of
California and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used inter- /01
changeably in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all state-
ments apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the
Gidū'tikad^{a}, or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band [161]
are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, head-
quarters for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] /22
to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained /01
from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes,
Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty.

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained /74
is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little /05
of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are
gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods
have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be
seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried
in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole
reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing
to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information.
Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourish-
ing. At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the /05
older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to /24
the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very

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[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

Sweating, and Sweat-Houses.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typi-
[171] cal Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of wil-
low wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found to-
[171] day in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
[177] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the old men frown on it.

Clothing.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative. There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisi-
[174] tion (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing nothing but a kilt.

N 285 [488] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes). W [285]

1039a. K2: DM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. W [285] Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use.

1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, denied being known by informants, was the most ● N [174] common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. N [177 172] Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Ki: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

N 648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party N [776] of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N [171] [174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N 648 726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the N [712] summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N 701 159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

Wadātkuht

0-00 regions outside their recognized territory.

132 Winter temperatures can be extreme in the Honey Lake area with temperatures occasionally falling as low as -20°F in the vicinity of the winter villages of the Wadátkuht. Summer temperatures can exceed 100°F for short periods. Fields of snow often remain on the crest of the Sierra until June, occasionally until August, and snow can be heavy on the valley floor in the winter. Also in the winter Honey Lake Valley may be filled with a dense fog which will remain for several weeks. This same fog shrouded area in the summer, particularly around Honey Lake, may be subjected to choking, blinding dust storms of considerable magnitude. Despite this [137] seemingly harsh environment the Wadátkuht were very fortunate to have groves of oak trees within their territory. They also [133] were fortunate to have Honey Lake and the network of swamps and sloughs of Susan River which attracted myriads of waterfowl to nest and feed. The Wadátkuht environment could be harsh, but it could also be bountiful.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

175 [174] The date of first contact by Europeans with the Honey Lake Paiute may never be known with any exactness, but it can be assumed that some knowledge of the whites had been obtained by the last quarter of the 18th century. The existence of the Spanish after their founding of the mission at what is now San Francisco in 1776 was certainly known to Indian groups even as remote as the Honey Lake Paiute. Visits by Europeans into the general region are recorded as first having occurred in 1829 when Peter Skene Ogden made a trip west from Salt Lake to northwestern Nevada in that year. In 1830 he traveled from the Columbia River to the Colorado River on a route which lay to the east of the Sierra Nevada. His exact route is not known but it may have been through Nevada rather than in California along the east margin of the Sierra Nevada (Elliott, 1920). There can be little doubt that activities such as his were soon known to all groups neighboring the areas of penetration. It is thus probable that the Honey Lake people had heard rumors and tales of the white people for many years before they actually saw them. In fact, the coming of the whites was "foreseen" by Sanezha wahits, an old shaman. He sang for four or five nights and told the Honey Lake people that something was coming to their country, and that "something" [78] was a white-skinned people. Because of this prediction the Wadátkuht were not too surprised to see the first white

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
[136] the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo
trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south
through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals
into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to
Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of
Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway
crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured
two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the
relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its
name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that
place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wuhg^{o} ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
[251] were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the
Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu.
Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly
aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to
conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their
locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
174 suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon
an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture
even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

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361 [174] of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructio of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about 1925.

[221] It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only occupied seasonally. The Wadátkuht, similar to the other Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home" for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only village so termed by my informants, although other winter villages may by definition be given this term.

[114] It has been difficult to decide which of the following named habitation sites were villages and which were camps. Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considered as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

103 361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SE¼ of NW¼ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

N 648 N [563] N W [182]

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

N W 136 182

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

N W 114 136 174 ● 182

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A.D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY

OMER C. STEWART

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Peyote Plant

N W 137 276 Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

N W 276 Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{12}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_3N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychninelike and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

N W ● 175 276 The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

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[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140.

[2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

N W ● 175 276

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

N W 177 276 *795

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

N W 171 177 276 *795

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[7] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

IDEOLOGY OF PEYOTISM

N W 182 276 *795

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

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[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[4] Beals, 1932, 216.

[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

N That five or six years
114 may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely
175 is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed
*795 to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

N W 114 *795 To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From
N the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were
W sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary
124 to go beyond a cultural analysis.

*795 It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

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First Contacts

177 *795 The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

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000 regions outside their recognized territory.

132 Winter temperatures can be extreme in the Honey Lake area with temperatures occasionally falling as low as -20°F in the vicinity of the winter villages of the Wadátkuht. Summer temperatures can exceed 100°F for short periods. Fields of snow often remain on the crest of the Sierra until June, occasionally until August, and snow can be heavy on the valley floor in the winter. Also in the winter Honey Lake Valley may be filled with a dense fog which will remain for several weeks. This same fog shrouded area in the summer, particularly around Honey Lake, may be subjected to choking, blinding dust storms of considerable magnitude. Despite this seemingly harsh environment the Wadátkuht were very fortunate [137] to have groves of oak trees within their territory. They also [133] were fortunate to have Honey Lake and the network of swamps and sloughs of Susan River which attracted myriads of waterfowl to nest and feed. The Wadátkuht environment could be harsh, but it could also be bountiful.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

175 [174] The date of first contact by Europeans with the Honey Lake Paiute may never be known with any exactness, but it can be assumed that some knowledge of the whites had been obtained by the last quarter of the 18th century. The existence of the Spanish after their founding of the mission at what is now San Francisco in 1776 was certainly known to Indian groups even as remote as the Honey Lake Paiute. Visits by Europeans into the general region are recorded as first having occurred in 1829 when Peter Skene Ogden made a trip west from Salt Lake to northwestern Nevada in that year. In 1830 he traveled from the Columbia River to the Colorado River on a route which lay to the east of the Sierra Nevada. His exact route is not known but it may have been through Nevada rather than in California along the east margin of the Sierra Nevada (Elliott, 1920). There can be little doubt that activities such as his were soon known to all groups neighboring the areas of penetration. It is thus probable that the Honey Lake people had heard rumors and tales of the white people for many years before they actually saw them. In fact, the coming of the whites was "foreseen" by Sanezha wahits, an old shaman. He sang for four or five nights and told the Honey Lake people that something was coming to their country, and that "something" was a white-skinned people. Because of this prediction [787] the Wadátkuht were not too surprised to see the first white

Wadátkuht

people. The first group that they saw was composed of soldiers (sic), of whom they were afraid. 175

At the end of 1843 and the beginning of 1844 Fremont made a reconnaissance trip from Oregon through Nevada and became the first recorded white man to visit Pyramid Lake (Fremont, 1846). His description of the region and the people is relatively detailed and his visit was surely known to the Honey Lake people since they are closely related neighbors of the Pyramid Lake Paiute. [101]

It was not until 1850, however, that there is any record of actual penetration of Honey Lake Valley by Europeans. In this year Peter Lassen made two trips to this large lake lying just east of the Sierra Nevada in what is now northeastern California. On his second trip he was accompanied by J. Goldsborough Bruff and a group of other men. Bruff was a trained topographer with a curiosity, an appreciation of what he observed and a keen ability for describing his experiences. It is unfortunate that on his trip to Honey Lake he did not have his topographic instruments with him and thus able to make accurate day-by-day locations. Because of the lack of proper instruments it is scarcely possible to trace the party's route with accuracy. His verbal descriptions and his pen and pencil sketches made on the trip, however, are of considerable historical value and interest.

[114] Read and Gaines (1949) have attempted a reconstruction of Bruff's route to Honey Lake but it is not entirely satisfactory. As the party neared Honey Lake, however, their position is more readily apparent. They originally left Lassen's ranch on Deer Creek near its junction with the Sacramento River and proceeded up the creek to its headwaters. They then rode east to the headwaters of the Feather River on the Lassen Trail. They followed this trail north approximately to a point where it meets the Pit River and then apparently branched off toward the north and east to cross Big Valley in Achomawi territory. From Big Valley they seem to have gone to the general area of the present town of Alturas, Modoc County, and then proceeded in a south and east direction, eventually reaching Honey Lake. The "hieroglyphic defile" of which he speaks is a section of the upper reaches of Smoke Creek, just south of Observation Peak and east of Shinn Peak, between Wagontree and Sagebrush Springs. All along the way they saw abundant evidence of Indians, and occasionally the Indians themselves. However, they were generally hostile and Bruff nearly lost his life while exploring a volcanic cone.

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175 Arrows discharged at him and a friend from a distance of about 100 yards stuck the ground a few feet from them. Read and Gaines suggest that the volcanic cone was McDonald Peak, but the evidence is not entirely convincing. It can be assumed, however, that from about the time the party left this camp near the volcanic peak on September 30, 1850, they were in territory claimed by the Wadátkuht Paiute, having just left Achomawi territory. On October 2, 1850, the party camped on the north side of Shaffer Peak (Atsá kaduhkʷ, "Red Mountain"), which has an elevation of 5,864 feet above sea level. They remained at this camp through the 3rd of October and on the following day went around the east side of the peak to descend into Honey Lake Valley. On the night of the 4th they camped on one of the branches of the Susan River (apparently in the vicinity of where the town of Standish is now located), and on the following day went a few miles to the northwest end of the lake where they stopped for lunch and rest. That morning before they left camp they were visited by an old man and a young man who were armed with bows and arrows. Bruff made a sketch of the old man as he sat near the fire (Read and Gaines, 1949, p. 553).

At their lunch stop at the northwest end of the lake, Bruff made a sketch of Honey Lake and the Hot Springs Mountains (ibid., pp. 545-555). In the afternoon the party left the Honey Lake Valley and entered the Sierra Nevada on their return to the Sacramento Valley.

In 1853, Isaac Roop came to Honey Lake Valley to establish himself as the valley's first permanent white resident. The present town of Susanville, where Roop claimed land, was eventually named after his daughter Susan (Fairfield, 1916). As Lassen's Trail fell into disrepute, emigrant movement slackened, but with the establishment of Noble's Road the movement of settlers into northern California again began to increase. The Noble Road, established in 1852, branched off the Lassen-Applegate Trail where the latter turned north in the Nevada desert. The Noble Road crossed the Smoke Creek Desert and passed through Honey Lake Valley. It reached the Sacramento River in the vicinity of the present city of Redding after passing by the north side of Lassen Peak.

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648 The whites of Honey Lake Valley are reported to have made a treaty with the Paiutes (not just the local band but those of Pyramid Lake) (ibid., p. 82). Both sides observed the truce for several years and there was a friendly social

Wadátkuht

and economic intercourse between both peoples in which the Indians traded furs and game for clothing and other desirable objects. The Pit River Indians, however, were early recognized by the whites as being dangerous and provocative and the settlers were always on guard against their depredations. In fact, the whites went into the Pit River territory on a number of occasions in force to carry the fight to these Indians in retaliation for both real and imaginary abuses. It was inevitable, however, that the Paiutes, too, would become alienated from the settlers and launch a campaign of resistance to last for several decades. Warfare between the whites and the Paiutes consisted of intermittent raids on one another's holdings and establishments. The Indians were primarily interested in driving off or killing the settler's livestock to get food and riding horses. The whites, interested in maintaining their holdings, would raid Indian camps and villages (often at dawn) and kill as many men as they could and destroy all the provisions the Indians had. Probably one of the greatest threats to the peace of mind of the Honey Lake Valley settlers was the gathering together of the Paiutes at Pyramid Lake upon the reservation. Both in theory and in actuality this banding together of Paiutes provided the Indians with a relatively strong force of mounted warriors which, if not controlled, possibly could have wiped out the young settlement. For many years the white settlers of Honey Lake Valley lived in apprehension of Indian attacks.

> "In Honey Lake Valley the military defense was never permanent. When trouble with the Indians arose, troops were dispatched from the neighboring military posts of Fort Crook, Fort Bidwell, and Fort Churchill, Nevada. Sometimes military posts were established and patrols maintained over a period of several months, but Honey Lake Valley was always considered 'as in the field', its defenses operating only on an emergency basis. The protection of the area rested chiefly upon the settlers themselves" (Davis, n.d., p. 66).

> "As Indian hostility lessened in the vicinity of Honey Lake, military activity diminished. Patrols and scouts, however, were continued for many years" (ibid., p. 75).

> "But by 1880 the work of the military post was behind it. Cooperation and assimilation had replaced conflict and isolation. The struggle between native and new comer was over" (ibid., p. 80).

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175 648 [464] From about 1880 on the Honey Lake Paiute began increasingly to work as agricultural and domestic laborers for the white settlers, but pursued their old way of life in a modified form. The hunting and gathering cycles of pre-contact times was modified to include seasonal work on the ranches, primarily centered about haying. Many traditional camps and villages were abandoned due to a decrease in population and in order to take advantage of closer contact with particular ranchers from whom the Indians could receive certain benefits. A glimpse of this post-contact type of settlement pattern is given in a following section.

According to Kitty Joaquin the Maidu people were anxious to have peaceful relations with the white people and urged the Paiutes to follow the same policy. The Paiute people, however, distrusted and feared the white people (tai'bo'^{o}) who were coming into their country. They wanted to be rid of these strangers. The first (sic) group of white men were soldiers who camped in a draw low on the mountain slope [312] between Litchfield and the Gibson ranch which is located several miles east of Litchfield. As there is a spring in that locality it was a good place to camp.

[177] Kitty stated that the soldiers gave the Indians soap, flour, canned milk, tomato sauce, clothes and shoes. The Indians used the soap to make soup and put the muskmelons into the earth oven to cook. Kitty could not help but laugh as she told of the unsatisfactory results of both these experiments.

A short time after the white people came to Honey Lake Valley a band of Wadátkuht people, including Joaquin (Kitty's father), was on a hunting trip to Eagle Lake (Kitty stated on another occasion that they had gone to the lake to escape the soldiers). A group of soldiers, augmented by a number of Maidu men, were also in the vicinity. Hog-die Jim (Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}..."Feces to wipe"), Joaquin's uncle, was afraid that the soldiers and the Maidu would attack the Wadátkuht camp so advised Joaquin and the others to move their camp. Joaquin, however, felt that there was no real danger so was not willing to move camp. Hog-die Jim then took the dried meat, a rabbit skin blanket and all the horses and left.

The soldiers and the Maidu attacked Joaquin's camp and killed everyone except a baby in a cradle board, two women who jumped into the lake and swam to safety, a half-grown girl, and Joaquin. Joaquin, too, jumped into the lake to

Wadátkuht

escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was Joaquin's brother. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the Maidu. 175 648.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

The boundaries between native groups, both in California and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get precise boundary locations from informants of one group he will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate 131 114 115

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Contact and Occupation

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The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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177 number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925).
648 It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other
361 areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.
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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

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as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the 175
Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by 177
cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white in- 648
trusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settle-
ments and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8). N [361]

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in
terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the W
Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in var- N
ious bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments [182]
among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in
more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire
bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually
gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had W
earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the out- [361]
skirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less
permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers.
In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians
received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites be-
cause they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals
for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians
made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in
a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

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In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear [562]
to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they [464]
were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes
while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family
to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construc-
tion, hunting and fishing.

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The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white 175
man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raid- 648
ing herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

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175 648 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

[621] [178] [423] However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 114 231 178 621 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

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northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game. N 177 [231]

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations. N 177 648

The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

W 175 648

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

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The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

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The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful,but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

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In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

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177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination
648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to
668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items
of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. How-
W ever, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once
[668] again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

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This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666]

Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief.

W [181] [623]

Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648

The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

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The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

524 to me, and says, "each one who missed forfeited
525 his pole."

Ring and Pin

524 857 525 1665a. GN (Küpa) described the game which was common in southern part of area. Boys and men bet a certain number of finger thumps on the head between the eyes. If player did not catch the ring on the pin in a given number of trials he submitted to thumping, which was at times repeated until a large bump raised. Girls bet gum, pins, and other things. Men bet cigarettes or "puffs on a pipe." Game was played at gatherings so that everyone joined in fun.

Hand Game

524 525 1666. PS said the hand game became the gambling game par excellence of native western America. He said Charlie Monday, a Paiute of Owyhee, earned his living and traveled all over the country for years as a professional hand-game player.

1667. To: MW said wood, bone, and horn "sticks" have been used only since about 1850; old-time Paiutes played with strings of beads.

[176] 1670. PS explained that finger loops were recent innovations which were supposed to make cheating impossible. Any number of ingenious devices were employed to cheat.

1671. Most informants thought strings of beads were used before "sticks" of bone or wood; however, they thought these materials were also played with before time of white people.

1678, 1679. Guesses were indicated as follows: thumb and little finger extended, other fingers folded, and then hand thrust out meant that wrapped "bone" is in outer hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm vertical and movement up and down meant wrapped "bone" is in inner hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm horizontal and sweeping motion to the right meant the wrapped "bone" is in the left hand of opponents; the same hand position with sweeping motion in the opposite direction meant the wrapped "bones" are in the right hand of opponents.

1680. By observing the reaction of opponents to trial motions or hand signals, the player might get a clue to the position of the "bones." Only when the hand signal or motion is accompanied by a vocalized signal is the guess complete. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 286).

1683. At: In old days there were 14 counters, then 12, and a few years ago the number was reduced to 10. Wd: SC said 20 sticks were used in old days, now 10 are used so that bets will be won (or lost) faster.

1685. Ki: Kelly, 173, confirms division of counters at start, but does not mention their being called "cooked" and "raw." Informants expressed surprised approval when I mentioned the native terms for "cooked" and "raw."

[p.437(B)]

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[For detailed information on Washo-Northern Paiute religious acculturation as exemplified by the Peyote cult, see 14: Stewart, NR13 Northern Paiute file.]

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It is considered especially fit that one sweat on Sunday. This interesting secondary association is so firmly entrenched that I was asked if white people talk to the sun on Sundays as do the Indians. Association of the sweat-house with the sun might be worth tracing.

[177] Regarding the origin of the sweat-house, de Angulo[287] states, "But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. 'It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians' is the reply I have received from many people." He does not make it clear to just which tribe the statement applies—his Pit River, Klamath-Modocs, or Paiutes—but presumably it refers to the latter. In that case, forty years seems rather too low an estimate. Although I questioned virtually every informant upon the point, Piudy was the only one who had ever heard that sweating was other than indigenous. He said:

> I heard that the sweat-house came this way from far in the northeast on the edge of big water. This was long ago, before my time. Before the Paiute learned to sweat they just bathed in the river.

[773] Other informants invariably declared that the Gidū′tikad^{u} had always sweated, and a number attributed the practice to Coyote or otherwise linked it with myth. When Dr. Sam was asked concerning the origin of the sweat-house, he related the following tale:

> In the old days birds were persons. Eagle was hunting deer. They killed nothing. Then they spoke to a little bird like an owl, called topi′.[288] Eagle told him to heat rocks. Then they all sweated in a sweat-house that the little bird built. And the next time they killed many deer. That is how they learned to sweat. Talk to the sun while you are in the sweat-house; that is your god.

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[287] P. 318.

[288] This term is of interest because of its possible connection with topi′-nava′gia, sweat-house. The suggestion is obvious; either the tale results from secondary association, or the translation of topi′-nava′gia as rock-bathe is a folk etymology.

SWEATING, AND SWEAT-HOUSES.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typical
[171] Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow
wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found today
[171] in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
[177] from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many
people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made
a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting
around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As
for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems
that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the
old men frown on it.

CLOTHING.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men
wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with
fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings
were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The
shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the
chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back
between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made
use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the
loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative.
There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The
statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men
wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable.
They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition
(say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
[174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing
nothing but a kilt.

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).
203. Wd: - (SC).
204. Wd: - (SC).
209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso´öp$^{\ddot{o}}$.

● [177] 221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 [134] 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were [133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

● N [177] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians." N [773]

[P. H-31(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 412 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).

W [412] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. KH: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.

883a. KH: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).

890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). KH: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.

906. Tg: DS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.

909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.

N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).

935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).

N [172] [411] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m). AE: Sinew-backed

[P.432(A)]

N 413 [172] 1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

N 415

Quiver

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).
1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.
1017. Ki: - (BA).
1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).
W [415] 1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).
[172] 1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. W [411] Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. A [411] AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tŏkuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. N [251] The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

N 285

BASKETRY

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by N [172 coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). 177] Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tö: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172] 1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, N [432] pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

[p.433(N)]

N 285 [488] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [285] 1039a. K2: DM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use.

W [285] 1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

N [174] It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

N [177 172] 1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Kl: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

[p.433(B)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
1333. Tö: Bought from California. AE: Only
A [301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads
on dress. Obtained from California Indians W
of Achomawi.
1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention
to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal
septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung
to wear were the only bone beads.
W [301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also,pl.
N [172] 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
292 ● 177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white con-
tact.
N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face
302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
246 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red
[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,
A [135] SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green
[322] and blue.
N 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abun-
[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of
Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John
T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny
powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another
mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-
N rial as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is
[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena,"
which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil
A spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got
[439] from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from
the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2
302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of
otter fur" (Curtis, 61).
1382. Ki: − (Kelly, 115, but she cites De
Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).
1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair
from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before
that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed
W braiding style before white people arrived.
[302] 1387. Wa: − (Smith, notes).
N 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
[172] 1396. Tö: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

N
302 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground piñon nuts.

1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

Headgear

N
291

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). Tö: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering piñon nuts.

N
[285, 177]

1408a. Tö: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Küpa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)

1416a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: - (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on caps).

1426. Tö: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N
[284]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W

1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

A
[291]

1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). K2: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. Kü: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. Tö: The Tövusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W
[291]

1461. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[291]

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[P.436(A)]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524] 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).
1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.
1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).
1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.
A [224 411] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.
1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.
N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.
1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

● N [177] 1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).
N [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GN denied any such games.
N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).
1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177 1888. K1, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(B)]

N
● 436 177 439 insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Kü: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
W [439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W [135] Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 172] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa^{cPa}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N 534

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W [534] 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

N [172 756] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

N [179 759] 1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N ● [177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [539] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N 586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.N-59]b

A
[756 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from
dream of frog.
787] 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great In-
N dian "doctor" who could make it rain at will.
756 Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago,"
789 he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not
sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him
to take free some wild hay.

W 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wil-
[756] son's power to control weather, but no Washo
shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning
the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were
extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of
him as soon as I mentioned control of weather,
others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned
his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had
power to control weather.

N 2554. To: See note 2549.

754 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

756 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did
683 other people, yet they used power for evil in-
stead of for good. A good shaman could detect
a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poi-
soner was killed and cremated. To: Death is
caused by foreign object sent into victim by
poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out
and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old
Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she
caused the death of Susie's son just a few months
before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee
755 was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans
756 do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless
●[177] of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made
until patient is well.

A 2570a. At: See note 2477.

[755] 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenom-
ena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds,
N which functioned as personal powers of shaman—
776 the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha).
A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it
would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The
one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated
by saying, "This water in lake is for both of
us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A
great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also
dangerous.

N 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by
762 sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and
by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401,
To.)

N 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and
782 other things, sprinkled on the ground while old
765 man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't
want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

[782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401,
To.

[p.444(A)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [34] 2595. Tü: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it N [525 177] could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after N 782 digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DV described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

● N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-nûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (3)]

177 [114] [121] had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, [648] and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, 177 167 the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our example. 114 115 121 Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. 114 177 By 1860-1870 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
77 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volunteer
[648] forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning
their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive
as possible, during this period. These were only some of the
direct influences operating on their mode of living and political
organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching
influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the
emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley,
beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make
114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of
121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal
culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could
ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been
quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that
North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general
to a period coincident with the early years of the informants
who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based.
Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example,
we note that the field work which this study is based on was done
in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants
used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's
material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in
parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley
Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a
predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were
on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr
was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the
Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political
organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictu
of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th
Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times

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and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethno ogists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures —has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions about North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in
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the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs within the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Klamath NR10

K 101 648

It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley.

K 114 161

Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73]

K N 648

In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley,[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78]

N [166]

K N [177 241]

The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum-

In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

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In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

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Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panaiʼna still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345). 131 101

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246). [231] [411]

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140). [648] [262] [291] [231] [411]

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to 648 721 [181] [177]

648 N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military
721 clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm
Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it
was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes
[726] with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into
the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such
conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid.,
Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver,
W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid
"retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T.,
Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm
Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

579 Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes
changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for
726 that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had
648 "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake
Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously;
there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington,
648 states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive
177 at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and
some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are rem-
[177] nants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes.
Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and
Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers
and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far
as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the
Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not
[423 consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their
62] seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were
surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named
after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and
Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the
southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the
Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground
Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the
northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

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[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

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114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [648
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles- 577]
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [883]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[7] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[7] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

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657 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of
648 the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and
the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which
the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action
were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan,
Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and
[756] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them
bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8]
Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose
parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt),
and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In 1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants. In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the
648 Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing
[579] cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas,
made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was
constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes
in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably
took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of
the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the
valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and
648 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different
657 groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members
of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

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[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [364]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can
work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the
category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have
jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons.
In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The
younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning
for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has
changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions,
drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty,
and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire
family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very re- [165]
cently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison
with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

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657] There is still no efficient government, and the conflict between the native methods of social control and the white laws and court system is confusing to the people. The attempt to put Indian policemen in charge of the camp under the agent has not worked efficiently. The local Burns police force attempts to keep order, but in general, through lack of understanding and because of a strong contempt for the Indians, their actions are considered unfair and illogical by the Paiutes.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams, To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents can- [554]
not resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand,
get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for
guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type
of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure
within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned
him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father
had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and
uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and
granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were
said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and
his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect
that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that
Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Further-
more, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him
that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the
child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have
other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept
himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, 754
in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his 578
arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet
seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would
have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a
relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when
he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As 657
the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. 177
Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He
warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be
blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving
him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral 754
of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly
at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble
loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She
died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the
Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier
by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had 657
felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in 693
the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were
satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This
latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more
conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

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[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

754

band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonor- 164]
rhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [754]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

The preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 573
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to
what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within
the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476]
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It
was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by
themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggrega- [221]
tions of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for 657]
their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692
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eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764
eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry.
The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites
show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other
than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The
body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback
from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried
in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the
body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no
marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he
customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some
informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with
the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around
the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177]
try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a
house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some
informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768]
the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite
horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated
that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the
grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and
is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765
mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the
amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship
and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair
for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut
only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are
cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that
the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and
slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch
themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but
there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to
get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726
Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766]
in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768
dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775
of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

121 possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier
114 has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

121 Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an his-
177 torical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of
121 borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he
114 insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events
177 yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

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[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 239–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

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justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of 121
only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing 114
have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue 177
that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical 121
distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference 177
warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

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[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions. [114]

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

121 177 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely, for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 171 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

648 Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

105 The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent introduction of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible— [77] a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

[182] A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

115 A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated 757
with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of 515
shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies
that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its
use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place [177]
in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[16]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His 756
failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic 756
performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks 789
when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

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[16] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

159 (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, appears to quote Sarah as stating her father was then about eighty years old. Sarah Winnemucca (1882, p. 252) states that both she and her father were born at the Sink of the Humboldt River (i.e., Humboldt Lake).

[55] The name Winnemucca has been given a variety of meanings. The Pacific Tourist (Williams, 1876, p. 191) says the word means "chief"; DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it means "charitable man." In 1931 Skinny Dave, whose mother was Sis Winnemucca (a daughter of Truckee John or *Wa-hee Winnemucca*, who was the brother of Chief Winnemucca)[3] and whose father was *Numana* [304] (Captain Dave), told me that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Mubetawaka*, "man with hole in his nose," the name coming from the pierced nasal septum in which he wore a stick or bone about 4 inches long. This nose-pin can be seen in Plate 1, *right*. Thompson and West (1881, p. 151) say that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Po-i-to*.

[177] The feather headdress which Winnemucca wears in Plate 1, *right*, is not an aboriginal Nevada form, but is clearly recognizable as a ceremonial headgear of the sort used by Central California Indians north of San Francisco Bay in a ritual called the *KUKSU* cult. Since he is known to have been in California, it may be presumed that Winnemucca secured this bit of ceremonial finery from across the Sierras.

The Winnemucca we have been speaking about, and who is shown on Plate 1, is often referred to as Chief Winnemucca or Old Winnemucca to distinguish him from his nephew *Numaga* or Young Winnemucca (DeQuille, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Young Winnemucca's picture is shown by Thompson and West (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 144), but they erroneously state (*ibid.*, p. 151) that he was not related to Old Winnemucca. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 60) correctly refers to Young Winnemucca as her cousin.

The death of Winnemucca rated some notice in the press, and the San Francisco Call of October 15, 1882 carried the story of his last illness. Winnemucca died at Coppersmith Station on October 21, 1882, and attributed his illness to having been bewitched by his young wife. Either on the night of his death or a few days afterward (the accounts are not in agreement on this point), the young wife and her three-year-old child were stoned to death as punishment for causing her husband's death. This incident, with the newspaper accounts quoted in full, has been presented elsewhere in publication (Heizer, 1955).

PLATE 2

Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah, whose father was Old Winnemucca and whose mother was a daughter of Captain Truckee, in some way acquired a fair education. She and her father correctly saw that the only hope for the Indians' survival lay in cooperation and submission rather than in war, and that only an informed public could help the Indians by bringing pressure upon the Department of the Interior to appoint honest Indian agents. Sarah's life is one of extraordinary interest, and is too lengthy and complex to be sketched here. In her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, she indicates her birth at about 1844, although a few years earlier she gave information appearing in the Virginia Enterprise (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, that she was then about thirty-one years of age, which would make her birth year 1848. She states in her book (*ibid.*, p. 70) that she was taken to San Jose, California, in 1860 to school, but stayed only three weeks because of objections raised by parents of Caucasian children also attending. The Virginia Enterprise (Jan. 14, 1879) says that she and two of her sisters (Mary and Emma, probably) stayed seven years in a "select school" in San Jose. She was married at least three times to white men; first to a man named Snyder who died on his way to Germany on a visit, next (in 1876) to a Lt. Bartlett, USA, with whom she lived only a short time, and then to a man named Hopkins whose name she still used when she published her book in 1883. Her Indian name is variously given; De Quille

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[3] The death of Chief Winnemucca's brother, Wa-hee Winnemucca, also known as Truckee John, occurred in 1859 at the hand of Augustus Moore, who shot Wa-hee for stealing a valuable mare which he owned and kept on his ranch in Truckee Meadows (Moore, 1878, pp. 15-19).

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, 159 "shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower."

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort 159 of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type characteristic 291 of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress [177] as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in red leather leggings and a pair of mocassins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was [302] brushed smoothly back from her forehead."

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the 159 outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco 648 on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accomplish much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West.

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be determined 159 if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement.

PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

PLATE 9

342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought [415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Paviotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there [177] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622 648 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

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[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

PLATE 1

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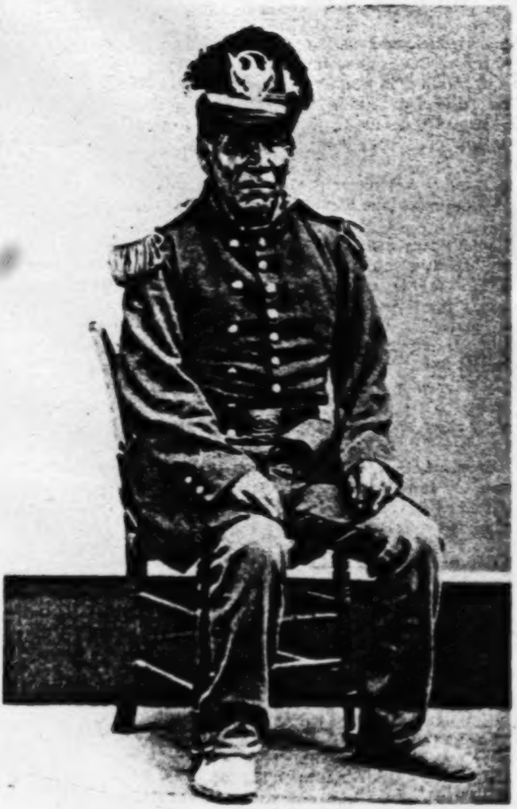

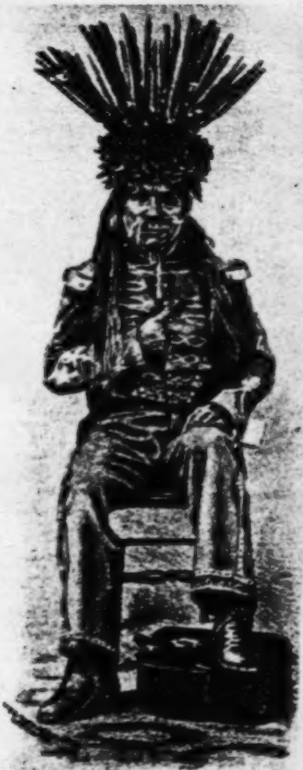

PO-I-TO, OR OLD WINNEMUCCA.

PLATE 2

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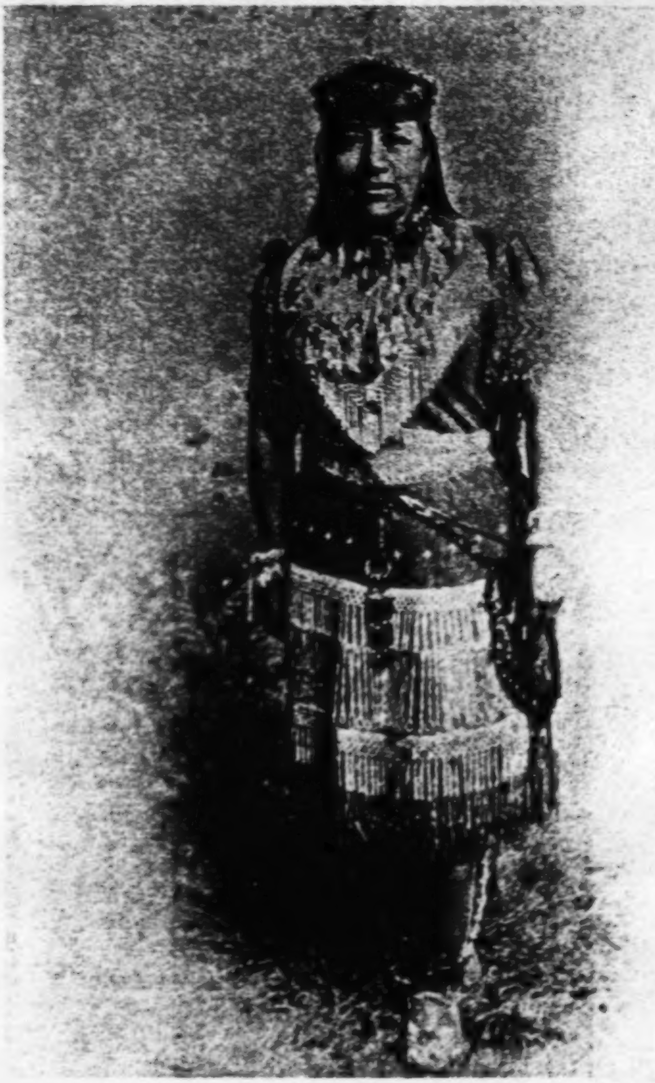

PREFACE

N W 114

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research. N W [115] [177] [795]

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City. N W 114 795 [122]

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information. N W 114 122 080

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

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I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

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175 short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we
have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has
276 received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and
N psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in
W 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

177 Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some re-
● mote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct
276 diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by
*795 the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

N The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the
W Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by
171 1936[7] Shoule thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its
177 spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and
276 among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over
*795 a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

IDEOLOGY OF PEYOTISM

N In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is suffi-
W ciently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general de-
182 scription. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of
God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being
276 of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the
*795 devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

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[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[4] Beals, 1932, 216.

[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shoule, 1925, 58.

N That five or six years

114 175 *795 may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

N W 114 *795 To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From N W 124 the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

*795 195 It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

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First Contacts

● 177 *795 The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

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peyote,"[10] most of the adult Indians in the area of its distribution remembered in November, 1938, previously hearing of peyote, some having had personal experience with it.

In 1924, Dan Voorhees (P,1)[11] and Johnny Cleveland (P,1) heard that peyote was successfully used in a curing ritual in Oklahoma. A mixed-blood Sioux or Ponca, Tom Knudsen, the government farm agent then at Schurz, showed them an Indian Service pamphlet condemning peyote, but told them his family had been cured by it.

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Actual experience came through Leo Okio, an "Eastern Indian," who held meetings at Nixon, Fallon, and Schurz in the fall and winter of 1929–1930. When with the Northern Paiute, he lived with Joe Green, a Paiute shaman at Nixon, who befriended him and was convinced of peyote's power after seeing Leo cure cases of paralysis and pneumonia. Joe learned the relevant songs and assisted in the ritual. More than a dozen Indians described the 1929 meetings, several as eyewitnesses. The ritual differed in several particulars from the present Washo-Paiute cult, resembling what is known in the Great Basin as the "old Sioux way."[12] As many as seventy Indians attended Leo's meetings, some coming from as far away as Bishop, California, and McDermitt, Nevada. Although a number of converts were made, peyotism completely ceased as an active force when Leo Okio left. He is now principally remembered as an Indian doctor who took much money from the people and whose patients all died.

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Raymond Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin) (Ute,2), the second to hold meetings in the western Great Basin, arrived about 1932. A Uintah Ute, he had learned of peyote at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1913. Before marrying a Washo girl and settling with her tribe (where he was in 1938), he had also attended peyote meetings in Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico. Lone Bear was harbored by Sam Dick, a Washo shaman at Minden, Nevada. Soon he started "Sioux way" meetings and also "doctored" as an "old-time" shaman. Successful with both techniques, he collected for a few months from $15 to $60 for a single treatment. Nearly all the Washo in the vicinity attended his meetings. Sam Dick learned the peyote songs and made a kettledrum, acting as drummer during the rituals. Eventually, Lone Bear ruined himself by drinking too much and getting in jail too often. After his first period of success, he held only a few meetings. He has not been allowed to affiliate with the new movement.

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Besides the knowledge of peyotism brought to them by foreign Indians, the Washo–Northern Paiute also learned of peyotism on visits to other tribes. It is impossible to state exactly how many attended meetings elsewhere or heard of them, but I have information of several. Johnny Wright (by some called John Harrington)[13] (P,6) gives an interesting account. He had been converted to peyotism, "the

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[10] La Barre, 1938, 120, *fn.* 72: "Willard Park informed me in 1936 that the Paviotso [i.e., Northern Paiute] lacked peyote." Joe Green, one of Park's informants, joined the cult in 1929, continued believing in it, and reaffiliated with it in 1936. He said, "I didn't tell Willard Park about peyote because he didn't ask me."

[11] P, W, and S represent Northern Paiute, Washo, and Shoshone respectively, the tribes of the informants; figures agree with numbered places on the map, where informants live.

[12] The "old Sioux way" or "old Ute way" is still followed by a minority of the peyotists on the Goshute and Uintah-Ouray reservations. Although no detailed description is available, I have learned from the Indians that the moon is smaller, sometimes constructed on a piece of velvet; usually only four peyote buttons are eaten; there is no smoking; meetings are conducted strictly and without levity; and members are very pious. Rules of conduct resemble those of the Oto peyote church (Church of the First Born; see La Barre, 168–169).

[13] Wright interpreted for me in 1936; see Stewart, 1941.

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Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

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1936 PROSELYTER BEN LANCASTER

The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stagecoach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[illegible] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

[illegible] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

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On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[*] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong." W

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In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

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In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

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[*] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full partici-
[841] pation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

N La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
W privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and
N ate dried peyote buttons.

W The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
171 elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
177 have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meet-
*795 ing too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water
N Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
W during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs
[533] they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534] to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
[237] prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam.
[755] Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

N W 171 177 ● 795* [346]

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[illegible] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

N W [262]

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

N W 171 177 795* 824 [276]

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[illegible] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

N W 177 795* 796

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[illegible]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

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[illegible] La Barre, 61.

[illegible] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[illegible] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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● 177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

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[535] A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

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[415] Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

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*795 Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

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*795 The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

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[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this 177
concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, 795*
it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must
bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and 182
several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. 533
Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the
other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is
an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture
element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not,
aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of
peyotism.

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The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. W
Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, 754
but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines
of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from 171
interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft,
they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of
peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the
religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of
the Plains. N

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The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to 171
particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists: 276
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Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find
confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists. N

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In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine 177
to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[30] Changes are minor and could have oc-
curred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full 795*
authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

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[30] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

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REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

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Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[illegible] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare.

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Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[illegible] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[illegible]

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An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

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[illegible] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[illegible] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[illegible] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben 182
is "robbing the Indians."
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A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle 795*
and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months
of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecu- [434]
tive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the N
cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[illegible] Two who temporarily joined the W
peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, [578]
the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist
a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is sug-
gested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism. N

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were W
also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[illegible] Just as 182
real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction 571
of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An ex-
amination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk 602
in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be 795*
apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly de-
termines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and
meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd
rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire N
for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[illegible] W

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, 182
wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or
two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to 795*
cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they
are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame
peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote
is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is
not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true
purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is
a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt
their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as
much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what
to believe. N

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION
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Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly 177 ●
or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural 795*
compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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● 177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural
disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration
and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise
the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become
truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything,
they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed
analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into
these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
[755] curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
[171] singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used;
curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
[801] visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoy-
[756] ance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
[276] peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
[787] common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical con-
W clusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyot-
[755] ism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
534 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
279 a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, raw-
533] hide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute cere-
[801] monial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the
sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

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complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. 177 ●
Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and 795*
explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism.[illegible]

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed N
was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the 177
meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living 795*
beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They N
believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural
aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. [755]
The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actu- N
ally needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipõ that they use down south."[illegible] W

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, 177
there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have
lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion 182
and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, 795*
however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents.[illegible]

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

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[illegible] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[illegible] Muipõ might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[illegible] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

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● 177 compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near
the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it
182 was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that
*795 cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What
makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a
distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them
from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers
N come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult
W population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely
177 on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have
554 no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly,
*795 judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one
practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was
obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks,
N activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree
of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of
W Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Cole-
[124] ville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and
Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of
Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here
listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised
the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III,[1] show that
the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the
member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which
distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and
5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the
nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3
per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been
N shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and
W peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members
157 and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in
177 meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within
*795 each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

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[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits.

[1][see cat. 116, p. 123-Au.]

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differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult 157
with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar back- 177
grounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors. 795*

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism.[77] N

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The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support 177
from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we 795*
must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant. N

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial W
datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth 171
while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of re- 177
ligions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals 668
in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among
tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. 795*
He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[78] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

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[77] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.

[78] 1925:868–873.

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of a new type of living."[illegible] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud.[illegible]

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

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What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

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The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

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[illegible] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[illegible] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

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Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Chetco Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[25] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[26] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

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Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

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The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[27] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

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[25] Du Bois, 23, 27.

[26] Tom Garth, field notes.

[27] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

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return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.[*]

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

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In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo-Northern Paiute peyotism.

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In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

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[*] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

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177 between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

*795 Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

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[182] All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

PLATE 1

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W *a.* Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia.
*795 Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to
me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made
534 drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this
[177] picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a
peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo
indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute
way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree.
March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held
for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

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[791] *b.* Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in
front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

N *c.* Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and
W officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife);
*795 Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning
796 after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

Wadátkuht

175 648 [464] From about 1880 on the Honey Lake Paiute began increasingly to work as agricultural and domestic laborers for the white settlers, but pursued their old way of life in a modified form. The hunting and gathering cycles of pre-contact times was modified to include seasonal work on the ranches, primarily centered about haying. Many traditional camps and villages were abandoned due to a decrease in population and in order to take advantage of closer contact with particular ranchers from whom the Indians could receive certain benefits. A glimpse of this post-contact type of settlement pattern is given in a following section.

According to Kitty Joaquin the Maidu people were anxious to have peaceful relations with the white people and urged the Paiutes to follow the same policy. The Paiute people, however, distrusted and feared the white people (tai'bo'^{o}) who were coming into their country. They wanted to be rid of these strangers. The first (sic) group of white men were soldiers who camped in a draw low on the mountain slope between Litchfield and the Gibson ranch which is located several miles east of Litchfield. As there is a spring in that locality it was a good place to camp. [312]

[177] Kitty stated that the soldiers gave the Indians soap, flour, canned milk, tomato sauce, clothes and shoes. The Indians used the soap to make soup and put the muskmelons into the earth oven to cook. Kitty could not help but laugh as she told of the unsatisfactory results of both these experiments.

A short time after the white people came to Honey Lake Valley a band of Wadátkuht people, including Joaquin (Kitty's father), was on a hunting trip to Eagle Lake (Kitty stated on another occasion that they had gone to the lake to escape the soldiers). A group of soldiers, augmented by a number of Maidu men, were also in the vicinity. Hog-die Jim (Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}..."Feces to wipe"), Joaquin's uncle, was afraid that the soldiers and the Maidu would attack the Wadátkuht camp so advised Joaquin and the others to move their camp. Joaquin, however, felt that there was no real danger so was not willing to move camp. Hog-die Jim then took the dried meat, a rabbit skin blanket and all the horses and left.

The soldiers and the Maidu attacked Joaquin's camp and killed everyone except a baby in a cradle board, two women who jumped into the lake and swam to safety, a half-grown girl, and Joaquin. Joaquin, too, jumped into the lake to

Wadátkuht

161 [77] population was approximately 200 persons. This number could be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of the expectable decrease in population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

103 133 The following is a listing of the names and a description of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names.

1. Wago' yamos^{a} ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos^{a} by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is [137]

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133 103 [136] Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15 and 16). [148] U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

[226] [251] 50. Ak' wuhg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this name. This creek was an important source for suckers which were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu. Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 [182] [177] Specific and detailed information concerning habitation sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain. The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still 361 174 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

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Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites. [177]

The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained. [182]

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^a ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death. [312] [551]

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with [525] [172] [224]

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the
[224] vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht
hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake
despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized
territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab^{i} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were
222 harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai,
"pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada.
By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts
were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could
return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might
gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this
[177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the
distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not
until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize
the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

The most important single food plant product in the
[137] Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for
gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines
between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa
woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered
in large enough quantities some years to last for two or
[251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the
ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar
material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

Wadatkuht

342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house, called típugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. [177] It seems quite likely that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupínabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame df such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called saínovi.

285 [177] **Basketry**. Kitty Joaquin made various types of basketry and would copy Maidu baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come from the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsikú, or tsaíyun. The tsikú was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munísh, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called síoshà ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was cowered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

[482] 352 177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakono'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was taínope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "sling-shot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

Wadátkuht

352 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both
•177 the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was
that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the
bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle
and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children
were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle
was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her
as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term
nutugwísh^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going
to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called
nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow
splints used for the active element were píwung. The bone
[413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as
witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from
that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys
Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and
its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants
had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string.
Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who
[824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from
a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark,
[237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide).
Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said
to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse
hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger
[492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part
of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they
[525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

Wadátkuht

more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 231 [177]

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone. [262] [825]

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Kí maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English. [552]

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people. 500

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated. 843

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults. 845

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?). 826 [789]

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was 854 826

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that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem 881
that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologi-
cally for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch [413]
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eli- 881
gible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening. [574]

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in 165
camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and 177
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{a}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medi- 757
cinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.

WadatKuht

752 roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup^{a}. It was first cooked and then tied to
[278] the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}sua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^{a} to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755
756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789
[825]
[821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, Kukwa^{p}ta, if one knew the correct words.

821
[789]
[177] Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^{b} - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

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825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

Wadatkuht

539 776 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon. It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai, "magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy, had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an [756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to [881] themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains" and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the same time and seem to have had an equal status within the group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times", and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They [692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within the band. The situation of having other people work for them [177] as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). 622 [177]

421 Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given. [648]

428 Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed. [764]

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor. [756]

762 Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method.

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink. [757]

Wadátkuht

762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her.
As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip
to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she
[557] had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to
drink some cream and saved her life.

Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded:
561 baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi;
192 young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman,
biawuhb.

838 **Transvestites**. Men who would rather do women's work
were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's
clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised
by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment,
● [177] however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white
standards.

648 **Warfare**. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River
people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly
maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but
she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred
long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River
[754] people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes
asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made
with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute
people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however,
and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit
River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that
he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge
party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill
more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River
people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to
be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all
the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean".
Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one)
in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit
River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

Wadatkuht

648 days were those individuals who walked north to the Bannock
425 country and stole horses from them. One such man was Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Kòpadkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiute man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse steal-
[492] ing was one such element. The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

727 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no
535 one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'öpökama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaka', "that"; ö, "your"; pö, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

Wadatkuht

Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhö","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuö", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]●

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each 525 [172]

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

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It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

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One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

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The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

Northern Paiute NR13

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[177] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim-
161 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the max-
182 imum food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects
[226] of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
[476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be-
[571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the ap-
22 pearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. W [825] [771] The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. W [361] However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). W N [177] Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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Contact and Occupation

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175 The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

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648 To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

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as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8). N [361]

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The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

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The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

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In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

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The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

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175 648 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. [621] [178] [423] The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

● 177 114 231 178 621 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The

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Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

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northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

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There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

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The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

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they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

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The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

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The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

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In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

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● 177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination
648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to
668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items
of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. How-
W ever, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once
[668] again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although
177 the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian
182 tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made
what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This
648 adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by
the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of
the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, be-
came another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in
order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was
gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity.
Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without ref-
erence to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained be-
came a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could
take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on
travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass
disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo
society.

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Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened,
[622] the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to repre-
[666] sent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on
W another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be sin-
[18] gularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and
other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion
[623] and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of
177 avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo
648 as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude to-
ward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform
to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A
177 greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the
178 war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encour-
619 aged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This in-
621 creased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

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among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white N 177
culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the
Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. 178
It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as 619
Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from 621
aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance
of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets N
(Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tend- 177
ency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The
first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they in- 62
troduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the ac- 554
ceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the
peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in W
postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo,
however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communi- 177
cation with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particu- 554
lar status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to 622
believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo
tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt
to introduce new ideas through such men.

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among W
the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although 177
there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to 178
deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock
mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

Summary and Conclusions

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This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and
post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time 105
of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 106 ● 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected, by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. W [106] Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

Northern Paiute NR13

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the W
Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo 105
women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bed- 177
rock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to 178
have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful parapher-
nalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does W
not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day- [186]
labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or [668]
ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute [464]
have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

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It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south 105
and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common eco- 177
logical adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The
withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off 182
intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus,
when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white live-
stock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a
modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock,
and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to
treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reser-
vations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and en-
couraged political development but also provided land for farming.

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo W
range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big 105
animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was 177
simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify
the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, 182
Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed.
The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands
changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

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3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

W 105 177 182

obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648

What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178

Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 W [122]

1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank [412]
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]•
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *āsi* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāī*^{n} seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tüm*^{e}) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *āsúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tü'm*^{e} tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*^{e} together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were
used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wíc'* root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

441 A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood.

[824]
[78]
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The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew. They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind; most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from serviceberry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.[2]

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tū'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *natəmapō̃'naite*, which literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *wardaze*, crazy: *ba+itsiretkā'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would carry a long flute (*wá'+i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

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[2] [illegible] 107.
[illegible]

000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343 515 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pouring water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*töpinaᴃögia*) was constructed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat, but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side; Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates [782] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was accompanied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge [178] in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory "*naᴃárinana*." Here also the rocks were put on one 515 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both 157 sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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[1] Matthews, 227.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.
[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 75.

man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership 622
if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less
cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups
impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering [621]
over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the 342
summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient),
were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework
of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large
enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm
even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in
view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this
could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles).
Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation 342
between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California 171
house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least
for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved
in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of
Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of
house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with
two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut
themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean
hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr.
Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers,
slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars
of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the
tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three 342
foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only
one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it.
Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has [137]
pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at
least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming
and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable
how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much [178]
greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

N 806 177 409 insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - W [809] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob- W [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

178] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

754 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

867] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tai Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBaᵊpᵊ.

824 1931a. AB: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + W [534] (Smith, notes).

1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

N [172 756] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [288] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 204): notched stick on N [179 759] skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sama with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

756 688 Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

PARAPHERNALIA

756 778 The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indication of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird, stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[10]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámakɔ^{swa}'odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another. The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it [178] is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

756 778 534 There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer hooflet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The

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[10] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from 756
any other bird. 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

/ The shaman's pipe (tɔ̄ıc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden 756
stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of 778
the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, 276
few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for [178]
social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ̄ıc).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order
to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence [841]
of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions.

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in 756
their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as 778
bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of 534
eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the 756
past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also 622
possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, [668]
was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was re- 756
sponsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence 622
of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with 178
the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of 756
Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and 554
accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, [424]
the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows
224 tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows
tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different
[824] tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches
was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always
small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must
be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the
[226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard
tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

● [178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

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[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was 224
firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform
of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than
words of how the weight was released.

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not 291
even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute
never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. [136]
It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from [172]

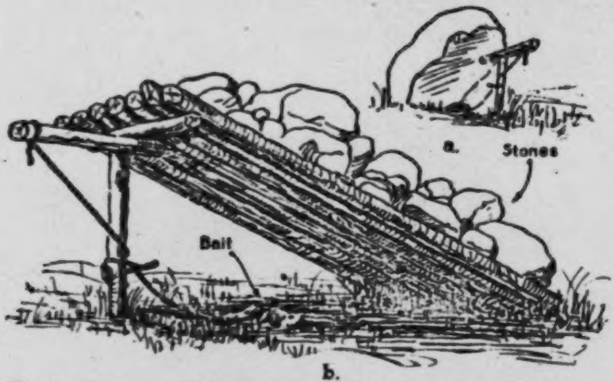

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Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that 291
way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes [172]
of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of
the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good [178]
hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin [231]
blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east.
Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful [136]
on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that [224]
no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin.

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and 224
children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them
into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would
follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across
a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill.

N
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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[48]

[761] [743] [648] [826] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

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• 771 787 *795 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[49] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[50] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[51]

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171 276 *795 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[52] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[53]

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●178 771 *795 Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[54] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is

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[797] implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[48] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[49] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[50] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[51] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Slotkin's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[52] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[53] La Barre, 72.

[54] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[illegible] thereby angering the W
missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians. 178

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey 771
Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because 795*
no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that [797]
his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed.
"Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult.
Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more N
charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders. W

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[illegible] Don James (W,2) 178
and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their 273
families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while
drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunk- 276
enness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drink-
ing, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most 795*
peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the
Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that
peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former
members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[illegible] Peyotists
do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person;
also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify N
whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use W
rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations con- [787]
vincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[illegible] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts
declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, N
"Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit." W

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or 276
at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former 578
members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs 795*
were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

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[illegible] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active [786]
members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records ex- [832]
amined.)

[illegible] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[illegible] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a *few* peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[illegible] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. *The fact* that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus *the fact* that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

Northern Paiute NR13

175 648 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility [621] [178] [423] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 114 231 178 621 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

Northern Paiute NRB

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177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination
648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to
668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items
of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. How-
W ever, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once
[668] again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

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177 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although
182 the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian
648 tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

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[622] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened,
[666] the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on
W another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be sin-
[181] gularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and
[623] other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

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177 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of
648 avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

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177 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A
178 greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the
619 war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encour-
621 aged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white N
culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the 177
Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. 178
It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as 619
Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from
aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance 621
of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets
(Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency N
toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The 177
first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced 62
were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance 554
of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige *per se* so that even the
peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in
postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, W
however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication 177
with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular 554
status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to 622
believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo
tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt
to introduce new ideas through such men.

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among W
the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although 177
there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to 178
deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and N W
post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time 105
of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

Northern Paiute NR13

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of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

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The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected, by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

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The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

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Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

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It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

[3] This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit
another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specif-
ically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to
being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living
at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may
have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James
McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End
of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins"
and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of
White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day North-
ern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five
N [622] days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band
[of Northern Paiute] is known as the Go'y'atikad^{u}, Freshwater
crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period.
N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and
Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyati-
kad$^{\ddot{u}}$, or Deer eaters."[249] Kelly obtained some folk tales and one
N 115 historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] al-
so some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern
Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent
E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are notice-
ably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc
parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131 also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden 101 came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; [231] no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411] ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had [648] been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco [262] on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, [291] the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses [231] or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411] bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648 in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721 being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181] ● friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, [177] thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits
abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred
individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of
the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region
over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one
person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was
denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a
large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of
the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *hu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

191 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
[226] spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
[262] and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
[222] their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
[224] antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
[621] gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
[648] the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
[527] and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
[755] tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack 756
of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the 182
old confidence in their powers.

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person 756
of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman 787
may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves.

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

> A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the
paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the [778]
eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer, badger, or coyote skin.

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sick- [753]
ness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the dreams.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish 756
to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when 755
a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do 787
as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 778

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595 two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

595 Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

● 182 It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connec-
595 tion with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women
in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as im-
[428] portant as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property
to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such
property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3]
595 Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso,
587 unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although
[582] Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the
development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso
the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving
as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of
available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of
brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then
becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice
of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely, to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring
Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted
greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

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MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 396 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

● [182] Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Stillwater marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 [482] Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 283 [521 223] 825 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends

648 Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

105 The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent intro- [77] duction of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

● [182] A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

115 A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

224 The "Kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[24] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days. [534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[25]

224 756 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an important place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

The Position of the Shaman in the Social Order

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's
● [182] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

756 622 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

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[24] Ibid., 56.

[25] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304-305.

N W 175 276

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

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Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

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The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[7] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

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In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

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[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[4] Beals, 1932, 216.

[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

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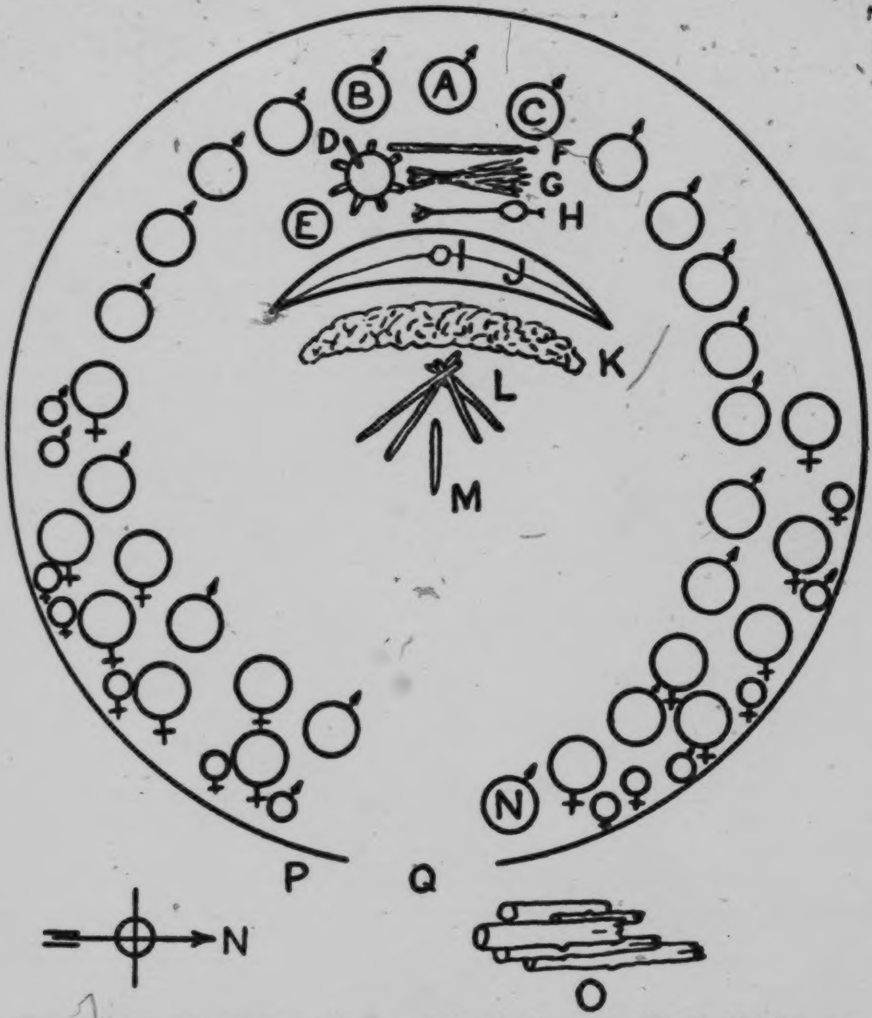

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

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The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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177 *795 796 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N W [535] A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

N W [514] [415] Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

N W 177 578 *795 Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

N W 177 ●182 533 *795 The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

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[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

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The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

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The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

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In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[illegible] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

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[illegible] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

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Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism, its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.

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In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.

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An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

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Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness 182
sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their 795*
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches,
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's N
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing W
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing
that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote
religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists,
attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct
specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas. A danger in such W
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old [683]
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety. N

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise
several accuse Sam Dick. N

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, 571
peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment 795*
of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new
settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows
would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not
friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time. N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [191]
prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult. This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

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The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

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As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

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Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

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Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

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When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

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The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

See Appendix III for statistics.

Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Have relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[illegible] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

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Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

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The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[illegible] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

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Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

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Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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[illegible] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[illegible] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben W 182
is "robbing the Indians." 433

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle 795*
and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months [434]
of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the N
cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[*] Two who temporarily joined the W
peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, [578]
the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist
a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism. N

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were W
also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[*] Just as 182
real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction 571
of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An ex-
amination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk 602
in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be 795*
apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd
rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire N
for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[*] W

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, 182
wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or 795*
two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe. N

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION W

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly 177
or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural 795*
compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[*] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[*] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[*] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

N W 177 785*

complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism.

N 177 785*

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipö that they use down south."

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N W 177 182 ● 785*

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents.

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

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La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

Muipö might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

See Appendix III for complete statistics.

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177 compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near
●182 the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that
*795 cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

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*795 As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood.

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[124] Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Coleville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III,[1] show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[illegible]

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*795 Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

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[illegible] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27-28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101-107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [1][See cat. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

W 177 between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

*795 Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

N W [182] All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

Wadátkuht

133 103 [136] Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15 and 16). [148] U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

[226] [251] 50. Ak' wuhg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this name. This creek was an important source for suckers which were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu. Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 [182] [177] Specific and detailed information concerning habitation sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain. The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still occupied, at least to a certain extent. 361 174 It is also to be suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to 361 modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the [177] abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites.

The justification for mentioning these post-contact [182] habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained.

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It [312] was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^{a} ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried [551] about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death.

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter [525] came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the [172] Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The [224] Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds. [752]

[232] There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because
●[182] the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because
of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part
[124] of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two
[683] other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121 The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 ● 182 It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121 One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177 The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

Northern Paiute NR13

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

● 182 22 [177] At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than 161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and 132 Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim- 161 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that 22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the max- 182 imum food supply.

224 [226] [222] I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. [476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be- [571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 22 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

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been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through N 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership with- 621
in a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for ante- N
lope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also con- [222]
centrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger group-
ings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as op-
posed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership [619]
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad dif-
ferentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476]
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against [628]
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

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The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evi-
dence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once ex-
tended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they repre- 197
sent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

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● N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 W [825] [771] Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

W [361] Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] W N [177] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the 175
Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by 177
cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white in- 648
trusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settle-
ments and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8). N [361]

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in W
terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the
Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in var- N
ious bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments [182] ●
among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in
more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire
bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually
gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had W
earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the out- [361]
skirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less
permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers.
In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians
received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites be-
cause they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals
for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians
made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in
a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

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In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear [562]
to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they [464]
were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes
while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family
to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construc-
tion, hunting and fishing.

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The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white 175
man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raid- 648
ing herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

History and Ecology

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It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white 648
man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a
rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids N
were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The [563]
reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent
history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting,
a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups,
particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that N
these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared W
by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic [182]
ties.

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution N
of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much W
of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at 136
one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such 182
distribution.

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to N
their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of W
bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah 114
(Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. 136
However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems 174
to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the 182
first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The

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Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

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they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, 175
without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to
demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not consid- 648
ered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land
allotments were made for them.

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The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the 175
Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the
differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were 177
contained on reservations. 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

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The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo terri- W
tory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was 177
one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of
contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They 182 ●
did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly dif- 22
ferent ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

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In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued 175
to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first 177
Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early 648
movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was 668
adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the W
Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo 105
women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bed- 177
rock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to 178
have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful parapher- W
nalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does [186]
not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-
labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or [668]
ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute [464]
have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

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It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south 105
and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common eco- 177
logical adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The
withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off 182 ●
intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo W
range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big 105
animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was 177
simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify
the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, 182
Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

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3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiate think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

●183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi'¹) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikadᵃ at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ʷka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at
Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and
his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house
(Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him
(Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man
and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus
it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers
and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes
families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close
by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies
ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved
over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When
there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers
and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in
the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several
men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by
themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence.
This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with
other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and
the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative
enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits,
they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food.
Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals
to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered
at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food
supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if
many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season
at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents can- [554]
not resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand,
get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for
guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type
of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure
within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned
him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father
had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and
uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and
his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect
that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that
Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Further-
more, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him
that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the
child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

869 756 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 577] On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disadvantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[771] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

754 578 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many [584] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 828] Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 754 578 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she [164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied [832 837] and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 183 155 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

754
band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonor- 164]
rhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [754]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [754]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183 ●
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

626

spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183 [776]
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer.

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act [152]
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching 361
for the native houses constructed at this village. Except [824]
for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about
one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the [342]
Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other
winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be
assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not.

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as 22
might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin [171]
pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their
territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that
presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed
to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed [423]
producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It
seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family
getting there first expecting to have no competition unless
they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often in- 22
vited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn- 648
rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also,
when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were
allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families.
Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the
Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with
their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the
Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made
hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both
the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also
the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while
at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey
Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not
enter another group's territory without an invitation or
permission unless they were prepared for hostility.

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only 22
among those families too improvident to secure and store an 185
adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households 735
that worked diligently collecting food during the other three

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
735 that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, remarked
476 to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hearing,
[262] the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This waq usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the WadÁtkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the WadÁtkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the WadÁtkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648

Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled
and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three
hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south
into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca.
Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721]
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympathizers
when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers
kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Hunibui
Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined
in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reserva- 727
tion in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were trans- 648
ferred to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around
McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reservation
but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat
on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there
were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups
moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near
Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look
into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the
Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of
them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped
from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it
was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all
the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so
poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group
of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and [425]
bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those
who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

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[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.

[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

648
657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups." [186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They [464 273] were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[18] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to [511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong [162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

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[18] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason for this is that both peoples are held in contempt. 173 186 ● 829

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians. 173 829 [727] [648]

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that they must have been made by the Pit River Indians 173 829 114

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the map, plate 68. 133 172

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The name of the place is tohatcka. [212] [103]

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge 133 [361] [103]

Wadátkuht

Endurance. An example of endurance is shown by the ten mile run Kitty and several other girls made from Litchfield to Kasawihnaid on Parker Creek. They left with some women to pick chokecherries, but the girls ran on ahead and filled their baskets before the women arrived, and immediately returned to Litchfield. (They got a ride in a wagon part of the way back.) This sort of activity parallels the great endurance shown by the girls at their puberty ceremonies where they had to run long distances and were allowed little sleep, and little to eat and drink. 147

The stamina of the men is demonstrated by the long distances they were capable of traveling by foot in remarkably short time (see the section on "Supernatural Helpers").

Standards of Beauty and Intelligence. People were not judged by their physical beauty, but on their abilities. Good looking or exceptionally intelligent individuals did not live to a ripe old age. 156 [165]

Standards for the Differentiation of Several Indian Groups. 186 A Paiute could tell a Maidu by his snag teeth. The Paiute had better teeth. A Washo could be told by his voice, as could a Pit River. That is to say, when these two peoples were speaking English, as they could obviously be known when they spoke their own languages. A Washo had a rather high pitched voice. The Pit River people had a different sort of voice..."you can tell". A Paiute usually could be told apart from the others by his tattoo marks.

Methods of Sitting. Joaquin is said to have sat in a position natsí kwunt ^{kató}, "to sit with your knees up". He could sit in this position for hours, but when Gladys tried to do it she found it very difficult. Joaquin's back was straight, his heels against his butt, and his knees at his chin when seated in this manner. He did not need to use his arms to hold his legs against his body, but would have his hands free to work, and he had no backrest when seated in this position. 516

Women sat cross legged, dapatni^{kató}, "double up set". To sit with one's legs out in front was muda kató. With one's knees on the ground and butt resting on heels was sidá^{kató}, "kneel set". To kneel was sidákwun^{a}.

Personal Cleanliness. Kitty said that Joaquin had a propensity for taking cold baths in the morning, but she did 515

648 N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military
721 clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm
Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it
was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes
[726] with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into
the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such
conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid.,
Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver,
W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid
"retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T.,
Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm
Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

579 Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes
changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for
726 that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had
648 "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake
Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington,
648 states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive
177 at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and
some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness 182
sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed 795*
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, N
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing W
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing
that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote
religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists,
attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct W
specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas. A danger in such [683]
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety. N

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise
several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely N W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact,
peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and 571
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment 795*
of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new
settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows
would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not
friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing
the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods--
acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious
meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by
peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time. N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [191]
prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult. This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

N

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is W
offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. 795*
While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. 796
The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The
throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, 276
expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made N
through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying W
is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders [191]
pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the N
ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. W
The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire [262]
and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[illegible]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[illegible] and informal con- [783]
versation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; [521]
then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting. N

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a W
fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an ex- [522]
tremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[illegible] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[illegible] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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193 In résumé, then, and provisionally, the dialect spoken by the Northern Paiute in California may be classified as a *Simple Pure-Relational* language, weakly *Agglutinative* in technique, mainly *Analytic* in structure.

SEMASIOLOGY.

196
192 The following presentation of the semantemas of the language is an attempt to combine economy of space, ease in finding any word, and a semblance of logical grouping of concepts. Such grouping should be of great value for the purposes of lexical comparative work. Alphabetical order has therefore been abandoned for a decimal numbering system.

The conceptual grouping that I have adopted (and which does not pretend to be anything more than a convenient empirical one) is as follows:

1. NATURE.............
   - 11 the sky
   - 12 the elements (fire, earth, water, air)
   - 13 time
   - 14 space
   - 15 number
2. THE ANIMALS.
3. THE PLANTS
4. MAN
5. THE BODY.............
   - 51 head and verbs related thereto
   - 52 hand » »
   - 53 foot » »
   - 54 body and organs
   - 55 life and psyche
6. THE TOOL.............
   - 61 special tools and actions
   - 62 material culture

111. sky *Komi'Ba*; sun *TaBa'*; moon *mina'*; star *Pa'TojoBa*.

112. summer *Taza'*; winter *Tom·o*;

121. fire, camp-fire, *qoso*; fire, to be burning, *na'c*; to burn (transit.), *Tĕna'yo*: ashes, *TinibiP*; coals *TubuBⁱ*; to make fire with drill, *mawi'iKg*; fire-drill hearth, *wo'i*; to fan the fire, *wiwa'Ga*; to blow fire, *PuTu·Ga*; warm, *yo'c*; hot, *iTiT*; cold, *iTsiTs*;

122. earth, ground, *Ti·P*; mountain' *q'ai·Ba*; valley, *yiPi'Kay*; stone, rock, *TciPi'*, "rim-rocks", *ooPi*; obsidian, *Tu'Pisa*, *Taq'a'*; salt, *ṇa'Bⁱ*; colour, *-KwTya'a* (suffixed), red, *asa'*; green, blue, *Pubi*; black, *Tubu*; white, *Toha*; yellow, *oha*; grey, *isi*; mottled, *mon·oc-TaBi'a*.

123. water *Pa·*, rain *Pa'maB*; river *hu'u*, lake *Pănĕn'*, snow *niBaB*, ice *PaTse'goB*.

124. wind *iKuu*, *biKuuP*.
131. day *Ta BiyuB*, night *Toqou*, morning *nanime*, afternoon *TaBin* (?); 196
all the time *aTce*, now, here *yu*, then *yaic*, already, past, *mo'as*ⁿ. 192
132. Continuative-Habituative *-win*, Future *-Tu'a*, *Kui*, Conditional
Ke- (?).
141. large, big *PaBa*, tall, long *oTi'*, round *PaTsi'Pon·o'a*, square *momu'*
Tsatyu'a, flat, level *PaTa'Kuun·e'e*, small, little *Ti·Tse* (*-Tse* Diminutive), short *mi·Tse*.
142. north *Kwina'ⁿaBa*, south *Panu'Kuⁿ*, east *TaBa'Tami* (Cf. sun), wes
mana'BaTema; up *Tugu'P·a*, down *TiBo*; here *ya'a*, there *o'o*,
where? *hane* (from the interrogative *ha*); right *Ti'maDain*, left
Di'maKuⁿ.
151. [the numerals are usually given with the suffix *-yu*]: one *ci·mi'*, two
waha', three *Pahe'*, four *-waTsi'Kue'*, five *ma·ne·Ke'*, six *na·'Pahe'*,
seven *na·Ta'KsKw* eight *wa'ⁿKaDo*, nine *ciwa' ⁿKaDo*, ten *mano'*,
from eleven to nineteen: formed by one to nine followed by *-maT*
siPoK "added to", twenty *waha'mano'*, twenty-one *waha'ma cimi*
-maT siPoK (i. e. "twice ten and one added"), twenty-two *waha'ma*
waha'-maT siPoK ("twice ten and two added"), etc..., thirty
Pahe'mano', thirty-one *Pahe'ma cimi-maT siPoK*, etc..., hundred
KwayT.
152. and, with, etc. *na*, *ono*, *noqo*; *-c* (suffix; also used to express Conditional); very *ixi*; not *q'ae*, question *ha*.
153. only, single, *ɀi'ma*, *yaic*; all, everyone, *no'oyon*, *no'oqo*.
200. animal (no general word); hide, skin *Pihi*; antler, horn (same word
as forehead *aa*); tail *Kwasi'*.
210. buffalo *Kutsu'* (now "cow"); grizly bear *oha·yo'na*, cinnamon bear 196
* co·na'*, black bear *KaKu'*; deer *TehiTy*, *TehiTc*; elk *Pa-TihiTc* 192
("big deer", apparently same lack of a distinct semantema in 136
several other Shoshonean languages); doe *ɀaPi'aB*, fawn *iwa'*;
antelope *Tiu·a*; horse (see "dog"): cow (see "buffalo").
220. puma *Kahui'-Toho* (see "bear" and "lynx"); lynx *Toho'ⁿo*.
230. dog *PoKo* (now "horse"), *caTi'i*; wolf *ica'a*, coyote *iza'a* (cf.
"wolf", also the appended Text);
240. mountain-sheep *Ko'yP*.
250. rabbit *Taho'o*, hare *qam·o'*; porcupine *TsaGui'Ti*, beaver *Kohi'i*,
marten *Pa-TsuGo*, skunk *Poqo'Tce*, weasel *Pa-BiTse*; groundhog *KiTi*, ground-squirrel *TsePic*, gopher *KooTse*, rat *TiKa'wa*,
mouse *PunuTs*, mole *yu·'TsiP*.
260. bird (general word) *huTsi·Ba*, feather *TiTam·a*, egg *an·obo'*; quail
TuKTa, grouse *Paqogo'o*, crow *aTa'*; golden eagle *Kwina'a*, bald-

196 headed eagle *Pasia'*, vulture *wiku'*, chicken-hawk *TaBuTsi Kiki'i*,
192 sparrow-hawk *Kini'*; heron *PoiKwasa*, crane *wasa*; duck *KuTa*,
[136] geese *naKiT*; woodpecker (flicker) *aTsa'Ba*.

280. fish (no general word); salmon *aq'a'i*, trout *PaKwa'*.

290. spider *casT*; grasshopper *caDoDa'a*, cricket *sizyo*; *mabiP*. horse-fly *PiPiT*, bee *nabTa*, butterfly *Tsa'a'nana*; worm *wo'aB*.

196 300. wood *Ku·na*, dead-wood, fire-wood *PasaP*; root *Tina*, trunk *niwia*
192 bark *aPo'a*, branch *ma'na*, leaf *casKv*, sap *axoPi*.

137 311. tree (general term) *PobiKya'i*; pine *wogoP*, pine-cone *q'aa*, juniper *wa·P*, fir *q'aTaB'*, spruce *winiP*, poplar *sina·B'*, willow *ci·B*.

312. mountain mahogany *Tupe*.

320. grass (general term) *waba'Bi*, wild buckwheat *aTsu'*, tule: *caiB*, *PiBuP*, *Topi'Ba*, foxtail *monoPi*, tobacco *Pacmu'*.

330. wild onion *baP·e*, wild turnip *buni'Boe*.

340. nut *oba'*, pine-nuts *TiBa*.

350. berries (of juniper tree) *apu·i*.

360. wild plum *Toyo*

370. seeds *PubiK^{w}Tya*

196 410. person; people *naim·i*, man *na·na*, woman *mogo'ne*, old man *wa'eTs*,
192 old woman *Piya'waBi*, young man *naTs*, *TuimiTsi*, young woman *Tsia''a*, little boy *naTi'*, little girl *Tci'a'*, baby *oha'a*.

420. paternal grandfather *Kinu''u*, maternal grandfather *Togo'*, paternal
[601] grandmother *buTse'*, maternal grandmother *mu'a'*; father *na*, mother *Pia'*, paternal uncle *hai'i*, maternal uncle *aaTs*, paternal aunt *Pahwa'*, maternal aunt *PiTo'*; elder brother *PaBi''i*, younger brother *Kwana'a*, elder sister *hama'a*, younger sister *Pine'e*; son *Tua'*; daughter *Pati-*, nephew or niece [through a brother] (uncle speaking) *buza'*, id° (aunt speaking) *aDa'Tsi*, id° [through a sister] (uncle speaking) *manaK'*, id° (aunt speaking) *miDa''o*; husband *noTe'K^w*, wife *Kuma'*, father-in-law or mother-in-law *yahi'*, brother and sister-in-law are composite terms made up of nephw + mother, niece + son etc.

430. I *ni*, thou *i*, you and I *Taa*; he, she, it, this, man, etc. *usu*, *isu*, *masu*, *Pisu*; myself, yourself, himself, etc. *-zun*; (essential possession) *i-*; accidental possession *-Ka*; [Refer to the grammatical sketch].

440. shaman *Puha'gam*; chief *PaBe'*.

450. strong *ini*, small *TiT·i*, pretty *TaBia*.

460. Paiute *naim·i*, Pit River Innian *ici'cawi'*, Klamath *PaKwi'Diq'a*, Modoc *ca'i''iDiq'a*, Maidu *TaKone*, Warn Spring Indian *aga'Tse*, white man *TaiBo'o*; Local bands of Paiutes: see Ethnography.

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510. head *Tsuq'PīGi*, forehead *aa'*, nape *q'awo'TsoP·a*, hair of head *soPī'i* neck *q'uTa'*, Adam's apple *noTo'*, collar bone *Tai go'DaP·ī*.

511. eye *Pu·ī*, to see *Pon·e*, to search *naT*.

5120. mouth *'īiP·a'*, lip *TīP·a'-q'a·'Kw*, chin *q'amu'*, tooth *Ta·ma'*, tongue *iqo'* (perhaps *i-qo* = my tongue), hair of face *musu'i*.

5121. to eat *TīKa'* (pl. same), to drink *biBī'* (pl. same), to bite *Gīi'* (pl. same), to spit *TuhiP*, to taste *Tīm·a*, to suck *PiTsi'*.

5122. to tell (*Tī·K*) (pl. same), to ask *Tī·Bin'* (pl. same), to call *Pa'i* (pl. same). to cry *yaga'*.

513. nose *musu'*.

514. ear *naqa'*, to hear *naqa'*, to listen *naqa Pin·a* (i. e. "re-hear"), deaf *qae naqa dawa·qa* (not hear ?).

5200. hand *ma·i*, finger *mawī'an*, thumb *Toq'*, index *Poyn*, arm *PīTa'*, wrist *mawī'Dzago* (Cf. ankle), nail *TsiTu'*, elbow *maTsī'bi*, shoulder *Tsoa'Bi*, forearm (like arm).

5210. to touch *Dzam·a'*, to feel *wim·a'*; heavy *nini'Kwi*, light *yaya'Kwa*, smooth *PataKwin·ī'a*, rough *PoBoTaq'a*, soft *yuTsoq'a*, hard *oboP*.

5221. Dative case *-maT*; to have, to have got *GaT* (pl. *Tya'yu*); to take *Kwibī* (pl. *bī'ma*); to give, to send *mametc*, *mamiya*, *sa'a*, *maKim·a'*, *mamī'TyaK*, *Kia'u* (pl. *bimī'u*).

5222. to make *han·e'* (pl. *mahán·e'*); to stretch *TsaToDoB'*, to tear *Tsq'a'u*.

5223. to hit *Tona'* (pl. same); to push *Ton·o'yoy*, to pull *zama'*.

5224. to put, place *oaTKī* (pl. *'Iiu'na*); to lay down *haP·ī'* (pl. *Pukwa'*).

530. foot *KīKī*, leg (from hip to ankle) *PīKa'Bī*, hip *Tsim·u'*, knee *mia'wo*, ankle *Tawī'zog*, sole *Tapī'Da*.

531. to go *mī'a* (pl. *nawxi*), to depart *mia'o* (pl. *mia''o*), to walk *mī'an·o* (pl. *wayo'gan·o*); to come *Kim·a* (pl. same), to come back *Kim·a'o* (pl. *Kim·a'a*), to go up, down, formed by go + up, down; to run *Pizam·ī'a* (pl. *Tando'oBane*); to jump *naTa'winai* (pl. *naTa'wa-Tiyu*); to roll *Tīma'bik*; Inessive case *-BaT*.

532. to carry on back *no'o* (pl. *no·n·o*), to carry in arms *saTyaKw'*, (pl. *saTī'man·o*); to bring *o'sa* (Cf. to give, send).

534. to stand *win·ī* (pl. *q'on·o*), to fall *hanoaq'a* (pl. *abitayc*), to rise *yohTsi·ī* (pl. *yozī·u*), to lie *habī'TaBe* (pl. *Pukwa'u*) [Cf. to lay down 5224], to sit *qaTī* (pl. *a·Ta*).

535. to kick *wumu'DzewaT* (pl. *wumu'Dzeguat'*).

5410. back *buPī'wayT*, belly *Tsii*, chest *nina'Bī* breast *Pībī*, milk *PiDza'*, buttocks *TsaBo'*.

5420. skin *Pībī* (Cf. breast 5410), also *Tsibo'PoDo*, bone *obo'* (Cf. *oboP* = hard).

196 5430. blood *PH*, fat *Tyuku*, sweat *Kuma'a*.
192 5440. heart *iDiT*, vein *Pawi'*, liver *niwi*, guts *cii*.
5450. anus *TsaBi* (Cf. buttocks 5410), to defecate *Kwit·a*; testicles *nogo'*, phallus *Kwis'*, cunnus *cuu*, clitoris *uiTsi*, pubic hair *su·hi'*, menstruation *nama'Dagsi*, to copulate *oq'o*.
55. to think *ʐuhan·i*, death *Tia·u*.
611. knife *Kwibi*, ax *KuTsa'no*, to cut *TsKya'u* (pl. *TsiBoqa'u*), to chop *KuTsan* (pl. *Poq*), to cut meat with flint flake *Taqaa* (Cf. obsidian 122).
612. Instrumental Case *-ma*.
621. bow *Poṇọ's·a*, bow-string *PagaKwi*, arrow *buaBe*, arrow-point *Piʐu'-ma*, obsidian arrow-head *Taqa*, arrow-shaft *wa'aTi*, grooves on the arrow-shaft *TiTsaP·o*; poggamoggan war-club *TiP'i TaPon·o*; elkskin armor *TobPi*; to kill *BaTsa'*, *q'oi'*, to fight *nabho'e* (pl. *nagoya*); to hunt *Tiboa'wa'i* (pl. *nay'mo'a*); war *naa-Kw'*.
622. digging-stick *Poto*.
623. mocassin *mo'q'o*, legging *Kosa*, snow-shoe; *ciKi*, beads *Tso·-meBi*, ear-ring *nagKa'goe* (cf. ear *naq'a'*), necklace *ʔigaKya*; breechcloat *PiTsaPoyo*, loin-cloth *oPiʐin·aKwe*, *ToPaDa'a*; shirt *was·i*.
6241. house, tent, camp *noBe*, door, window *Tawaq'*.
6242. to cook *sa'a* (pl. same), meat *aTuku'*, metate *maTa'*, to grind seeds *Tucu'*, mush, soup, *noho*, to eat mush with the fingers *ige*, spoon *KoDo'o*, bread *ʔiKa'Ba* (Cf. *TiKa'* = to eat)
6243. basket *woBoi*, *Tsam·i'na*, rabbitskin-blanket *ʐwiKya'*.
6244. buckskin *nacoṇoyaB*.
6245. to buy *TimiK* (pl. same).
625. smoking pipe *Tois·a*.
627. tule boat ("balsa") *saKi*.

TEXTS.

CONVERSATION.

193 1. You saw us last summer when we came with our baby.
muas *Taʐa'* *nimmi* *yao* *mo'o* *mi-Tua'-no-s*
already summer we (excl.) here come us-son-with-and
i *mi-Pon·e*
you us-see.
2. This time I came alone without my wife and without my baby,
ya· *ni* *q'ae* *i-noTe·Kwa-no* *Kim·a* *i-Tua'no*

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. [731] At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. 237 The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis,* was made into ornaments. 301 Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. [226] [262] [439] The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. [756] Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787] The abalone, *Haliotis,* is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata,* are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Heliosoma trivolvis* are also called potE. [192] ●

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. 824 The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[48] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar.

pamahapa, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wăp.

pipebE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?,* seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, sawapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; [291] compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wă pi, juniper. [372]

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[48] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:331–405, 1911. [113]

Wadátkuht

224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the
informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Toka
kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud),
the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of
Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at
Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at
the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants
did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and
butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any
case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide.
The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped
from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was
taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the
sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were
eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being
roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done
with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove
the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better
meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair
[237] from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the
[192] Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

Wadátkuht

762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her.
As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip
to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she
[557] had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to
drink some cream and saved her life.

561 Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded:
192 baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi;
young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman,
biawuhb.

838 Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work
were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's
clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised
by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment,
[177] however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white
standards.

648 Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River
people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly
maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but
she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred
long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River
[754] people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes
asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made
with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute
people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however,
and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit
River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that
he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge
party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill
more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River
people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to
be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all
the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean".
Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one)
in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit
River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

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Phonology.

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[1] See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

MORPHOLOGY

THE NOUN.

The noun occurs most usually as a pure radical. Affixes are very few. There is no sign of the plural either through affixation, reduplication or symbolism. That at some preceding stage the language divided nouns into generic classes (somewhat like the Latin declensions), would appear probable from the fact that many nouns end in the same way. The ending in... *P*ⁱ (or such variations as *Pi*, *Bi*, *P*, *B*, *Pĩ*, etc [bear in mind the evident tendency to the *unvoicing* of vowels in certain positions spoken of in the Phonological section]) is by far the most common. Another group of endings appears to revolve around... *K* and variations such as *Kuu*, *K*, *Ky*,ᵉ (and especially the glottal catch followed by an echo-vowel).

THE PRONOUN.

a) Independent forms :

I	*ni*
thou	*ĩ*
this one, that one,	*usu*, *isu*, *Pĩsu*, *masu*
thou and I	*Taa*
ye and I	*Tam·ĩ*
he (or they) and I	*nim·ĩ*
ye	*mĩ*
they	*im·ĩ*

It is probable that the list was at one time more complete. All these forms apply only to the subjective case; the objective cases are expressed implicitly in the affixed forms q. v.

Reflexivity is expressed by suffixing *-ɣun*.

Ex : I hit myself *ni-ɣun Tama*

b) Affixed forms :

These are all prefixed, and express a relation between subject and object (in other words, include the object as well as the subject) :

I-him	*a-*	thou-him,	*u-*	he-him,	*u-*
I-them	*mi-*	thou-them	*mi-*	he-them	*mi-*
I-thee	[O]-	thou-me	*i-*	he-me	*i-*
I-you	*mi-*	thou-us	*mi-*	he-us	*mi-*
				he-thee	*i-*
				he-you	*mi-*

193

When it is necessary to indicate the plurality of the subject, this is done by means of the independent forms, in addition. Ex : we all of us hit him *niw·i a-Tona*.

Verbs which would be intransitive in our languages are also subjected to these prefixes : Ex : I went *ni a-mis* (lit. "I went it").

Here again, in the above list, we find the same evidence of leveling from a probably more complete original system. For instance, *ni*-expresses five out of the seven possible relations which include a plural objective. One might be inclined to doubt the validity of the other two cases (*mi*-), but my inquiries were particularly painstaking on this subject.

THE POSSESSIVES.

Essential possession (i. e. inseparable from the person, like body-parts, relationship terms, etc.) is expressed in only one case : the relationship terms for the 1st person are all preceded by *i*-. Ex : *i-na* my father, my wife *-Kuma*, etc.

Accidental possession is expressed in the following forms :

mine	*ni-Ka*
thine	*i-mi*
his	*u-Ka*
thine and mine	*Ta-Ka*
his and mine	*ni-wi*, *ni-mi*
yours	*i-wi*, *i-mi*
theirs	*imi*, *ima*

The element *-Ka* is the ordinary Genitive suffix in this language.

THE VERB.

The verb is simple. It occurs usually in its undifferentiated radical form, except for the incorporated pronominal prefix, which is morover not obligatory.

Mode appears to be absent. Tense is indicated in the Past by the semi-prefixed word *mo'as*^{x} = "already", in the Future by one of the two suffixes *-Tua* or *-Kwi*. The Continuative-Habituative by the suffix *-wis*.

The termination *-K* is frequent and as far as I could make out, optional and devoid of special meaning.

Many verbs use a different radical when the subject is plural. Plurality of the object does not affect the radical. In the semantic list I have always indicated the cases where the radical was ascertained to be the same in the plural as in the singular. Where no mention is made it is because I have no data.

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES.

I. *Word-Order*. Apparently of little importance.

II. *Affixation*.

Infixation is absent. Prefixation is limited to the incorporated pronouns. Suffixation is but weakly developed (or perhaps decadent). The following suffixes were isolated :

-ma Instrumental Case. Ex : *Kwibi-ma* = with a knife.

-maT Dative Case. Ex : *i-maT* = to you, *i-Kuma-maT* = to my husband.

-BaT Inessive Case. *q‘aiBa-BaT* = towards the mountain.

-Ka Genitive Case.

-c added to nouns has the value of "and", "but", and sometimes of "if"

-Tna, *-Kuē*, the Future of eventuality.

-win the Continuative-Habituative.

III. *Compounding*. Absent.

IV. *Symbolism* (internal modification, accentual differences). Only faint traces discovered, but probably more will be found in a more complete study.

GRAMMATICAL CONCEPTS[1].

Unless other grammatical processes come to light in a more searching study, the grammatical concepts expressed in this language are as follows :

Concept II is almost lacking.

Concept III is lacking.

Concepts I and IV are present.

GRAMMATICAL CLASSIFICATION.

This language cannot be classed either as a "Mixed-relational non deriving" language, or as a "Mixed-relational deriving" language, because mixed-relational concepts [III] are not found.

It can scarcely be classed as a "Pure relational deriving" language, because there are only two affixes that express derivational concepts.

Yet it seems rash to classify it as a "Pure-relational non deriving" language. Perhaps the true status of this language is that it is at present in the midst of a stage of transition from a derivational to a mixed-relational conceptual technique. I have already indicated that there are certain signs of the use of symbolical processes.

A deeper study might reveal a great deal in that direction.

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[1] For the terminology see SAPIR's, *Language*, chs. V and VI.

197 193 In résumé, then, and provisionally, the dialect spoken by the Northern Paiute in California may be classified as a *Simple Pure-Relational* language, weakly *Agglutinative* in technique, mainly *Analytic* in structure.

SEMASIOLOGY.

196 192 The following presentation of the semantemas of the language is an attempt to combine economy of space, ease in finding any word, and a semblance of logical grouping of concepts. Such grouping should be of great value for the purposes of lexical comparative work. Alphabetical order has therefore been abandoned for a decimal numbering system.

The conceptual grouping that I have adopted (and which does not pretend to be anything more than a convenient empirical one) is as follows:

1. NATURE..............
   - 11 the sky
   - 12 the elements (fire, earth, water, air)
   - 13 time
   - 14 space
   - 15 number
2. THE ANIMALS.
3. THE PLANTS
4. MAN
5. THE BODY.............
   - 51 head and verbs related thereto
   - 52 hand » »
   - 53 foot » »
   - 54 body and organs
   - 55 life and psyche
6. THE TOOL............
   - 61 special tools and actions
   - 62 material culture

111. sky *Komi'Ba*; sun *TaBá*; moon *miná*; star *Pá'TojoBa*.

112. summer *Tazá*; winter *Tom·o*;

121. fire, camp-fire, *qoso*; fire, to be burning, *na'ε*; to burn (transit.), *Tĕná'yo*: ashes, *TinihiP*; coals *TubuB*^{i}; to make fire with drill, *mawi'iKg*; fire-drill hearth, *wo'i*; to fan the fire, *wiwú'Ga*; to blow fire, *PuTu·Ga*; warm, *yo'ε*; hot, *ĭTĭT*; cold, *ĭTsĭTs*;

122. earth, ground, *Ti·P*; mountain' *q'ai·Ba*; valley, *yiPĭ'Kay*; stone, rock, *TciPĭ*, "rim-rocks", *ooPĭ*; obsidian, *Tu'Pisa*, *Taq'á*; salt, *ņá'B*^{i}; colour, *-KwTya'a* (suffixed), red, *asá*; green, blue, *Pubi*; black, *Tubu*; white, *Toba*; yellow, *oha*; grey, *isi*; mottled, *mon·ocTaBĭ'a*.

123. water *Pa·*, rain *Pá'maB*; river *bu'u*, lake *Panĕn'*, snow *niBaB*, ice *PaTse'goB*.

196 5430. blood *Pīī*, fat *Tyubu*, sweat *Kuna'a*.

192 5440. heart *īDīT*, vein *Pawī'*, liver *nīwī*, guts *cii*.

5450. anus *TsaBī* (Cf. buttocks 5410), to defecate *Kwit·a*; testicles *nogo'*, phallus *Kwīa'*, cunnus *cuu*, clitoris *uiTsi*, pubic hair *su·bī'*, menstruation *nama'Dagsi*, to copulate *oq'o*.

55. to think *ẓuhan·i*, death *Tīa'u*.

611. knife *Kwibi*, ax *KuTsa'no*, to cut *TsKya'u* (pl. *TsiBoqa'u*), to chop *KuTsan* (pl. *Poq*), to cut meat with flint flake *Taqas* (Cf. obsidian 122).

612. Instrumental Case *-ma*.

621. bow *Poṇọ's·a*, bow-string *PagaKwi*, arrow *buaBe*, arrow-point *Piẓu'-ma*, obsidian arrow-head *Taqa*, arrow-shaft *wa'aTī*, grooves on the arrow-shaft *TīTsaP·o*; poggamoggan war-club *TīP'i TaPon·o*; elkskin armor *TobPī*; to kill *BaTsa'*, *q'oi'*, to fight *nabko'e* (pl. *naqoya*); to hunt *Tīboa'wa'i* (pl. *nay'mo'a*); war *naa-Kw'*.

622. digging-stick *Poto*.

623. mocassin *mo'q'o*, legging *Kosa*, snow-shoe; *ciKī*, beads *Tso·-meBi*, ear-ring *nagKa'goe* (cf. ear *naq'a'*), necklace *ʔigaKya*; breechcloat *PiTsaPoyo*, loin-cloth *oPiẓin·aKwe*, *ToPaDa'a*; shirt *was·ī*.

6241. house, tent, camp *noBe*, door, window *Tawaq'*.

6242. to cook *sa'a* (pl. same), meat *aTuku'*, metate *maTa'*, to grind seeds *Tucu'*, mush, soup, *nobo*, to eat mush with the fingers *ige*, spoon *KoDo'o*, bread *ʔīKa'Ba* (Cf. *TīKa'* = to eat)

6243. basket *woBoi*, *Tsam·ī'na*, rabbitskin-blanket *ẓwiKya'*.

6244. buckskin *nacọṇoyaB*.

6245. to buy *TīmīK* (pl. same).

625. smoking pipe *Tois·a*.

627. tule boat ("balsa") *saKi*.

TEXTS.

CONVERSATION.

193 1. You saw us last summer when we came with our baby.
muas Taẓa' nimmi yao mo'o mi-Tua'-no-s
already summer we (excl.) here come us-son-with-and
ī mi-Pon·e
you us-see.

2. This time I came alone without my wife and without my baby.
ya· nī q'ae i-noTe·Kwᵃ-no Kim·a i-Tua'no

here I not me-wife-with come me-son-with
ni cı́mı̄ Kim·a
I one come

3. Next year you will see us if you come.
Bin·a Taẓa' ī mi-Bon·e-Tua ī-sᵃ Kim'a-s
next summer you us-see-will you-and come-and

4. When I go back this winter I will look for beads and send them to you.
mia'-s ni onaT Tso·meBi Pon·e-Tu'a-s isat
go-and I (hunt ?) beads see-will-and (then ?)
ni i-maT u-maKim·aKī-Tu'a
I you-to them-send-will

5. I will tell my wife to send you the beads.
i-noTe·Ḵw a-TīKue-Tu'a u-sa'a usu i-maT
me-wife her-tell-will them-bring she you-to
u-mamiyaKī-Tu'a
them-send-will

6. Send them to my husband.
i-Kuma-maT a-mamcick
me-husband-to them-send

7. I called you but you did not come.
nī ī-Pa'i-c ī q'ae Kim·a
I you-call-and you not come

8. I already called you.
nī mod'sᵉ ī-Pa'i

9. Are you going to town this afternoon?
ba ī town *nawai-kwī TaBin*
? you town be-will to-day

10. No. I have already been there this morning.
mod'su nī town *nanime*
already I town morning

11. If you go again, bring me some potatoes.
ka-mi'ano PaTe·Ta TemīK
(?) go = again potatoes buy

12. All right. I will bring you some.
u-sa'a nī
it-bring I

13. I will buy bread and meat.
TīKa·B aTuKu'-naẓo Tēmī'Kᵃ-Kēw nī
bread meat-with buy-will I

14. Where is my knife?
han·e Kwibi

193 15. That's my knife and that's your knife
ni-Ka Kwibi-s imi Kwibi
I-of knife-and your knife

16. I cut it with your knife.
*imi Kwibi-ma ni a-TsKyu**
your knife-by I it-cut

17. Cut it! *a-TsKwu·**

18. I am cutting it. *ni a-TsKay·-win*

19. I am cutting all the time. *ni a-TsKyu·-win aTo'e*

20. I chopped it with the axe.
*KuTsan·o-ma ni a-KuTsa'**
axe-by I it-chop

21. The dog drank all the water.
saTī'i Pa· biBiu nooqo
dog water drink altogether

22. The dogs drank all the water
mi saTī'i Pa· biBiu nooqo

23. I saw a dog and a coyote together.
saTī'i-noqo iza'a ni u-Ponne
dog-with coyote I him-see

24. Everybody went to fight the forest-fire.
qoso-no naqoya nooqo neimi·i
fire-with fight all people

Episode from the Coyote-Wolf Cycle.

193
539
773

1. *iza'a na PaBe'e ica'a noBe Tyu'yu*
Coyote with elder Wolf camp had
brother (house)
Coyote lived with his elder brother Wolf.

2. *ba i BaTsa'TaBī PaPa'Bau KīDi*
? you kill very big ground-hog
" How do you manage to kill such big ground-hogs ? "

iza'a a-TīBin Tī-PaBe'e 3. *TcīPi*
Coyote him-ask elder brother Rocks
Coyote ashed his brother. "(I call :) Rocks.
i-Tīma'biK KīDī i-Tīma'biK
you + me-roll ground-hog me-roll
roll down on me" and ground-hogs roll down on me.

193
539
773

PaPá'Bau ʒī'ma ni q'oi' 4. *Pīs u*
very-big only I kill He
I kill only the big ones". Coyote

mia'o ïʒa'a 5. *ooPī i-Timá'biK*
depart Coyote rim-rocks me-roll
went to the rim-rocks "Rocks, roll down on me!"

6. *KiDī u-Timá'biK u-PaPá'Bau ʒī'ma*
ground-hogs him-roll him-very=big only
Ground-hogs rolled down on him and he killed

q'oi' 7. *qac ini na q'oi'*
kill not hard and kill
only a big one. "That's easy hunting".

8. *nī skwana naPia' TiKá'-s* 9. *naPia'*
I wish here eat-and here
I might as well eat it right here". And he

TiKá' 10. *u-Kemá'BaT usu' mia'*
eat he-move the go
ate it there. He oved to another place.

11. *ooPī i-Tima'biK KiDī u-Timá'biK*
rim-rocks me-roll ground-hogs him-roll
"Rocks, roll down on me." Ground-hogs rolled down on him.

12. *naPia' TiKá'* 13. *u-Kemá'BaT usu'*
there at he-move he
He ate right there. He moved to another

mia' 14. *ooPī i-Timá'biK* 15. *ooPi*
go rim-rocks me-roll rim-rocks
place. "Rocks, roll down on me." Nothing but

yaic u-Timá'biK naTá'winai-c Kwasi' Taq'aa
only him-roll jump-and tail cut
rocks rolled on him this time. He was jumping around but his tail
was cut off.

215 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined
[531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called taida. Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the
[193] nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material
825 culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of
[291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten,
[262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133
773 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipö or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See Category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

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[1] See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

194

The phonetic system of Northern Paiute appears to be rather simple. For an accurate analysis based on experimental methods, see *Phonetic Elements of the Northern Paiute Language* by T. T. WATERMAN, U. of Cal. Publ. Vol. 10, No. 2. For the purposes of dynamic phonetics from the point of view of significant sound-patterns the following cadre, although only a schematic reduction, represents the reality fairly well :

I. CONSONANTS.

		LARYNGEAL	GUTTURAL	PALATAL	FRONTAL	LABIAL
Plosive Intermediates		'	*p K G*		*T D*	*P B*
Fricatives	surd	*h*			*s c*	
	sonant		*g*		*z*	
Nasals			*ṇ*		*n*	*m*
Liquids					*l*	

II. SEMI-VOWELS.

y more vocalic than consonantal (tendency to diphthongize *ya*, *ye*, etc. to *ia ie*, etc.)

w more vocalic than consonantal; more labial than guttural (*wa*, *we* tends to sound like *ua*, *ue*)

III. VOWELS.

u, *o*, *a*, *e*, *i* between the " close " and " open " positions.
ï. *ë* (" unrounded u and o ")

The preceding table represents in a gross way what seemed to me to be the "ideal" functional scheme of Northern Paiute phonetics. Many other sounds occur besides, but they appear to be either sporadic or deviations from type through the influence of juxtaposed sounds.

It will be noticed that in the *plosive* series I have eliminated both true surds and true sonants, and reduced everything to the *intermediate* level, writing *P* or *B*, *T* or *D*, etc. according as my own subjective impression leaned towards the surd or the sonant. In the guttural position the velar *q* undoubtedly occurs and with such frequency that I am in doubt whether it does not really replace the *K* in the ideal scheme. Furthermore it is quite often markedly aspirated (q'), and often even degenerates into x in rapid speech. The "glottal catch" when final is apt to be followed by a voiceless echo-vowel (a'^{a}).

The *b* sound is of the ordinary type of "inverted affricate" as in English.

In the *fricative* series the absence of x is notable. The absence of bi-labial f and v is easily compensated by the semi-vowel *w*, but I must also note that the *B* has often a bi-labial spirantic quality (β). There is however no tendency for *P* to appear as φ (in other words no tendency to aspiration : P^{c}). *s* and *c* appear to be equivalent. The absence of affricates (*ts*, *dz*, etc.) is notable.

In the *liquid* series *r* is absent.

All the vowels are intermediate in position between the close and open articulations, with a fairly wide margin of variability. This is especially true of the "unrounded back-vowels", where there is perhaps only one ideal type, namely *i*, but this vowel often appears as an undoubted *ɩ*, and again as either *o* or *e*. This is rather strange and would indicate the possible presence of "ablaut" changes which have escaped me.

The tendency to *unvoicing* final vowels, even when the preceding syllable is not particularly accented, is so marked that is sometimes amounts to true "whispering". This is of importance in regard to the possible gradual loss of "endings".

Dynamic stress is not marked, but there is an evident tendency to interpolate obscure unaccented vowels as a sort of transition between words (as in southern French), resulting in a pseudo-accentuation or peculiar lilt.

Lengthening of vowels often appears in my notes, but may perhaps be only the result of over-careful enunciation on the part of my informants.

A peculiar sound occurs rather frequently : *TsKw*, in which the *w* element is voiceless, whispered and often followed by a weakly-articulated whispered *i*.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Information from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 101 and the Washo, 131 is also included for the purpose of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and 136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 1947] [2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; ĝ, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [p. 361 (A)]

tioned upon a subsequent occasion, she denied knowledge of it. Other informants consistently denied the drinking tube. The adolescent was expected to avoid people, but was not required to cover her face. She tied her hair with sagebrush bark and braided circlets of it which she wore about her wrists, upper arms, knees, and ankles as a safeguard against rheumatism. She also wore a braided belt of sagebrush bark. 881

At the conclusion of the month, the girl exchanged her buckskin dress with another girl or threw it away if she had no friend with whom to trade it. She bathed herself thoroughly in a stream, but did not sweat at this time.[305] According to one informant the girl painted her face with red paint at the conclusion of the month; but this was not mentioned by others. One informant described a celebration following her emergence from seclusion: a man sang a song; many people gathered roots; and everyone, including the girl, enjoyed a feast.

After this a girl was free to marry, which she usually did within the year.

MENSTRUAL OBSERVANCES

A menstruating woman retired to a special lodge (huni'-nobi; huni', menstrual blood) where she remained in seclusion for five days.[306] If a person happened to inquire for a woman during her absence, he was told, "Hu'na patsa'"; she killed a badger. This was the conventional way of indicating that the woman was in retirement. The menstrual lodge was built to the north of the main house, but no reason for the orientation was given except that "it comes from the north." Several menstruating women might occupy a hut jointly. Daisy Brown stated that the special lodge was used only at the first menses but this was denied by other informants. She also stated that "over in Nevada they have to use it all the time." This may apply to the McDermitt band. For the Pyramid Lake Paviotso, Lowie's data are mainly negative, but it is of some interest to note that one of the tales recorded by him contains the word for birth or menstrual lodge.[307] 841 [195] ● [343]

Men never approached the lodge, as illness and death were thought to follow contact with a menstruating woman. Such contacts were

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[305] Cf. Lowie, SE, 273.

[306] Three or four days according to MA.

[307] Written huni'no'Bi by him, ST, 201. The Shoshonean cognate is hü'na-ga'n' (gan', lodge), Lowie, NS, 214.

Wadatkuht

Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhö","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stahyuh hiyuö", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each 525 [172]

197 193 In résumé, then, and provisionally, the dialect spoken by the Northern Paiute in California may be classified as a *Simple Pure-Relational* language, weakly *Agglutinative* in technique, mainly *Analytic* in structure.

SEMASIOLOGY.

196 192 The following presentation of the semantemes of the language is an attempt to combine economy of space, ease in finding any word, and a semblance of logical grouping of concepts. Such grouping should be of great value for the purposes of lexical comparative work. Alphabetical order has therefore been abandoned for a decimal numbering system.

The conceptual grouping that I have adopted (and which does not pretend to be anything more than a convenient empirical one) is as follows:

1. NATURE..............
    - 11 the sky
    - 12 the elements (fire, earth, water, air)
    - 13 time
    - 14 space
    - 15 number
2. THE ANIMALS.
3. THE PLANTS
4. MAN
5. THE BODY..............
    - 51 head and verbs related thereto
    - 52 hand » »
    - 53 foot » »
    - 54 body and organs
    - 55 life and psyche
6. THE TOOL............
    - 61 special tools and actions
    - 62 material culture

111. sky *Komi'Ba*; sun *TaBá'*; moon *miná'*; star *Pá'TojoBa*.

112. summer *Tazá'*; winter *Tom·o*;

121. fire, camp-fire, *qosɔ*; fire, to be burning, *na'ɛ*; to burn (transit.), *Tẽná'yo*: ashes, *TimihiP*; coals *TubuB*^{i}; to make fire with drill, *mawi'iKg*; fire-drill hearth, *wo'i*; to fan the fire, *wiwa'Ga*; to blow fire, *PuTu·Ga*; warm, *yo'ɛ*; hot, *iTiT*; cold, *iTsiTs*;

122. earth, ground, *Ti·P*; mountain' *q'ai·Ba*; valley, *yiPi'Kay*; stone, rock, *TciPi'*, "rim-rocks", *ooPi*; obsidian, *Tu'Pisa*, *Taq'á'*; salt, *ṇa'B*^{i}; colour, *-KwTya'a* (suffixed), red, *asá'*; green, blue, *Puhi*; black, *Tuhu*; white, *Toha*; yellow, *oha*; grey, *isi*; mottled, *mon·aTaBi'a*.

123. water *Pa·*, rain *Pai'maB*; river *hu'u*, lake *Panɪn'*, snow *niBaB*, ice *PaTse'goB*.

124. wind *iKuu*, *biKwaP*.

131. day *Ta BiyaB*, night *Toqan*, morning *nanime*, afternoon *TaBin* (?); all the time *aToe*, now, here *yu*, then *yaic*, already, past, *mo'ar*. 196 192

132. Continuative-Habituative *-win*, Future *-Tu'a*, *Kui*, Conditional *Ka-* (?).

141. large, big *PaBa*, tall, long *oTe'*, round *PaTsi'Pon·o'a*, square *momu'Tsatya'a*, flat, level *PaTa'Kwen·e'e*, small, little *Ti·Tse* (*-Tse* Diminutive), short *mi·Tse*.

142. north *Kwina"aBa*, south *Pana'Kw*, east *TaBa'Tami* (Cf. sun), wes *mana'BaTema*; up *Tugu'P·a*, down *TiBo*; here *ya'a*, there *o'o*, where? *hane* (from the interrogative *ha*); right *Te'maDain*, left *Di'naKw*.

151. [the numerals are usually given with the suffix *-yu*] : one *ci·mi'*, two *waha'*, three *Pahe'*, four *waTsi'Kwe'*, five *ma·ne·Ke'*, six *na·'Pahe'*, seven *na·Ta'KsKw* eight *wa'·KaDo*, nine *ciwa' ·KaDo*, ten *mano'*, from eleven to nineteen : formed by one to nine followed by *-maT siPoK* "added to", twenty *waha'mano'*, twenty-one *waha'ma cimi -maT siPoK* (i. e. "twice ten and one added"), twenty-two *waha'ma waha'-maT siPoK* ("twice ten and two added"), etc..., thirty *Pahe'mano'*, thirty-one *Pahe'ma cimi-maT siPoK*, etc..., hundred *KwayT*.

152. and, with, etc. *na*, *ono*, *nago*; *-c* (suffix; also used to express Conditional); very *ini*; not *q'ae*, question *ha*.

153. only, single, *zi'ma*, *yaic*; all, everyone, *no'oyon*, *no'oqo*.

200. animal (no general word); hide, skin *Pihi*; antler, horn (same word as forehead *aa*); tail *Kwesi'*.

210. buffalo *Kutsu'* (now "cow"); grizly bear *oha·yo'na*, cinnamon bear *co·na'*, black bear *KaKw'*; deer *TehiTy*, *'TehiTc*; elk *Pa-TihiTc* ("big deer", apparently same lack of a distinct semantema in several other Shoshonean languages); doe *zaPi'aB*, fawn *iua'*; antelope *Tin·a*; horse (see "dog") : cow (see "buffalo"). 196 198 192 136

220. puma *Kahui'-Toho* (see "bear" and "lynx"); lynx *Toho"o*.

230. dog *PoKo* (now "horse"), *caTi'i*; wolf *ica'a*, coyote *iza'a* (cf. "wolf", also the appended Text);

240. mountain-sheep *Ko'yP*.

250. rabbit *Tabo'o*, hare *qam·o'*; porcupine *TsaGui'Ti*, beaver *Kohi'i*, marten *Pa-TsuGo*, skunk *Pomi'Tce*, weasel *Pa-BiTse*; ground-hog *KiTi*, ground-squirrel *TsePic*, gopher *KooTse*, rat *'TeKa'uu*, mouse *PunaTs*, mole *ya·'TsiP*.

260. bird (general word) *huTsi·Ba*, feather *TiTam·a*, egg *an·obo'*; quail *TuKTa*, grouse *Pagogo'o*, crow *aTa'*; golden eagle *Kwina'a*, bald-

196 headed eagle *Pasia'*, vulture *wiho'*, chicken-hawk *TaBuTsi Kinī'i*,
192 sparrow-hawk *Kinī'*; heron *PoiKwana*, crane *waa*; duck *KuTa*,
[136] geese *naKiT*; woodpecker (flicker) *aTsa'Ba*.

280. fish (no general word); salmon *aq'a'i*, trout *PaKwi'*.

290. spider *cuuT*; grasshopper *aaDaDa'a*, cricket *nizyo*; *mobiP*, horse-fly *PiPiT*, bee *nobTa*, butterfly *Tso'a'nene*; worm *wo'aB*.

196 300. wood *Ku·na*, dead-wood, fire-wood *PasaP*; root *Tina*, trunk [illegible]
192 bark *aPo'a*, branch *ma'na*, leaf *ccaKv*, sap *axoPī*.

137 311. tree (general term) *PobiKya'i*; pine *wogoP*, pine-cone *q'aa*, juniper *wa·P*, fir *q'aTaB'*, spruce *winiP*, poplar *sīṇa·B'*, willow *cī·B*.

312. mountain mahogany *Tupe*.

320. grass (general term) *waba'Bī*, wild buckwheat *aTṣu'*, tule : *caiB*, *PiBuP*, *Toyi'Ba*, foxtail *monoPī*, tobacco *Pacmu'*.

330. wild onion *haP·e*, wild turnip *buni'Boe*.

340. nut *obo'*, pine-nuts *TīBa*.

350. berries (of juniper tree) *apu·i*.

360. wild plum *Toyo*

370. seeds *PubiKʷTya*

196 410. person; people *neim·ī*, man *na·na*, woman *mogo'ne*, old man *we'eTs*,
192 old woman *Piya'waBi*, young man *naTs*, *TuimiTsi*, young woman *Tsia''a*, little boy *naTi'*, little girl *Tci'a'*, baby *oba'a*.

420. paternal grandfather *Kīnu''u*, maternal grandfather *Togo'*, paternal
[601] grandmother *buTsi'*, maternal grandmother *mu'a'*; father *na*, mother *Pia'*, paternal uncle *hai'i*, maternal uncle *aaTs*, paternal aunt *Pabua'*, maternal aunt *PiTo'*; elder brother *PaBi''i*, younger brother *Kwaṇa'a*, elder sister *hama'a*, younger sister *Pīne'e*; son *Tua'*; daughter *Patī-*, nephew or niece [through a brother] (uncle speaking) *buza'*, id° (aunt speaking) *aDa'Tsi*, id° [through a sister] (uncle speaking) *manaK'*, id° (aunt speaking) *miDo''o*; husband *noTe'Kʷ*, wife *Kuma'*, father-in-law or mother-in-law *yahi'*, brother and sister-in-law are composite terms made up of nephw + mother, niece + son etc.

430. I *ni*, thou *ī*, you and I *Taa*; he, she, it, this, man, etc. *usu*, *isu*, *masu*, *Pīsu*; myself, yourself, himself, etc. *-zun*; (essential possession) *i-*; accidental possession *-Ka*; [Refer to the grammatical sketch].

440. shaman *Puha'gam*; chief *PaBe'*.

450. strong *ini*, small *TīT·i*, pretty *TaBia*.

460. Paiute *neim·ī*, Pit River Innian *ici'cuwi'*, Klamath *PaKwi'Dīq'a*, Modoc *ca'ī'iDīq'a*, Maidu *TaKone*, Warn Spring Indian *aga'Tse*, white man *TaiBo'o*; Local bands of Paiutes : see Ethnography.

510. head *Tsq'PīGi*, forehead *as'*, nape *q'awo'TsoP·a*, hair of head *soPī'ī* neck *q'uTa'*, Adam's apple *soTo'*, collar bone *Tai go'DaP·ī*.

511. eye *Pu·ī*, to see *Pon·e*, to search *naT*.

5120. mouth *ʔiP·a'*, lip *TiP·a'-q'a·'Kuᵉ*, chin *q'ama'*, tooth *Ta·ma'*, tongue *iqo'* (perhaps *i-qo* = my tongue), hair of face *musu'i*.

5121. to eat *TiKa'* (pl. same), to drink *biBi'* (pl. same), to bite *Gīī'* (pl. same), to spit *TubiP*, to taste *Tīm·a*, to suck *PiTsi'*.

5122. to tell (*Tē·Kʷ*) (pl. same), to ask *Tē·Biṇ'* (pl. same), to call *Pa'i* (pl. same), to cry *yaga'*.

513. nose *musi'*.

514. ear *naqa'*, to hear *naqa'*, to listen *naqa Pīn·a* (i. e. "re-hear"), deaf *qae naqa dawa·qa* (not hear ?).

5200. hand *ma·i*, finger *mawī'an*, thumb *Toq'*, index *Poyn*, arm *PīTa'*, wrist *mawī'Dzago* (Cf. ankle), nail *TsiTu'*, elbow *maTsi'bi*, shoulder *Tsoa'Bi*, forearm (like arm).

5210. to touch *Dzam·a'*, to feel *wim·a'*; heavy *nini'Kwi*, light *yaya'Kwa*, smooth *PataKwīn·ī'a*, rough *PoBoTaq'a*, soft *yuTsoq'a*, hard *oboP*.

5221. Dative case *-maT*; to have, to have got *GaT* (pl. *Tya'yu*); to take *Kwībī* (pl. *bi'ma*); to give, to send *mametc*, *mamiya*, *sa'a*, *maKim·a'*, *mami'TyaK*, *Kia'u* (pl. *bimi'u*).

5222. to make *ban·e'* (pl. *mabin·e'*); to stretch *TsaToDoBⁱ*, to tear *Tsq'a'u*.

5223. to hit *Tona'* (pl. same); to push *Ton·o'yoy*, to pull *zama'*.

5224. to put, place *oaTKī* (pl. *ʔiu'na*); to lay down *baP·ī'* (pl. *Pukwa'*).

530. foot *KiKī*, leg (from hip to ankle) *PīKa'BI*, hip *Tsim·u'*, knee *mia'wo*, ankle *Tawī'zog*, sole *Tapi'Da*.

531. to go *mi'a* (pl. *nawɪsi*), to depart *mia'o* (pl. *mia''o*), to walk *mi'an·o* (pl. *wayo'gan·o*); to come *Kim·a* (pl. same), to come back *Kim·a'o* (pl. *Kim·a'a*), to go up, down, formed by go + up, down; to run *Pizam·ī'a* (pl. *Tano'oBane*); to jump *naTa'winai* (pl. *naTa'waTiyu*); to roll *Tīma'bik*; Inessive case *-BaT*.

532. to carry on back *no'o* (pl. *no·n·o*), to carry in arms *saTyaKwᶦ*, (pl. *saTī'man·o*); to bring *o'sa* (Cf. to give, send).

534. to stand *win·ī* (pl. *q'on·o*), to fall *banoaq'a* (pl. *abitaye*), to rise *yobTsi·ī* (pl. *yozī·u*), to lie *babi'TaBe* (pl. *Pukwa'u*) [Cf. to lay down 5224], to sit *qaTī* (pl. *a·Ta*).

535. to kick *wumu'DzewaT* (pl. *wumu'Dzegwatⁱ*).

5410. back *buPī'wayT*, belly *Tsii*, chest *niṇa'Bī* breast *Pībi*, milk *PiDza'*, buttocks *TsaBo'*.

5420. skin *Pībī* (Cf. breast 5410), also *Tsibo'PoDo*, bone *obo'* (Cf. *oboP* = hard).

196 5430. blood *Pīī*, fat *Tyuhu*, sweat *Kuma'a*.

192 5440. heart *iDīT*, vein *Pawī'*, liver *niwi*, guts *cīī*.

5450. anus *TsaBī* (Cf. buttocks 5410), to defecate *Kwii·a*; testicles *nagi'*, phallus *Kwis'*, cunnus *cuu*, clitoris *niTsi*, pubic hair *su·hī'*, menstruation *nama'Dagai*, to copulate *ep'o*.

55. to think *zuhuu·i*, death *Tia'u*.

611. knife *Kwibi*, ax *KuTsa'no*, to cut *TsKya'u* (pl. *TsiBopa'u*), to chop *KuTsan* (pl. *Poq*), to cut meat with flint flake *Tapaa* (Cf. obsidian 122).

612. Instrumental Case *-ma*.

621. bow *Poṇ̣a's·a*, bow-string *PagaKwi*, arrow *huaBe*, arrow-point *Piza'-ma*, obsidian arrow-head *Taqa*, arrow-shaft *wa'aTī*, grooves on the arrow-shaft *TīTsaP·o*; poggamoggan war-club *TīP'i TaPon·o*; elkskin armor *TobPī*; to kill *BaTsa'*, *q'oi'*, to fight *nabbo'e* (pl. *naqoya*); to hunt *Tiboa'wa'i* (pl. *nay'mo'a*); war *naa-Kwi*.

622. digging-stick *Poto*.

623. mocassin *mo'q'o*, legging *Kosa*, snow-shoe; *ciKī*, beads *Tsu·-maBi*, ear-ring *nagKa'gue* (cf. ear *naq'a'*), necklace *ʔigaKya*; breechcloat *PiTsaPoyo*, loin-cloth *oPizin·aKwe*, *ToPaDa'a*; shirt *war·I*.

6241. house, tent, camp *noBe*, door, window *Tawaq'*.

6242. to cook *sa'a* (pl. same), meat *aTuku'*, metate *maTa'*, to grind seeds *Tucu'*, mush, soup, *noho*, to eat mush with the fingers *ige*, spoon *KoDo'o*, bread *ʔīKa'Ba* (Cf. *TīKa'* = to eat)

6243. basket *woBoi*, *Tsam·īna*, rabbitskin-blanket *wiKya'*.

6244. buckskin *nacọṇọyaB*.

6245. to buy *TīmiK* (pl. same).

625. smoking pipe *Tois·a*.

627. tule boat ("balsa") *saKi*.

TEXTS.

Conversation.

193 1. You saw us last summer when we came with our baby.
muas Taza' nimmi yao mo'o mi-Tua'-no-s
already summer we (excl.) here come us-son-with-and
ī mi-Pon·e
you us-see.

2. This time I came alone without my wife and without my baby.
ya· ni q'ae i-noTe·Ku^a-no , Kim·a i-Tua'no

INTRODUCTION.

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Although the Plateau Shoshoneans and their next of kin have been studied by Major Powell, H. H. St. Clair, Edward Sapir, A. L. Kroeber, J. A. Mason and the present writer, the sum total of published information is extremely scanty, especially as to aspects of their non-material culture. Hence the notes taken among the several groups are here collected under convenient headings and relevant passages from earlier observers are incorporated where it seemed desirable. The folk-tales and myths will be published separately.

[197]

The groups visited include the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute; the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Fallon, and Lovelocks, Nevada; the Ute of Navaho Springs, of Ignacio, Colorado, and of Whiterocks, Utah; and the Wind River Shoshoni of Wyoming. Linguistically these four tribes represent three of Kroeber's subdivisions of the Shoshonean stock: the Paiute and Ute belonging to the Ute-Chemehuevi group, the Paviotso to the Mono-Paviotso, the Shoshoni to the Shoshoni-Comanche. According to my Paiute informants, Ute is sufficiently close to their language to be intelligible.

With a view to future field-work the following recommendations are made, based on my experiences in the field and conversations with other students.

From the point of view of getting Museum material it is very improbable that much in the way of showy specimens can henceforth be obtained. On the other hand, a great deal of worth-while material could still be collected from most points, especially good models where originals are no longer available.

For scientific study all the groups present certain practical difficulties, except the Wind River Shoshoni. The Shoshoneans in general are extremely reticent about divulging ethnographical information, and in the case of the Northern Ute this sentiment is intensified by a feeling of hostility against whites generally. Interpreters are almost everywhere of an inferior character and getting connected accounts from informants is frequently impossible, every query being answered in the most laconic fashion possible. As to fees, the Ute at Ignacio and the Uintah Reservation were found exorbitant in their demands; other Shoshoneans moderate.

Since Dr. Sapir has notes on the Kanab Paiute, a long stay with this subdivision may be unnecessary. However, the Shivwits (near Santa Clara, to be reached from Lund, Utah, on the Salt Lake Route, via St. George) and the Moapa of Moapa, Nevada, should be revisited for

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101 619 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habitat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *neim·ī* (e. g. *nī neim·i non·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak [197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBī*
Silver Lake	*Toha'TεP·i*
Duck Lake	*TīBi'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Dīqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Dīqa*
Maidu	*TaKonε*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tsε*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tïziyamoso*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pībī-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361 821 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when 622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

Résumé.

105
171 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit eved fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.)[1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

General Impression.

197
193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

Phonology.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

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[1] See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

197
193 In résumé, then, and provisionally, the dialect spoken by the Northern Paiute in California may be classified as a *Simple Pure-Relational* language, weakly *Agglutinative* in technique, mainly *Analytic* in structure.

SEMASIOLOGY.

196
192 The following presentation of the semantemes of the language is an attempt to combine economy of space, ease in finding any word, and a semblance of logical grouping of concepts. Such grouping should be of great value for the purposes of lexical comparative work. Alphabetical order has therefore been abandoned for a decimal numbering system.

The conceptual grouping that I have adopted (and which does not pretend to be anything more than a convenient empirical one) is as follows:

1. NATURE.............
   - 11 the sky
   - 12 the elements (fire, earth, water, air)
   - 13 time
   - 14 space
   - 15 number
2. THE ANIMALS.
3. THE PLANTS
4. MAN
5. THE BODY.............
   - 51 head and verbs related thereto
   - 52 hand » »
   - 53 foot » »
   - 54 body and organs
   - 55 life and psyche
6. THE TOOL.............
   - 61 special tools and actions
   - 62 material culture

111. sky *Komi'Ba*; sun *TaBá*; moon *miná*; star *Pa'TejaBa*.

112. summer *Taza'*; winter *Tom·o*;

121. fire, camp-fire, *qoso*; fire, to be burning, *na'e*; to burn (transit.), *Tcna'yo*: ashes, *TinibiP*; coals *TubuBⁱ*; to make fire with drill, *mawi'iKg*; fire-drill hearth, *wo'i*; to fan the fire, *wiwa'Ga*; to blow fire, *PuTu·Ga*; warm, *yo'e*; hot, *iTiT*; cold, *iTsiTs*;

122. earth, ground, *Ti·P*; mountain' *q'ai·Ba*; valley, *yiPi'Kay*; stone, rock, *TciPi'*, "rim-rocks", *aaPi*; obsidian, *Ta'Piss*, *Taq'a'*; salt, *ṇa'Bⁱ*; colour, *-KwTya'a* (suffixed), red, *asa'*; green, blue, *Pubi*; black, *Tuhu*; white, *Toha*; yellow, *oha*; grey, *isi*; mottled, *mo·a-TaBi'a*.

123. water *Pa·*, rain *Pai'maB*; river *hu'u*, lake *Panin'*, snow *niBaB*, ice *PaTsi'goB*.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Klamath NR10

Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name. N 101 648

At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix. N 101 197 ● [131]

3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem). N 114 101

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used. N 101 128

5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). N K 648 413

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due K 101 114 131

II. Paviotso Shamanism

INTRODUCTION

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, 101
belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking
peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related.
The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful
but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent.
Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of
California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern
Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the
Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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W
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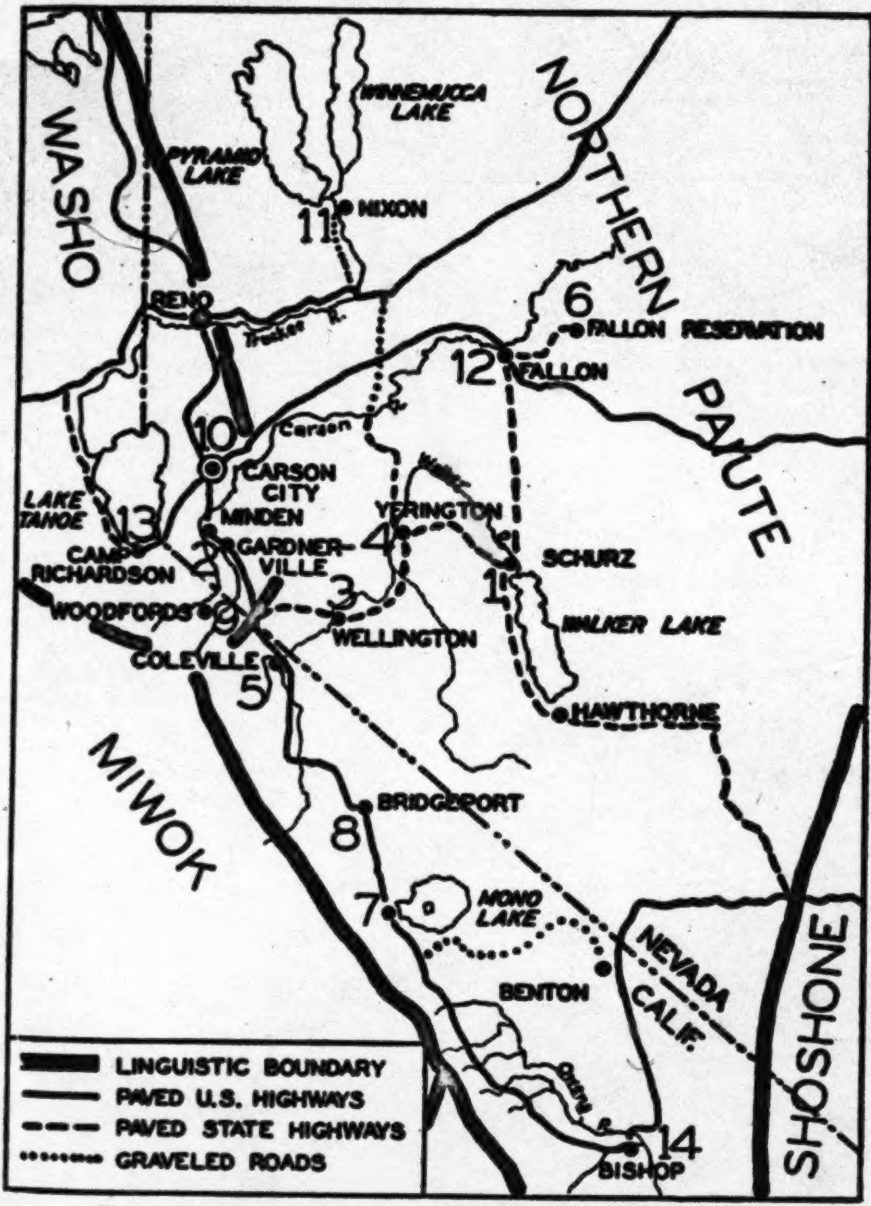
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MIWOK
SHOSHONE
PYRAMID LAKE
WINNEMUCCA LAKE
NIXON
11
RENO
Truckee R.
6
FALLON RESERVATION
12
FALLON
Carson
10
CARSON CITY
LAKE TAHOE
13
CAMP RICHARDSON
MINDEN
GARDNERVILLE
YERINGTON
4
Walker
SCHURZ
1
WOODFORDS
9
3
WELLINGTON
WALKER LAKE
COLEVILLE
5
HAWTHORNE
BRIDGEPORT
8
7
MONO LAKE
BENTON
NEVADA
CALIF.
Owens R.
14
BISHOP
LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
PAVED U.S. HIGHWAYS
PAVED STATE HIGHWAYS
GRAVELED ROADS

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

Wadátkuht

THE WADÁTKUHT

The Honey Lake Paiute, or Wadátkuht ("Wada eaters", after the seed of Suaeda depressa), as they call themselves, are an independent band of Northern Paiute living entirely in California. This band had its own chiefs; the last two were Kukwhi (Dick Wright) and Numunana ("Indian man"), also known as Joaquin. These men were contemporaries and apparently served jointly as headmen. Several earlier chiefs are listed by Stewart (1939, p. 138) and include No-jo-mud, Hozi-a and Adavugaya. Stewart equates Hozi-a with Ochio, the Kidütoka chief of Surprise Valley to the north of the Wadátkuht territory. Captain Dick, according to Stewart (ibid.), might be a Kamö man whose group immediately joins the Wadátkuht to the north and east. This Captain Dick is probably not to be confused with Dick Wright the Wadátkuht headman. 101 622

The Wadátkuht actually are composed of two groups of closely related people. The main group lived in Honey Lake Valley and the secondary group lived in Secret Valley just north of Honey Lake. Those living in Secret Valley additionally utilized the eastern half of Madeline Plains north of Secret Valley. Apparently they shared it with the Kamötkuht ("Jackrabbit eaters") with whom they were closely related and affiliated. A more detailed discussion of this joint use is presented in a section on "Boundaries and Population". 101

Not only were the Wadátkuht closely related to the Kamötkuht, but they were close relatives of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Except for living in different areas and having their own headmen the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht might well be considered a single group. Genetic relationship to the Northeastern Maidu, Washo, Atsugewi, and Achomawi people also was considerable due to the fact that men often stole women (for wives) from, or lost women to these neighboring groups. [583] Social intercourse between the Maidu and the Washo on the one hand, and the Wadátkuht on the other seems to have been of a much more friendly and cooperative nature than between the Wadátkuht and the Pit River people. [648] Despite the apparently considerable foreign genetic inheritance of the Wadátkuht, not to mention certain cultural additions, the Wadátkuht strictly considered themselves as Paiute and maintained their strongest affiliations with their Paiute relatives. Linguistically there seems to be little difference between the Wadátkuht and the Kuyuitkuht, except possibly for the preferential use of occasional words. [197]

787 776 [756] While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have supernatural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

756 There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

[787] Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doctors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen because he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life. [754]

Interpreters.—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience. [198] The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

755 *Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there [776] all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with

218. P. 115, fn. 137.

649 219. Indian Bureau records show that the first of the five annual $2,000 payments provided for in the Walpapi treaty was appropriated for the fiscal year 1867-1868, and for each fiscal year thereafter, through 1871-1872 (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1320] p. 376; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 810 RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] p. 973; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] p. 823; RCIA 1871 [CDS #1505] p. 1067. After 1872 ten annual payments of $1,200 were still due (idem). These were earmarked at Klamath Agency for "the Wal-pah-pe" or "Chocktote's band of Snakes" (Record, pp. 130-133, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 21, 1873; Record, pp. 220-222, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Klamath Agency, Ore., Sept. 5, 1874).

000 220. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 3, 1867; NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 18, 1867; ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 30, 1867; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

221. RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

222. Ibid., p. 812. Perhaps purposely?

648 [201] 223. Applegate was led to make this attempt because, after many of the Oregon Snakes surrendered to Gen. Crook at Camp Harney on June 30, 1868, "signal fires had been seen on the mountains surrounding Silver Lake, conveying an idea that the Snakes inhabiting that part of the country desired a conference with the Snakes on the Reservation." For Crook's peace council see, among other references, NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC 30-C-1868, George Crook to A. A. General DC, Camp Warner, Ore., July 6, 1868; NA. WDC. DC. 1868-1869. General Orders No. 24, Hdqtrs. DC, July 11, 1868; Crook, Autobiography, p. 159.

224. Applegate broke ground for farming and began building two log houses at his campsite, which was probably near the site where the Indians were used to gather each autumn. Later that same year his son, Ivan D. Applegate, was appointed by Huntington as Commissary for Subsistence for the Snake Indians and, since some of the Walpapi Snakes were in Sprague River Valley

N

dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who W
used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement 159
that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist 755
missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. 795*
In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only 797
about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty
or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after N
February, 1937. W

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute [203] ●
Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[19] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

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[19] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

754 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died.
761 The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have
been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery
power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen
[753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that
they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them
to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the
684 death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual
761 advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were
761 accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion.
208] It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [754]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
● [208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the
593 extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and
627 order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person
681 wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by-
208 standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive violence.

121 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests
626 that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

154 The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

wood, and put it on the fire. If they run every time game would not be afraid of them and they would be able to kill squirrels and sage hens easily. Sometimes they talked about winter, saying, "You boys run at the new moon so as to make the winter short" (JB). [861] 805

They told the children to watch for the new moon. When it came they had twp little girls and boys run a race. That was so the food would grow well (NO).

Information on the month count is badly jumbled. The list given by Susie Archie seems most reliable; she alone was able to give a series of names and to equate them with our reckoning. Her confidence contrasted favorably with the confusion and contradictions of other informants.

Na'·-müha (wild deer and antelope breed; na, father ?), November
Pabe'-müha (big, full moon), December
Tamū'ni-taba (return of the sun ?), January
Pü'atamakwaitipamikit (getting warm, snow melting), February
Tokwü'tü-müha (plants germinating), March
Puhi'-mayü-müha (grass is sprouting; puhi', green), April

The above list covers the more or less isolated names furnished by other informants, and is in such sequence that the descriptive designations fit. Perhaps one addition might be made: Joshua noted that two months in summer were known as Düna'-kwaiya'bin (antelope-shed) from the antelopes' shedding. The name was not given by any other informant.

Logically, it would seem that Pabe'-müha, big moon, should apply to the long summer period. Daisy and Piudy both had it so but were unable to organize the remaining months accordingly. Tamū'ni-taba (return of the sun) is interesting in that it suggests solstitial consciousness. David Chocktoot's rendering of the same term was "the moon turning the earth around to the sun." In any case, the fact remains that the calendar was definitely not regulated by or brought into accord with solar phenomena. Instead of Tamū'ni-taba, Piudy and Daisy both gave Tamū'nida. The former explained it as "around January, the time when seeds are just beginning to germinate under ground." Daisy's explanation was "this is when one side of everything is dry. There is snow in the shade, but things in the sun are dry." [821]

Recording time by means of knotted cords or notched sticks was unknown to the majority of informants.[168] However, Tom Anderson, in a vain effort to recall the old calendrical system, tied twenty knots in a rope and stated that each night a small thong was tied between [211] ●

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[168] P, NO, DR.

●[211] 805 the appropriate knots to indicate the lapse of a day. He claimed a twenty-day month with one month, Paba'-mūha (big moon), having twenty-three days. This he identified with July. He could not recall further details or the names of other months, and his twenty-day month was not verified by other informants.

[843] Joshua was positive on the score of record keeping. He averred that "some women" knotted cords to aid them in reckoning the duration of pregnancy. "They kept it just like a calendar, every day. Sometimes they cut scratches on a stick instead." He also said that in winter a cut was made each day in a large stick and that a new month was indicated by a cut of extra length. Knotted cords did not accompany an invitation. "If they sent word of an antelope hunt, all the people came as soon as they could."

CONSTELLATIONS

821 A number of winter constellations were recognized. Thus, "the stars are overhead in winter time; during the summer they are all over toward Nevada (the east)." As usual, the Milky way (nūmū-po, people's trail) figures as the road of the dead and the departed are said to travel south along it. The stars of the Big dipper (ta'noa'di) are Indians driving rabbits into a net; "the two in front don't know where they are going." Three stars, probably to be identified with Orion's belt,[183] are mountain sheep (koip^{a}) who were once Indians. In this connection Piudy gave an explanatory tale similar to the one recorded by Lowie,[184] although the latter does not identify the stars with any constellation. A group of stars in the east is called mūza'^{a} and is a band of mountain sheep who were once Paiute women. They are said to be traveling in this direction. A group of "about ten stars way over in the east about 3 o'clock midsummer mornings" is a number of women fighting; the description suggests the Pleiades.

Other constellations are identified as eagle, weasel, flies, two women fighting, and a man with a slow match lighting the two combatants. A large single star which shines in the east about 3 o'clock summer mornings is called paba'i-yū-mogo'tni (big woman). The North star is unnamed. My informants had not heard of hand or hoop constellations.[185]

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[183] Spier, Havasupai, 172, gives the distribution of this identification.

[184] ST, 232. Curtis, 15:147, gives the myth and stellar identification for the Walker River Paiute.

[185] Discussed by Spier, Havasupai, 170–171.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to 186
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, 829
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist 829
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the (727)
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern (648)
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians 114
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that they must have been made by the Pit River Indians

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tobatoha.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [361]
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge [103]

Wadatkuht

539 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob
776 told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would
give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack
said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon.
It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or
vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater
than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai,
"magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they
meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her
sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy,
had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about
Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common
name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy
said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them
on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an
[756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that
petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to
[881] themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in
any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect
to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was
the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that
Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains"
and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the
same time and seem to have had an equal status within the
group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times",
and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them
to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They
[692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within
the band. The situation of having other people work for them
[177] as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

Wadátkuht

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching 361
for the native houses constructed at this village. Except
for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about [824]
one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the
Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other [342]
winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be
assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not.

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as 22
might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin [171]
pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their
territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that
presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed
to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed [423]
producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It
seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family
getting there first expecting to have no competition unless
they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often in- 22
vited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn- 648
rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility.

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only 22
among those families too improvident to secure and store an 185
adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households 735
that worked diligently collecting food during the other three

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
735 enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
[264] acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[177] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying
the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost
constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at
the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots,
berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance
were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major
source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods
available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density
in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq.
mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country --
called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid
Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and
132 Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a limiting
161 factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum
182 food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects
of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and
[226] mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule
deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush
or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to
aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals
or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the
only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of
their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a
single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
[476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization because
[571] the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large
number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited
by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small
groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance
22 of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

N
been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22 ●
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership with- 621
in a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for ante- N
lope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also con- [222]
centrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger group-
ings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as op-
posed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership [619]
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad dif-
ferentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476]
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against [628]
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

W

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evi-
dence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once ex-
tended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they repre- 197
sent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

Northern Paiute NR13

W 175 648

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

N 175 177 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

N W 177 182 22

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful,but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

N 175 177 648 668

In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

five or six miles northeast of Fort Bidwell, was known as Toha′-kidü- 103
panün (white-groundhog-lake) because a white groundhog was once 133
seen there. Pindy knew no name for Goose lake, but Joshua said
that it was called Paba′-panün, big lake.

Big valley, west of Warner valley, was called Guyü, the name of a food plant gathered there. Sugar hill, Toga′-pokwad (dark point or peak) gave its name to near-by Fandango valley. Fandango pass was called Padu′a′-agan from padu′aᵃ, grizzly bear.

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEASONAL PURSUITS AND WANDERINGS

For food these Paiute, like the bulk of Great Basin tribes, were 221 ●
entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering, and even proto-
agriculture in the form of wild crop irrigation[13] was unknown. From
an economic point of view, Paiute habitat seems to have been pecul-
iarly uninviting, and only through literally unceasing toil could it be
made to yield a livelihood. Whereas peoples dependent upon one
staple, such as acorns, camas, or mescal, normally enjoy a season of
plenty, often followed, to be sure, by one of privation, the Gidü′tikadᵃ
had no one product upon which they could rely. It follows, therefore,
that their food gathering activities were extensive and continuous 221
rather than concentrated and seasonal. Starvation was frequent,
especially in late winter when the stores of cached food had been 262
exhausted.

The geography of the Surprise region has been covered by Russell, 133
but it may be well to call attention to a few general features. A large 137
part of the valley floor is occupied by the playa beds of three lakes,
now dry most of the time, but well filled within the memory of inform-
ants and early settlers. The remainder of the valley is said to have
been meadowland in aboriginal times, but nowadays, owing to the
introduction of sheep and to subsequent overgrazing, the meadow has
been almost completely replaced by sagebrush, excepting, of course,
land actually under cultivation. This means that the pre-white envir-
onmental conditions were definitely more favorable for the support
of a non-agricultural population. In fact, it is difficult to see how a
hunting and gathering people could possibly maintain themselves
under present conditions.

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[13] Which Steward, 149, reports for the Eastern Mono.

133 On either side, Surprise valley is bordered by steep rising ranges. The badlands to the east bear little apparent vegetation save sage, but they were the principal root-gathering grounds in the old days. The slopes of the Warners, to the west of Surprise, are covered with a juniper-sage growth, with pine and fir on the upper reaches. To the north of the valley the Warners break down and run northeast to bound Warner valley on the east. Here they are known as the High Desert, a region used today only for grazing. Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise, differs markedly from the latter in that it is almost entirely tule swamp and lake country, although the ubiquitous sagebrush covers what dry land there is.

● 221 The Gidü'tikad[8] exploited this unpromising habitat to the best of their ability, wandering seasonally in pursuit of food. Perhaps the annual cycle is best introduced by the following:

> In the old days they used to dig food all summer—until it was gone. They gathered seeds and roots and buried them in the ground. In winter they stayed until the buried food was gone and then moved on to the next place. They hunted every day, all year. In those days there were many sage hens, ducks, geese, swans, jackrabbits, cottontails, deer, and antelope (NT).

Early in spring, when the snow was still on the ground, they fished in the creeks and streams. As soon as the snow melted sufficiently, those camped in Surprise abandoned their winter quarters and crossed to the hills along the east side of the valley, stringing from Cowhead lake south to Poison spring, there to consume food buried the previous year and to dig whatever roots they could find. All spring and well into summer they continued to wander about, gathering roots which they dried and cached for future use. Their wanderings did not follow any set scheme; they roamed wherever the food supply seemed most promising. A considerable range was necessary, however, for roots such as camas are essentially swamp plants, and others such as epos occur only in higher and drier country. In late summer they returned to the valley to pick berries and to harvest seeds. With the approach of fall, the season for plant foods terminated, and attention was centered upon hunting.

This activity, as well as gathering, groups itself into seasonal cycles. Deer, antelope, and rabbits were hunted the year round. Sage hens and grouse were got in spring. From May to July groundhogs, porcupines, and squirrels were available. In midsummer crickets and occasionally larvae(?) were gathered. In late summer and early fall, hunting of deer and antelope loomed as compared with other pursuits. Wildcat was hunted in fall, which was likewise the season for com-

annual rabbit drives and for hunting water fowl such as mud hens, 221 ●
ducks, geese, and swans. This very considerable range of activities implies residence from which the valley lakes and flats, as well as the hill country, were accessible. There seem to have been no set camp spots, but the Adel and Bidwell districts were particularly favored for fall residence.

Winter was the season of food shortage. At this time the Gidü'tikad^{a} returned to more or less permanent sites, there to consume the seeds, dried roots, and meats which they had cached. Hunting of deer, antelope, and rabbits continued. In addition, bear, wildcat, and otter were hunted because "then they were fat, and their skins were [789]
good." Winter was also the season of antelope charming.

When asked concerning the relative importance of animal foods, my informant replied, with an excellent display of logic:

> They ate more deer and rabbits than anything else because they hunted them all year round. Rabbits are not so good this time of year; squirrels are better now. It all depends on the season (P:NH).

WINTERING GROUNDS

The Gidü'tikad^{a} had a number of established wintering grounds, 103
and, as a corollary, recognized certain regions—such as the country 361
west of the Warners, the area between Surprise and Warner valleys, Big valley, and the east side of Surprise—which were best shunned during winter because of heavy snows, insufficient resources, etc.

The northernmost winter camp was in the vicinity of Plush, Oregon. According to Pindy, it was known as Sa'ga'^{a}namatsibui and refers in some obscure way to "the place where the river comes from the mountain into the open country." What is doubtless a different rendering of the same term was given by Joshua who called a Honey creek site near Plush, Saga'pamatsibua. He claimed that it was derived from saga', a kind of willow, and tsibua, canyon mouth.

Adel, farther south in Warner valley, was called Saib^{e} and was a favorite wintering ground. A camp site just below the present MC ranch house was called Wa'habi^{i} (from wago'pi, pine tree, and habi^{i}, fall down) and was so-named from a creek into which a large tree had fallen. A site "southeast of Adel," described as a few miles east of Dugout,[16] was called Kusi'nüt^{a}.

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[16] As the location of this wintering ground is highly doubtful, it has not been entered on the map. Possibly it should be southwest instead of southeast of Adel. In a letter, Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, Lakeview, states that the locality known as Dugout falls within Township 40 South, Range 23 East. This would place it definitely southwest of Adel.

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In Surprise, the Gidü'tikad[8] sometimes wintered on the slopes below Lake Annie. This site seems to have been unnamed; it was probably known from the lake, or, because of its proximity, may have been included in the name applied to the Bidwell vicinity. This whole latter district was known as Tusi'yamüs (from tusi"p', a kind of grass, *Distichlis spicata* Greene, and yamü's, corner), and ample justification for the name may be found by glancing at Russell's map of Surprise valley surface types.[15] Tusi'yamüs was a favorite spot, and winter camps were strung along the foot of the Warners from the site of the present camp through the Indian School grounds, as well as along Bidwell creek from the fair grounds below town up the canyon to the old flour mill.

There were three wintering grounds about Lake City. One was in a juniper stand a short distance north of town and was called Wa"-dunu'ba (from wap', juniper, and dunu'ba, bunch, stand). Another site was near the lake shore and was called Sawa'-dunu'ba (sawa', sagebrush). Informants state that it is now cleared and planted in wheat. Camps were scattered from below the peak known as Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose, just south of Lake City, all along the range slopes south toward Cedarville and on to Eagleville.

Near Cedarville, the Gidü'tikad[8] wintered along the creek at the foot of Cedar pass, which place they called Pa-sü"bi, water-willow, "from a kind of willow growing in the stream." One informant claimed that this site had no name, but that "they knew it by Pa'ho't^{c}-wogodni (sand creek, canyon) on the eastern side of the valley."

The southernmost winter camp was near Bear ranch at the foot of Surprise valley. My informant could not remember its name but said that it was near the stream called Wi'gi-pa-hu'[8] (sideways-water-running) which "runs sideways instead of straight down from the mountain." From inquiry, Bear creek[16] seems most nearly to answer the description.

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According to informants, "Some stayed in the same camp all winter, but most had at least two camps, perhaps one here and one at Cedarville. When all their food was gone, they moved on to the next camp." There was certainly some travel during winter as camps cooperated in communal antelope and rabbit drives.

361
The winter site had perhaps five or six houses; the summer groups were still smaller, perhaps only two or three.

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[15] Figure 4.

[16] Spelled Bare's creek on the Alturas quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey.

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101
619 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habitat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *nɛim·i* (e. g. *ni nɛim·i nan·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak [197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBī*
Silver Lake	*Toha'TɛP·i*
Duck Lake	*TiBī'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Diqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Diqa*
Maidu	*TaKonɛ*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tsɛ*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tiziyamoso*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pībi-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361
221 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

622 Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

262 Contrery to what might be expected in such a desert region, fish and waterfowl were an extremely important dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless, because of the inhospitable environment the available food was so often inadequate that the Indians learned to eat nearly everything which could support life. ●221 Seasonal migrations in search of food took Indians of nearly every band into the areas recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

114 In the two and a half months available for this study* it was impossible to visit all the bands still represented by living Indians. Of the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element lists were obtained from eleven.

124 Since it was impossible to follow the conventional methods of gathering ethnographic data, that is, by indirect questions which force informants to take the initiative in all descriptions, some mention of the methods employed should be made here. At the start of the inquiry of each complex, such as deer hunting or house building, a general question would be posed and the informant was allowed to offer what information he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary to ask about particular details, or to inquire whether something were done this way or that. With the first informant Northern Paiute names for various items and concepts were recorded; subsequently, with the remaining Indians, 124 115 the native name was used in questioning. To supplement the name, descriptions and pantomimes were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance was obtained from several hundred photographs of material culture and a number of actual specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games, and the like. Informants usually identified known types of material illustrated; consequently, blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage. The Indians seemed to appreciate seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested particular delight upon seeing representations of their own types. Thus the pictures had the double value of establishing friendly relations between the investigator and the Indians and provided a means of exact identification of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

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*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[p. 361 (B)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores
of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on
the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

821 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
826 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
862 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
822 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
824 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
621 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
848 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance move-
ment, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

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[224]
[423]

Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise — Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatcháktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'na's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'na] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'na in 1865. N 361 131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[4] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[5] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[6] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221 ●
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[4] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[5] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[6] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

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early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[*]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[*] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was recipeocal exchange.

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and cooperation 721
for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [648
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adolescents
often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other 579]
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [583]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[1] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[1] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

The preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 593 within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626 among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476] not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggrega- [221] tions of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622 Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177 drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders 657] came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626 have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622 other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623 could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692 681]

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621
gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131
canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent
of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough.
Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near
the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many
sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people
who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162]
Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the
Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more [114]
correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place"
given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115]
born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place
is ö-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1[1] although [103]
ö-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see
sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches
was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the
lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221] ●
seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224
spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 ●[221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[42]

1. swaga.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus or Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. ha-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. how-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agai.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

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[113] [42] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

Wadátkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
[137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
(i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gathering
[137] forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territory.

Wadátkuht

361 [174] of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructi of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about 1925.

[221] It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only occupied seasonally. The Wadátkuht, similar to the other Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home" for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only village so termed by my informants, although other winter villages may by definition be given this term.

[114] It has been difficult to decide which of the following named habitation sites were villages and which were camps. Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considere as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

103 361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SE¼ of NW¼ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

Wadátkuht

361 [224] their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuum from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. [881] It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

361 464 [221] The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361 5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.

223 *Water fowl.*—Water fowl, however, such as ducks (pü'hü), geese (nagü'tᵃ), and swans (wahi'tˢ), seem to have been hunted to a considerable extent. With the exception of the mud hen (sa'iyü'), they were usually shot with the bow. Mud hens were gathered in fall by means of communal hunts headed by a "chief" who organized the expedition. Any man could become such a "chief" by gathering a party of eight to fifteen men. All of these proceeded to the lake where one of them embarked on a balsa while the others remained on shore. The man on the balsa frightened the birds, driving them toward shore into the hands of the waiting hunters. The birds were captured and dispatched with sticks; sometimes they were caught with dogs. Women occasionally assisted the men on shore.

Ducks were plentiful in the fall. The hunter concealed himself in a brush blind (pai"ka'ni) early in the morning. He shot four or five birds before startling the flock and continued shooting as they flew. According to Joshua, ducks were hunted with the aid of one or two decoys (pühü-dua') to which long strings were attached. The duck skin was stuffed with grass and could be dried and used again. He stated that these decoys were used on Cowhead lake, but the remainder of informants, both from Bidwell and Beatty, claimed that they were not used locally. Ducks were never taken in nets.

Swans are said to have approached of their own accord and without the lure of a decoy. Young geese unable to fly were captured on the lake from a balsa. Geese were also frightened to shore where the women grabbed them and dispatched them with a stick. Eight or ten geese were taken this way. Occasionally an individual trapped geese the same way as sage hens. There was no "chief" for geese hunting because only a few persons participated. In the fall, Goose Lake valley was visited by birds which informants called cranes (waa'). The small birds, large enough to be eaten but too small to fly, were shaken from the trees.

222 *Insects, etc.*—Crickets[40] (ni'su') were found in late summer on the slopes of hills. They were collected early in the morning when cold and bunched. Women usually did the gathering, but men occasionally assisted. The insects were picked up in the hand and dumped into the carrying basket. All informants explicitly denied beating the brush and driving the crickets into a pit. One informant stated that "the whites did that when they wanted to kill them." Grasshoppers

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[40] These were described as "two finger joints in length" and as "travelling in bunches." Professor Essig says they are almost certainly Mormon or Western crickets.

222 (hu·'adada·^{a})[44] were never eaten but an unidentified insect similar to the grasshopper was considered edible. Ants (a·'ni) were gathered early in the morning when they were bunched on the top of the hill. Ant eggs (a·'ninoho) were gathered. "Worms" or larvae of some sort, probably caterpillars[45] (called biū'gū), were gathered early in the morning. They did not come every year and nowadays are never found in this vicinity. My interpreter saw some this summer near Gerlach, Nevada.

262 224 Animals not eaten. -- Coyote (iza''^{a}) was hunted with the bow but was not taken in a deadfall. Gidū'tikad^{u} claim not to have eaten the flesh because it tasted badly, but they made use of the pelt. Wolf (i·'sha) is said by Minnie to have an unpleasant odor. With exceptions of Piudy, all informants agreed that it was never eaten. He claimed that is was hunted with the bow and that the flesh was roasted on the coals.

Informants also denied eating fox (wañi·^{i}), dog (soko'puku),[46] lizard (kwida'mugus; kwida', excrement), frog (waha'tsa), snake (dogo'kw^{a}), and skunk (poñi'tc^{ū}). They stated that the Achomawi ate coyotes and that tribes to the east ate snakes and dogs. Several declared skunks inedible, but as I obtained an account of its preparation, I presume it was eaten by some; the Burns Paiute are said to have eaten it. Mice (puña'z^{i}) were declared too small to eat. Magpies (kwida'kagai^{i}; kwida', excrement; kagai^{i} from kai, kai, kai, the bird's call) and eagles (kwiña'·^{a}) were not eaten.

252 Preparation of animal foods.-- Meat was prepared by stone boiling or by roasting in the pit oven (dū'avida) or on the coals. It was sometimes pounded or given other sorts of special treatment to be noted below.

Deer flesh was usually boiled in a willow basket. The meat was added when the water was simmering and it was "boiled rare, not like white people boil meat." The Gidū'tikad^{ū} did not cook food in a paunch or hide sack, but when a person was traveling in winter and no water was available, he dug a hole and lined it with a deer hide. He then heaped snow on the skin and added hot stones. Such melted snow was called pa'sa'.

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[44] This term is said to be onomatopoeic.

[45] They are described as black with yellow stripes and as about four inches in length.

[46] Two informants had heard of eating dogs in time of great scarcity, but the others vehemently denied it. One gets the impression that dogs were much too scarce to have been of any dietary significance.

received in powdered form.[88] Joshua listed the fish obtained through 439
trade as kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), yüani, tais'ns, and tsowa'm.

Preparation of fish.—Fish were usually cooked in the ashes of the 251
fireplace, although they could be boiled. They were dried on a rack 252
or hung from the boughs of a juniper, but were never placed near the fire to dry as was meat. Usually fish were slit before drying but sometimes not, doubtless depending upon size. As a general thing, fish were not smoked.

Dried fish were packed in an open-twine tule or sagebrush-bark 251
sack "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." These bags 416
were called mago"o (general word for container) and were possibly four feet in length and two in width. Their size argues considerable quantity. Minnie Anderson said that fish did not keep very long; "they tasted funny." Dried fish were prepared by boiling or by roasting but were not pounded.

Fish eggs (a'gai noho) were dried and ground.

VEGETABLE FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION

The Gidū'tikadᵘ, like other non-agricultural peoples, gathered 222●
such seeds, berries, and roots as their habitat offered. All informants 137
stressed the great plenty of these foods in the early days, and their statements are corroborated by those of the first settlers, who maintain that, although now sage-covered, the whole valley was formerly meadowland. Plant specimens are difficult to obtain and on the whole the data are pretty meager. Surprise valley itself yielded little, but a number of specimens were procured on the southern shores of Cowhead lake, a few miles northeast of Fort Bidwell; some were also gathered west of the Warners and a few more near Beatty, Oregon. The seed material is particularly sparse; the list (below) probably includes less than a fourth of the original number. It does appear however, that the most important seed plants are represented. The list of berries and roots is somewhat larger and seems relatively complete.

Seeds.—In late summer women gathered seeds in a twined conical 222
basket or in a light sack of deer or antelope hide. For ordinary seeds, 415
such as grasses, the woman held the container in her left hand and knocked the seeds into it with the twined beater which she wielded in her right hand. She gathered other seeds, such as those of sunflowers, by pulling the dry blossoms and depositing them in the burden basket.

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[88] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

Seeds were sometimes mixed with berries but never with meat. 252
Informants had not heard of eating sage seeds. They considered cat-tail (toib^{a}) seeds edible, although the root was a more important food. Cat-tail stalks were spread on the ground, fired, and the seeds gathered. These were shelled by being worked lightly on the metate and after this were prepared like other seeds.

Identified grass seeds include the following: waha'b^{a} (*Hordeum* 137
nodosum L.); sopi'b^{a} (*Poa nevadensis* Vasey)[63]; mono'p^{a} (*Sitanion histrix* J. G. Smith), foxtail; waiya' (*Elymus condensatus* Pres.), rye-grass; ——— (*Alopecurus aequalis* Sobol); so'pi' (*Glyceria borealis* (Nash) Batchelder).

Pine-nuts (tü'ba) were of minor importance to the Gidü'tikad^{a}. 222
Aside from a few nut-bearing piñons near Bidwell mountain, they 252
are quite lacking in the whole territory. Informants knew them from 415
Pyramid lake and several described methods of preparing them. Minnie Anderson said that the cones were beaten from the trees with long sticks and dumped into an earth oven. They were roasted for an hour or so, after which they were removed, picked, and the nuts spread to dry. The latter were then shelled on the metate and winnowed. They were further dried, then ground on the metate, and made into gruel. As the gruel cooked, it was stirred with a willow twig, one end of which was looped back and tied with the outer bark of the twig. Nannie Ochiho gave substantially the same procedure except that the nuts were ground unshelled. According to Joshua they were successively parched, shelled, winnowed, ground, and made into mush.

Fruits and berries.—Chokecherries (*Prunus demissa* Dietr.) (do'-isabui) were eaten fresh or dried. Preliminary to drying they were broken lightly with a stone, molded into cakes, and placed in the shade to harden. Such dried cakes were ground to powder on the metate and then boiled. Nowadays dried cherries are mixed with water and flour, possibly with seed meal in the old days. Choke-
cherries and wa'da seeds were sometimes combined. A beverage was [272]
made by pouring hot water on the fruits and a tea was made from chokecherry stems.

Wild plums (tuyu) were gathered in an open-twine burden basket. They were pitted but not crushed and dried in the sun. The dried fruits were "pretty strong" before sugar was available. Wild plums are quite plentiful in the Warners and are still gathered in late summer.

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[63] And probably *Poa gracillima* Vasey as well, for which I have no native term.

251 252 Black haw (*Crataegus douglasii* Lindl.) (kwinü'pe) is a berry which was formerly, but is no longer eaten. It was used either fresh or dried. Service berry (*Amelanchier venulosa* Greene) (ti'gabui) was eaten fresh or dried, boiled or uncooked. Such berries were always kept overnight; otherwise they would give one a stomachache. They were crushed before being dried. Daisy said that ground a'gü' seeds were mixed with mashed fresh berries (particularly ti'gabui), or with dried berries which had been soaked, and the compound eaten without further preparation. It was called düma'iyu (mixture of any sort) or tütza'kiü (also mixture, but applying only to fruits and the like).

Mogu'tsiabui (gooseberry; mogu', thorn), boko'pe (wild currant), and atsa'pui (*Ribes cereum* Dougl.) were eaten fresh and uncooked. Before gathering atsa'pui, a person had always to throw a handful of dust on the bush, otherwise he would surely have a headache. Dust was also thrown on a berry bush to prevent birds from eating the fruits.

Buffalo berry (*Shepherdia argentea* Nutt.) (wi'yüpui) called for special preparation. One might eat the berries fresh, but if a person were going to dry them, he covered them with rye grass to which he set fire. While the grass was burning he stirred the whole well in order to cook the berries. After this preliminary cooking, the fruits were dried. Dried buffalo berries had to be "washed hard" to remove the accumulated charcoal. Afterward they were boiled, drained, and crushed. My informant said that nowadays buffalo berries are mixed with flour and sugar and made into a pudding.

Elderberries (*Sambucus glauca* Nutt.) (hubu') were eaten fresh or dried; they were not cooked before being dried.

272 The Gidü'tikad[8] used to manufacture a beverage from juniper berries (wa"pui). The fruits were picked, broken in the hands, and water added. After a thorough stirring, the pitch rose to the top and was skimmed off with a blade of grass. The beverage was served in individual willow bowls and drunk immediately. Sometimes it was mixed with pounded deer liver to make a "gravy." Juniper berries were never kept any length of time.

#222 252 *Roots.*—From early spring well into summer root gathering was an economic activity of great importance. Women went each day to dig ya'pa', tu'nu'yu, mu"a', hu"nibui, pa'si'go'°, and other roots. These they prepared by boiling or by pit-roasting,[64] or sometimes preserved

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[64] Spier (Havasupai, 119) is probably mistaken in thinking pit-roasting absent in the Basin. Although Lowie does not mention it in Shoshonean Ethnography, he does report it for the Northern Shoshone (188); for the Gosiute, Chamberlin (337, 339) speaks of it as "the usual method of cooking" certain roots; and among these Paviotso, it is a standard method of food preparation.

by drying in the sun. Nowadays there is little root gathering, one 222
very good reason being that the plants are no longer to be found. In 252
May of 1930, however, a party of older Gidü'tikadᵘ women crossed the Warners to Davis creek[63] and there spent several days digging ya'pa'.

The digging stick in use today is a straight iron bar about three 412
feet in length, pointed at one end, the other end turned in a loop or else provided with a wooden cross-piece as a handle. The old digging stick (bodo') was a straight piece of mountain mahogany (tu'pi) sharpened to a point with a stone knife or by being rubbed on a stone and hardened in the fire. Sometimes a limb at right angles made a handle of sorts, but ordinarily the stick was unhandled and the butt bound with buckskin to protect the hand. In digging, the butt rested against the body, one hand on it, and the other part way down the shaft. From demonstrations, the technique was one of pushing rather than of thrusting.

Roots of various members of the parsley family figured prom- 251
inently in Paviotso diet, particularly ya'pa' (*Carum oreganum* Wats.), 252
commonly known as epos. Quantities of it were gathered from the hills east of Surprise, and from the flats near Bear ranch in the south end of the valley. The roots were rubbed on an open twine tray to divest them of their skins and were subsequently prepared in a variety of ways. They might be eaten immediately, raw or boiled, or else dried in the sun and stored. Dried ya'pa' was boiled and sometimes pounded. Most kinds of dried roots were soaked and eaten without being either pounded or cooked.

Ha'pi'ⁱ was a root of some importance and was formerly plentiful in the hill country east of Surprise, although today it is difficult to find a single specimen. It is a *Lomatium*, probably *L. canbyi*, a species known from eastern Oregon. The roots were cooked in the earth oven, either fresh or dried. Ha'pi'ⁱ, like ya'pa', was skinned on a basket tray and dried in the sun. Tu'nu''yu (*Lomatium leptocarpum* C. and R.) was also found east of Surprise as well as near Bear ranch and in Fandango valley. The flat west of Bear ranch derived its native name, Tu'nu''yu-kama''ᵃ, from this root. Tu'nu''yu was eaten uncooked, either fresh or dried, and when stored, was mixed with ya'pa'. The roots are said to have spoiled if they became damp.

Hu''nibui (*Lomatium macrocarpum* C. and R.) also was eaten either fresh or dried. Charlie Washo thought it could be eaten raw

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[63] Achomawi territory.

342 Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'i-nobi (saib^{a}, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Oehiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74]

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^{a}, rye grass). The grass, four or five-feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

462 Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the follow- 342
ing winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place.
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went 417
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dü'a-nobi; dü'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18c, is frequently seen at the present time. It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'ės*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[412] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
[415] the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
[251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'üsá, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgí*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ü''üts*, little onions; *ásı*;
a'qō'; *kusíək'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+į*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubûs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*bal!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, con-
taining small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tūpá-qwana* or *tū'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 13, 75; Lowie, 208.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222 •
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a [412]
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *dsi* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāī*ⁿ seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tūm*ᵉ) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *dsúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tü'm*ᵉ tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*ᵉ together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic*ⁱ root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N
W
A
782
796

	To	Kl	K2	K3	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	AX
398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Gathering														
410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
412. Grinding in mortar (puruma)	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Miscellaneous Plants														
433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mutsa)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
436. Needles burst off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	•+
443a. Hooked pole (teama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
451a. Piled on ground, covered	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
462. Nuts ground on metate (mata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

●
N
W
A
● 232
252
251

N
W
A
[462]

N
W
A
[423
262]

[p.374]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ka	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															N W A
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	-	+	+	+	+	*-	*-	-	*-	-	+	-	+	-	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	*+	-	-	+	-	222
472. Boiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
475. Willow-cup sugar	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	252
476. White pine pitch as sugar	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	N W A
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	[261]
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
482. Pitch	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*Other Plants and Seeds Used															N W A
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*483a. Sunflower (akopö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	137
*483b. Sunflower (paoö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	202
483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	262
483d. Sunflower (kusiaka)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483e. Sunflower (kusipaoö)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.	
483f. Pickleweed (kukava)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.	
483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.	
483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanako)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	+	.	
483i. Saltbrush (atsü)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	-	+	+	+	.	
483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
483kk. Rabbit brush (sagodöbapi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	-	+	.	.	+	.	N W A
483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	-	+	.	
483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
483p. Wild tobacco (pahmu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[276]
483q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	.	.	
483r. Bulrush or tule (saiva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	
483s. Cattail (toe)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	
483t. Spike rush (pamasiva)	.	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	
483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	-	.	.	
483v. Sagebrush (sawava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	
483w. Saltbrush (sanka)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
483x. masai	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
483y. sawatsigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	
483z. hiavi	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
484. Jointfir (tuubupi)	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	
484a. saingwa	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	
484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	
484c. mata	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	*.	.	+	+	+	+	.	
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	*-	+	+	+	+	.	
484e. yapö	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
484f. taspagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	
484g. tuvua	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	.	.	
484h. töwasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	.	-	-	.	
484i. Indian potatoes (sanna?) (paga or haga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsö)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	
Gathering Implements															N W A
*485. Digging stick (pöö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
222

	Ta	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	W2	Ki	AK
487. Spatulate end	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
488a. Point both ends	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuasi)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
492. Conical seed basket (tünyuono)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsiba)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
500. Wooden	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
501. Shin bone	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

N
W
A
241

	Ta	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	W2	Ki	AK
508. Wild seeds irrigated	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+

Seed Storage

N
W
A
251

	Ta	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	W2	Ki	AK
521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
525. Storage in bark bag (bwisi)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
527. Storage in cave	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
528. Storage in rock crevasse	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

Food Preparation

N
W
A
317
N
W
A
251
252

	Ta	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	W2	Ki	AK
529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
530. Mineral from rocks	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
539. In house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
540. Pulverized	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
541. Mixed with seeds	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
542. Mixed with berries	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
543. Mixed with fat	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in paunch, gut	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
552. Pulverized	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
563a. Only fish bones ground	·	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
564. Ground bone cooked	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
565. Vertebrae ground	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
566. Joints ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
567. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 376]

Birds Eaten or Used

262
825
[114]
299. Ts: The bird list was obtained by showing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and recording the Paiute names for birds he recognized. Both English and Paiute names were used in questioning subsequent informants. "Red Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (1931, Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax sinuatus.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

● 222
337. To: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piüga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262
825
114
222
338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with saying "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred in Walker lake, ... Pyramid lake, and Soda lake, near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food," as well as at Mono Lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Küpa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these Lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. Kl: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). To: Some old-timers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DW said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the W [222 825] sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A [222 251]
356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262]
360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

W [262]
361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

365, 366. Wd: - (SC).

W [262]
367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262
369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[p.427 (A)]

Achomawi NSS

N
262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere
is it common.

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui
brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to
A trade. I think the distance would prohibit such
[222] a thing before the horse was introduced. AE:
Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W
of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good,
were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: +
N (Steward, 242).
[415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buck-
skin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward,
242).

N
222 467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although
423 among several of the bands there was said to have
been family ownership of plots, among none of
these was it true ownership. One family might
claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get
nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or
stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was
recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens
N Valley: + (Steward, 241).

252 468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).
262 470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made
of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and
eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made
the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N 471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at
251 Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as de-
222 scribed by Steward, 245. Tö: The seeds of the
262 tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important.
Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for
cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moc-
N casins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Still-
[438] water (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Hum-
boldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

137 Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were
222 used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and
were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogonum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sũnũ seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[p.428(8)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
137 Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc.
● 222 My informants insisted this was in pre-white
262 days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt.
[278] unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DW, a Pakwi, called the same plant suŋu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commõsigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N
484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua
[278] Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DW: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N
W
484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and
[278
226] chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavõ, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W
484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var.
[262] erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A
485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of
[222] digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörõ.

N
505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was in-
[249] creased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N
527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near
[342] Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to
N
have been inhabited during winter months, also
[764] used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N
529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal
[317] use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of
a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The res-
ervations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the
Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores
of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on
the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
621 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance move-
ments would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

791 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance move-
ment, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

787 756 night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[209] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

756 754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power [825] from the bear.

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and [755] then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient gets well.

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

754 755 683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

Eleven years after Work had been at Abert Lake John C. Frémont 131 discovered Summer Lake, which Frémont named. Frémont and his 487 party traveled south along the west shore of Summer Lake, following a well-beaten Indian trail which led to Chewaucan River and Chewaucan Marsh. At the marsh the ground appeared as though it had been ploughed; [222] Frémont concluded that Indians had been digging tubers, but what these were he could not discover.[112] In the vicinity of the marsh Frémont also found "frequent trails, and fresh tracks of Indians," but encountered no natives.[113] From Chewaucan Marsh Frémont went eastward to Abert Lake, which he also named. On the eastern, or Abert Rim side of the lake Frémont found a well beaten Indian trail, which he followed southward,[114] but again he met no Indians. It was not until he was well out of the Summer-Abert lakes region and south of the 42nd parallel that he actually encountered "some Snake Indians"; by accident. members of his party almost rode over two huts of Snakes, in Long or Surprise valleys, early in January, 1844.[115]

From 1845 onward the Silver-Summer lakes region may have been 648 visited in its northern half by loosely organized companies of Oregon pioneers in search of the "Blue Bucket Diggings," but of such parties we know little, except that their members were often attacked by "Indians."[116] "Some morning about daylight, twenty or thirty red blanketed men, with hideous yells would attack the sleeping men. Then would result a stampede....The few cool heads would make a stand, while the savages after getting away with the horses, would beat a retreat, leaving the gold hunters to straggle afoot back across the mountains [Cascades] to the [Willamette Valley] settlements."[117] Such attacks, however, seem to have been mostly north of the Silver-Summer lakes region.

In 1853 "the lost wagon train of 1853" went south of the lakes (Malheur and Harney lakes, or Silver and Summer lakes?) instead of north of them, trying to reach the Willamette Valley, and had "a very hard time of it."[118] In that same year, as we have already noted, Superintendent Joel Palmer sent Indian Agent J. M. Garrison to visit the Indians between the headwaters of the Willamette and Fort Boise, but Garrison failed in this mission.[119] The next year Capt. Jesse Walker, commanding a company of California volunteer militia, campaigned in Surprise

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115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
181 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan
[223] in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p.
212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol.
1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of
Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew,
Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's
detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks
on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs
on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of
Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered
there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15,
24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt.,
1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on
Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute
from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation
see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley
Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed
to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing,
114 immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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76. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89, Lindsay Applegate's first annual report to Huntington, dated Aug. 6, 1866. Applegate's reference to the "deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" may be the first instance of confusion of the Sprague River Klamath with the treaty-signing Yahuskin group. It will be recalled that the garrison at Ft. Klamath, in 1865, regarded "Moghenkaskit and his band ...as a sort of guardian of the border" and "depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes" (see fn. 55, above).

In attempting to make a treaty with Howlark, Applegate was acting on Huntington's orders (NA. BIA. OS. FP. Letter Book "H" pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865).

N 648

77. RCIA (CDS #1284) p. 89. Howlark declared himself for a continuation of the war and attempted to persuade Panaiña to leave the Reservation and join him.

000

78. Idem.

79. Idem.

80. Idem.

81. Idem. See also fn. 84, below.

82. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Sept. 30, 1866.

N K 648

83. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Oct. 31, 1866. By the fall of 1866, Klamath Reservation and Agency was becoming an established fact, although the Reservation had not as yet been surveyed (RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 24).

84. In his October 31, 1866 monthly report Lindsay Applegate informed Huntington: "There are no Snakes proper, on the reservation, but an attack by them or a raid by them for the purpose of stealing and plundering is daily and nightly expected by the Klamaths and Ya-hoos-kins...Fearing the Snakes the Yahooskins have moved down within a short distance of the Agency where most of the Indians have collected" (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D").

85. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Jan. 31, 1867; see also RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92.

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86. "Fearing the Snakes the Ya-hoos-kins until very lately refrained from going into their own country (Sprague River Valley) [parentheses Applegate's] to collect roots which are now found there in great quantities, but I have lately organized a force of Klamaths and Yahooskins consisting of about fifty men armed and about as many women. This

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force is now in the lower part of Sprague River Valley digging roots..." (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, May 31, 1867).

87. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 395; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 812. 000

88. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-652.

89. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868. "The chief object of the expedition was to visit the Snake Indian tribes, ascertain by personal inspection their precise condition, and take such measures as were in my power to secure a continuance of the peace recently inaugurated." N 648

90. See 2. 3.

91. RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) p. 516.

92. Idem; also RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) p. 715.

93. Idem.

94. "Ocheo's band" (now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute) was brought to Yainax from Camp Warner late in 1869, as the result of a council at Camp Harney in November, 1869 (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 531-532; Meacham, Wigwam, pp. 226ff.; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, Nov. 22, 1869). Part of Ocheo's group wintered on Klamath Reservation at Yainax until 1876-1877 (RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 612; Brimlowe, Bannock Indian War, p. 52), but after 1877 none of the group remained on the Reservation, as census figures for 1878 show.

95. See 2. 3.

96. NA. RCIA, OSFP. Letters Received 915, I. D. Applegate to Odeneal, April 30, 1872.

97. Ocheo's group; see fn. 94, above.

98. RCIA 1875 (CDS #1680) p. 618.

99. RCIA 1876 (CDS #1749) p. 218.

100. RCIA 1877 (CDS #1800) p. 300. This is from the Statistical Tables. The Agent's report of Aug. 22, 1877 reads, "Klamath Indians, 667, Modocs included in treaty, 93; Snakes included in Walpalla, or Yahooskin, 137" (ibid., p. 567). N K 161

101. RCIA 1878 (CDS #1850) p. 788.

102. RCIA 1880 (CDS #1859) p. 202; RCIA 1881 (CDS #2018) pp. 202-203, 343.

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141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received). N 648 N [511] [291]

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868). N 648 726

143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5. K N

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102). 101 222

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141). N 648

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon 1,").

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *hu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

221
early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[a]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[a] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

PLATE 4

342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled
brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular
ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary
[222 shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of
263] the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada.
The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1960). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and
[415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held
in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi. Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary
brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out
deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with
[415 dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made watertight
531 by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined
winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for
252] cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*,
pp. 117–22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the
222 water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians
Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of
251 worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the
shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

● 222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[43]

1. awago.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus* or *Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. hu-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. how-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agai.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

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[113] [43] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

.824 [285] sabI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to sa in composition; for example sa-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sikopi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] sano, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute sa-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] [262] [226] taEpi, greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are pealed and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (shotetoma) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, tsima, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwekobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

222 *Gathering seeds.*—By October various seeds were ripe. The seeds of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, were especially mentioned, also the seeds from the cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The fine down to which the cat-tail seeds are attached is spread upon the hard ground of a playa to the depth of 1 or 2 inches and over a space of 5 to 10 feet in diameter. It is then burned. More of the down is gradually added and continually stirred with sticks in order that it may be fully consumed. At the end of a hard day's labor there may be a sufficient quantity of seed upon the ground to fill several sacks. The method of removing the nut-like shell of these and other minute seeds is explained in discussing the various implements. It was a common thing to make porridge of several seed meals mixed. [262]

The one-leaf piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, a tree 8 to 25, or rarely 45, feet in height, is found on the range east of Carson sink at an elevation of over 1000 or 1500 feet above the valley. It formed so important a source of food that different bands of Northern Paiute held proprietary rights to certain tracts. Winnemucca claimed the particular mountain on which is located the mythical "Weasel trail," described later (p. 160; no. 1, pl. 68). Late in autumn the nuts were gathered and secreted in piles until opportunity presented itself for transportation. [423] [621]

285 252 *Basketry.*—The typical Northern Paiute hulling basket (*tema*) is a flat triangular tray, while other tribes, as well as the cave people, had circular hulling trays. A layer of seeds is placed upon such a basket, and pressure applied with a circular motion with a flat stone. This cracks the nut-like seed coverings, after which the kernel and shells are separated by winnowing. A hulling basket may be of coiled (pl. 30a)[1] or other weave, but it must be a tight weave, as it is used to hull small seeds. *Tema* baskets are also used in roasting seeds, either before or after hulling, by placing them on the basket with coals and shaking. For the hulling of pine nuts and the larger seeds a coarser basket called *yata* may be used.

285 A flat wicker *tema* basket, triangular in shape, 24 by 30 inches in size, was found several miles north of Lovelock cave, at the base of a cliff, at an elevation of some 300 feet above the level of the plain. It is undoubtedly a Northern Paiute specimen left on the spot in recent decades. It is made of willow, there being 32 warp rods and 40 courses of woof to 10 centimeters. The woof is single, unlike that in baskets found in the cave, and passes over two warps at a time, giving the basket a superficial appearance of being of diagonal twined weave.

[1] [See category 116, End Plate 30—Analyst]

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133

passes but a short distance from this feature in T29N/R15E.

17. Páhino mutsakian° ("Limestone Rock Point"). This point, which exhibits wave cut terraces from ancient Lake Lahontan, is but a short distance west of the Gibson ranch. Highway 395 passes several hundred yards south of this feature. It got its name from the rocks that are covered with calcarceous tufa from the waters of Lake Lahontan.

18. Atsa kaduhk^{w} ("Red Mountain"). Shaffer Peak and its integral domes and peaks, including the peak just north of Litchfield and the dome north of the Gibson ranch, are given this name. The latter, however, is said to have had a name of its own but is now forgotten. The south side of this dome, or rounded peak, was a favored area for gathering atsá seeds (probably Sophia sonnei) for food. (The Gibson ranch is about two miles east of Litchfield on Highway 395).

19. Tubisha muha ("Red Adobe Moon"). This feature was so named because of the color of the soil there and because this saddle-shaped pass resembles the moon when it is in its crescent phase. This low pass lies between Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley and is utilized by both Highway 395 and the Southern Pacific. The area is located in T30N/R15E.

20. Wahahu ("Hay Flow"). Smoke Creek was given this name because the aquatic plants appear to flow downstream as they undulate in the current. Smoke Creek rises on the east side of Shinn Peaks and flows into Nevada.

21. Pakwí patutspuh ("Fish Splash"). Rush Creek, about five miles south of Smoke Creek, was given this name because of the fish that jumped in this stream. As with Smoke Creek, Rush Creek also flows into Nevada.

22. Pasö katuduh ("Willow Set"; "set", in this sense, means "place", or that something is "situated"). This is the name for Mud Spring, or Bull Flat as it was later called.

23. Tubihsha nõna ("Red Adobe Set"). Mud Flat was given this name because of the color of the mud in this playa lake. The lake bottom is covered by a blanket of wild sunflowers after the water dries up each year. This made it a favorite place for the Wadátkuht to collect sunflower seeds. This feature is situated at the south side of Secret Valley and is bisected by Highway 395. [222]

Wadátkuht

22 185 735 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of 22 476 735 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, remarked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too, were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any [252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However, just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hearing, [262] the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower [264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 476 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost their food supply through no fault of their own, or those people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and children) were given more consideration than those whose hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] [262] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives. [251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with which they were familiar and from which they could gather quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it was not always possible for the author to make a full

Wadátkuht

identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they [226]
swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught
in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught [251]
the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and
allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of
such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were
gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl
eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey
Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in
Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^a (a plant
said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion")
and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they
occurred. The tops of padus^a, which had a white blossom and [262]
looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this
plant to grow was under willows along streams.

It was not until summer, however, that the products of
the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months.
The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds [252]
of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden
basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The
favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the
southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds,
however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly.
Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full
of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald
Mountain.

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^w). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute [101]
group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been
harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee
on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are
about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned [251]
buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

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222 winnowed to remove foreign material, then reduced to a flour with a mano and metate and made into a soup. Flour from the atsá seeds could be mixed with snow in the winter to make "ice cream".

In the summer currants, called pokóp^{shia} (Ribes sp.), were picked near Standish. In mid-summer red raspberries (Rubus sp.), called atsá pui, were gathered on Parker Creek and behind the 42 ranch (between Milford and Buntingville). Raspberries were eaten fresh or were dried for winter use.

About the beginning of August, before sunflower seeds were harvested, yapa and moa roots were dug in the Last Chance Creek area in Plumas County. Dixie Valley, in that area, is called Tasu^{p} ("Wild Game Spot") because it was a good place to hunt deer. Although the Wadátkuht went there to gather roots and presumably to hunt the region belonged to the Washo according to Gladys Mankins.

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The moa bulbs (unidentified), after having been unearthed with a digging stick and washed in a basket sieve, called yuhtá, were put in a large pile in a preheated pit lined with flat stones. Hot stones from a second fire were put on top of the bulbs and covered with oak leaves or fir branches. The oven was opened "after several days". The bulbs were removed from the oven and mashed with the hands and made into patties which were dried in the sun. A flat stick was used to turn the patties over as they dried.

222
[251]
[415]
[482]
The Joaquin family remained in the Last Chance area for about a month each summer gathering roots and drying the patties. At the end of this time the patties were loaded into conical burden baskets, called túma, and carried back to the main winter camp of Matá at Milford.

[252] While in the vicinity of Last Chance and Indian Creeks in Plumas County wild rhubarb was gathered at about the same time as yapa (possibly Carum sp.) and moa. This plant was eaten raw but was not too well liked because it was too sour.

[413]
[251]
[252]
Seeds of two kinds of sunflower, pákuh and akú, were gathered after wada was harvested. A seed beater, called tsiku, was used to knock off the heads of the sunflowers into a burden basket. The heads were taken home and beaten in order to knock out the seeds. The seeds were stored away to be hulled and ground as needed. The ground seeds produced a flour, called aki, which was eaten without further preparation, or could be cooked into a mush.

Wadátkuht

222 Seeds of the sunflower were parched oftentimes before
[251] being stored away. Parching, called sagá, is differentiated
from heating seeds somewhat like popcorn, an action termed
kutsí kwu'^{t}. Flour from these seeds was considered to be
more a dessert than a staple. An important place for gathering
sunflower seeds, particularly for the Secret Valley
Wadátkuht, was at Mud Flat (Tubisha nõna).

Chokecherries, called ta'shabüi ("deep-red chokecherry"),
were picked before going to gather pine nuts. The chokecherries
[252] were prepared by being pitted in a sieve. This was
done by rubbing the flesh of the chokecherries through the
interstices of the basket leaving the pits in the basket.
This action was called tudá kwid^{a}. The mashed chokecherries
were made into patties and dried for winter use. When the
patties were soaked in water "they become fresh, they taste
good". A favorite place for obtaining chokecherries was
along Parker Creek near the village of Kasawihnaid.

Elderberries, called hubú, were gathered at the village
of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, or at least in this vicinity, when they
became ripe in the late summer or early fall. The berries
[251] were gathered by picking the complete stem, or bunch, then
drying them that way. An energetic person might pick the
berries from the stem.

Late in the summer níshu (apparently Mormon crickets)
and kúa (locusts), when they occurred in great numbers, were
gathered for food. Good places to collect níshu were Secret
Valley and in the vicinity of Doyle. They were collected by
being scraped into a container with the hands, or by being
picked from sagebrush where they would be clustered in great
numbers. The gathering had to be done early in the morning
before the insects became warm and active. After they had
been gathered a pit would be dug into the ground and a fire
[252] built in the pit. When the fire was reduced to a quantity
of hot coals the insects were dumped into the pit and immediately
covered with earth. From time to time they were
[251] sampled to see if they were done. When cooked the insects
uncovered and removed from the pit and laid in the sun to get
perfectly dry. After drying they were sacked for future use.
Before they were eaten, however, their heads and legs were
[252] pulled off and discarded. The body was ground into a flour
with a mano and metate and eaten dry, or made into a soup
which had a flavor somewhat like that of dried deer meat.
(Deer meat also could be ground into a flour coarser than
[263] acorn flour and made into soup.) Flour made from níshu could
be salted to taste when eaten.

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

[224] Yapa and húnipui roots were dug in June or July in the vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and taanab^{i} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this [177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

[137] The most important single food plant product in the Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered in large enough quantities some years to last for two or [251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

Wadátkuht

222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh^{o}), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungíb pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 [223] Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohit), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa). Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (mõhü or tsagũd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidũ). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. 439 262 The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Wadatkuht

222 The buckberry (wiápui, "iron seed", Elaegnus sp.) was
enjoyed by the Wadátkuht but does not grow in their territory.
These berries had to be gotten to the east about Gerlach,
[439] Winnemucca and Yerington, Nevada. They were undoubtedly
obtained through trade and visits to the areas in which they
grew.

The buckberry was good to eat fresh and "tastes like
fresh huckleberries". One person held the limb of the bush
[251] down while another person beat the berries off into a basket.
The berries were dried and stored to be used as needed.
[252] Dried berries were boiled for about fifteen minutes and then
strained through a basket sieve to remove the seeds.

MATERIAL CULTURE

342 Habitations. The relatively permanent, or winter type of house was the conical, tule covered structure called káni. Susy Buster said that no excavation was made for this house but Kitty Joaquin and Gladys Mankins said that a pit about one foot deep was excavated. Whether a pit was dug or not was probably left up to individual preference. The ground plan was circular and ranged from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. Vertical willow poles (Susy Buster said juniper poles were used) were sunk into the ground in a circle, and at the rim of the excavation. The willow poles were about ten feet long and were lashed to a hoop of willow at their upper extremities. The willow hoop was about eighteen inches in diameter and served as the smoke hole. The vertical uprights standing in a circle had, of course, to be bent inward to be lashed to the ring. Several, Susy Buster said three, horizontal elements of willow encircled the vertical, or rather upright elements to give additional stability to the house. The structure was then covered with tule matting (not mentioned by Susy Buster) and then with shingled frames of tules. These frames, called síkwat, consisted of two poles about eighteen inches apart with tules attached to a depth (thickness) of about six inches. These frames of tules were put on in such a way that they provided a shingled pattern. That is to say, both the frames and the underlying tule mats were first attached to the bottom of the house. The dirt from the excavation was banked around the outside of the house and brush piled all around the house for a windbreak and fuel supply for the winter. A ditch also was dug around the house to carry away rain water and melting snow.

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Wadatkuht

[P. 90]

Plate 3

415
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a. Bedrock mortars at Matá

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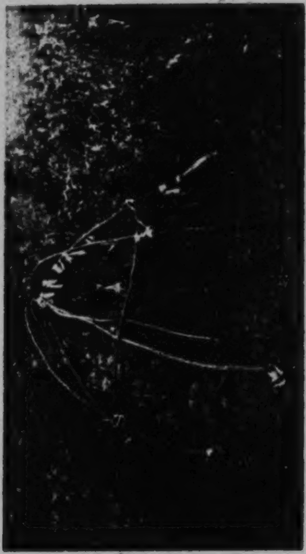
←
291
● 222
→



b. Frame of sweat house

c. Kukwaʔte or "Wind Hole"

d. Gathering atsátua

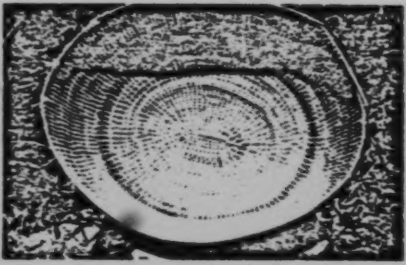
[End Plate 3]

Wadátkuht

Plate 5

285
[252]

a. Washing "wild potatoes" with yabis, "sieve"



b. Coiled basket

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● 222

c. Digging "wild potatoes"

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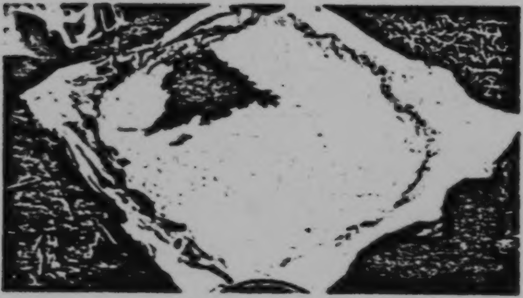

d. Leaching acorn flour

[End Plate 5]

Northern Paiute NR13

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 22 [177] At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than 161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a limiting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum food supply. 132 161 22 182

224 [226] [222] I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. [476] [571] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization because the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 22 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

Northern Paiute NR13

N
been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership with- 621
in a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for ante- N
lope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also con- [222]
centrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger group-
ings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as op-
posed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership [619]
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad dif-
ferentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476]
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against [628]
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

W

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evi-
dence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once ex-
tended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they repre- 197
sent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

Rats.—There are two kinds of edible rats, "tika"wa, which lives under the junipers, and ka'wa, which is smaller and lives under small rocks, but not in the hills." Neither was the object of much hunting, but if a person happened upon one he shot it. The smaller rat was sometimes taken by inserting a straight stick in the hole. The rat bit at this and was then pierced with a sharp thrust. If it died under the rocks, it was pulled forth by twisting the stick in the skin. 224

Birds.—On the whole, land birds figured slightly in Paiute diet. The sage hen (hu'dai')[41] seems to have been the only one of any importance and was the only bird snared. A green willow or service shoot, about ten feet in length, was set in the ground and bent over and a string with a noose on the far end was attached to the top of the shoot. The noose encircled a slight depression in the ground and was there secured by a little rock or a small pin. When the sage hen walked into the noose, the cord slipped from the pin, releasing the willow and holding the bird fast by the leg. A man might set five or six snares of this sort every morning. 223

Sage hens were also caught by the hunter from a small pit screened by a brush or willows. On such occasions a man did not shoot; he merely reached out and captured the birds. In spring the sage hens have a "dance," at which time they are thick and easy to catch. In the old days a hunter sometimes wore an antelope disguise[42] and approached the dancing birds undetected. He carried a short stick with which he knocked them on the head.

In spring when the birds came to water, a net, ten or fifteen feet across, was spread horizontally about a foot and a half above the ground. One side was pegged down and the other was supported at the corners by posts. A central post, slit at the top to receive the cord, prevented sagging. The hunter concealed himself in a pit near-by and when a large number of sage hens were beneath the net, he pulled a string, releasing the supporting posts. The net fell, securing the birds, their heads protruding upward through the meshes.

Grouse (kahū'^{u}) were hunted in the spring with bow and arrow. The prairie chicken (pako'g^{e}) was also shot with the bow. Other birds such as blackbird (pako'dop^{e}) and robin (su'gu) were undoubtedly eaten in the old days but seem to have been of slight importance. Valley quail are plentiful now but have been recently introduced. Informants could not remember mountain quail from the old days.

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[41] The generic term for bird is hu'dai'-pa'^{u}.

[42] SW. Probably this holds only for Oregon where the antelope disguise was more frequently used.

● 223 *Water fowl.*—Water fowl, however, such as ducks (pū'hū), geese (nagü't^{e}), and swans (wahi't^{s}), seem to have been hunted to a considerable extent. With the exception of the mud hen (sa'iyū), they were usually shot with the bow. Mud hens were gathered in fall by means of communal hunts headed by a "chief" who organized the expedition. Any man could become such a "chief" by gathering a party of eight to fifteen men. All of these proceeded to the lake where one of them embarked on a balsa while the others remained on shore. The man on the balsa frightened the birds, driving them toward shore into the hands of the waiting hunters. The birds were captured and dispatched with sticks; sometimes they were caught with dogs. Women occasionally assisted the men on shore.

Ducks were plentiful in the fall. The hunter concealed himself in a brush blind (pai''ka'ni) early in the morning. He shot four or five birds before startling the flock and continued shooting as they flew. According to Joshua, ducks were hunted with the aid of one or two decoys (pūhū-dua') to which long strings were attached. The duck skin was stuffed with grass and could be dried and used again. He stated that these decoys were used on Cowhead lake, but the remainder of informants, both from Bidwell and Beatty, claimed that they were not used locally. Ducks were never taken in nets.

Swans are said to have approached of their own accord and without the lure of a decoy. Young geese unable to fly were captured on the lake from a balsa. Geese were also frightened to shore where the women grabbed them and dispatched them with a stick. Eight or ten geese were taken this way. Occasionally an individual trapped geese the same way as sage hens. There was no "chief" for goose hunting because only a few persons participated. In the fall, Goose Lake valley was visited by birds which informants called cranes (wasa'). The small birds, large enough to be eaten but too small to fly, were shaken from the trees.

222 *Insects, etc.*—Crickets[48] (ni'su') were found in late summer on the slopes of hills. They were collected early in the morning when cold and bunched. Women usually did the gathering, but men occasionally assisted. The insects were picked up in the hand and dumped into the carrying basket. All informants explicitly denied beating the brush and driving the crickets into a pit. One informant stated that "the whites did that when they wanted to kill them." Grasshoppers

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[48] These were described as "two finger joints in length" and as "traveling in bunches." Professor Essig says they are almost certainly Mormon or Western crickets.

would drive the rabbits while four or five tended the net. They would catch thirty or forty a day. 000

Rabbits were cooked in hot ashes. Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes.[1]

The Paviotso had a communal antelope hunt with a pound into which 224 the game was driven (see section on "Ceremonies and Dances"), and also communal duck, mud-hen, and rabbit hunts. Individual hunters stalked deer and antelope; they approached the game wearing a deer or antelope head with the antlers and mimicking the actions of their victims. This practice is called *tü'hü-itaqod*. In this way it was possible to sneak up close to the herd, and shoot an animal, which was then pursued till it fell down. A strong man might also run down an antelope by tracking it for one or two days before shooting at all. The antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley.

The duck and mud-hen hunting was executed under the leadership 223 of two head men. One of them would tell the people: "On such and such 624 a day each of you shall make a tule boat for himself. The next day you shall make arrows. Two days after finishing the arrows you shall start." [501] They would go on the water about daylight, led by one of the head men. There might be as many as thirty or more men in the party. They were led through the tule rushes out on the lake, where ducks and mud-hens were sighted. The hens would try to hide. Then they would divide into two parties, each led by one head man, and surround the flocks. When they had shot enough, they went home. That evening the head men told them to come again in two days for another hunt. They would scare the ducks from a small into a big lake. Then the head man said, "In three days from now we will go close and camp there. We'll start early." Then they would go through the tule on their rafts, sometimes driving the ducks out on dry land. Ducks were also caught in nets (*pühü'kwana*) stretched between long sticks stuck into the water. From a Fallon informant I obtained two canvas-back decoys (Fig. 1), the birdskins of which were fitted over a tule body.

The rabbit-hunt is likewise under the direction of a special manager; 224 at Fallon the office is filled by Billy Springer. Usually the Paviotso of 624 Wadsworth, Walker River, and other localities are invited to participate. The visitors stay with the Fallon people as long as the hunt lasts—say

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 232.

224 ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November
624 is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but
nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the
[462] spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The
women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not
return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have
to go a considerable distance.

223

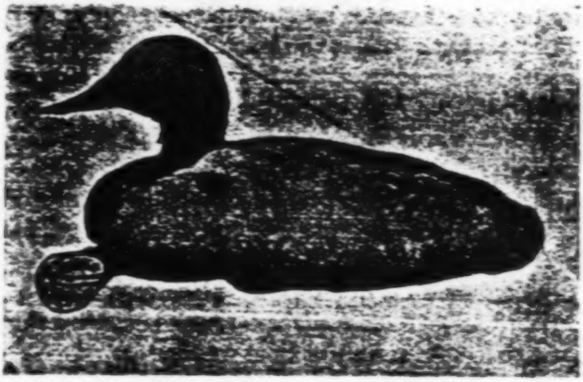

Fig. 1 (50.1-7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

224 In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and
624 all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

000 The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.[1]

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[1] Chamberlin, 335 f.

TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or 000 horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.[1] Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all.

Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets 482 171 carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes.

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wad- 000 ing, but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").[2]

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *posíntsaxàp*‘; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*ū*^{u}*s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *sėmpuv*‘ grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a 223 ● balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat 501 shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saib*‘, while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toib*‘ or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success-

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[1] Wilson, 104.
[2] Ibid., 30.

● 223 fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long
501 willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for
a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some
specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting
occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward
the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed
aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it
alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the
171 tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in
501 the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the
balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc,
Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal,
Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

000 The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the
basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as
found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of
any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's
"lattice" form.[1]

171 As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is
the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the
854 Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle
of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the
bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and
Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awning
000 above the infant's head. The largest cradle in the possession of the
Museum (specimen 50.1-6930) is of this category; it was bought from a
Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b)
shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle; to enhance the æsthetic effect
the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece
closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre
Ute[2] and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern
and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1-6930 also shows the
two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge
the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back
has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni
cradle,[3] which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

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[1] Handbook, vol I, 357.
[2] Mason, (a), 526.
[3] Lowie, 190.

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000
advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was
another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor
Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624
rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. 224
Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed 223
to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914),
succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking [628]
he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth,
or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1]
Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out.
Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your
breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning
but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director.
If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion,
descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some
"smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622
authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire
Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn
was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief
presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain
all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623]
> said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least
> is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided
> upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any
> quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the
> great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither subchief
> nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606
Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171
group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence
at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or
Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000
that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NTZO

Achomawi NSB

N W A 214 N [535]

● N W A ● [illegible]

N [228]

N W A 223

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Ta	Tf	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	[illegible]
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
99a. 3	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
99b. Not fixed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+

Snares, Nets, Etc.

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Ta	Tf	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	[illegible]
100. Spring-pole trap	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
101. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
102. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
104. Trap behind fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
107. For rodents	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
109. For small mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
110. For large mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
113. Noose in fence gap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
116. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
117. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
122. Tunnel shape	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
124. Willow frame	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
125. Sagebrush support	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
126. Edge staked down	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
127. Placed near water	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
129. Sagebrush wings	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
132. For sage hens	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
133. For doves	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
134. For ducks	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
136. Birds driven to net	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
137. With antelope disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
141. Basketry traps	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
144. 2-stick trigger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
145. Bait used	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
146. For large mammals	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
148. For birds generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
149. For grouse	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
153. For carnivores	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
154. For rabbits and rodents	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+

Booths and Blinds

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Ta	Tf	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	[illegible]
155. Brush enclosure	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
158. Conical house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
159. Pit	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
160. With brush fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
162. Concealment is near water	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 368]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV- STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N●
W
A
223●

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
163. Shooting birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
165. Bird caught from blind with bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
166. Off perch	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
167. Inclined pole as perch	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
173. Game killed from blind: sheep	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Antelope	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Tule blind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
Decoys and Disguises														
178. Live birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
180. Stuffed birds	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
180a. Stuffed heads on sticks	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
181. Moved with string	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
181a. Body of tule	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
182. Birdskin on head	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
183. Animal disguise	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
184. Head	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
185. Whole skin	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
186. Sticks as front legs	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
187. Paint arms	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
188. Deer	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
189. Antelope	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
190. Mountain sheep	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
191. Grass or brush disguise	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Waterfowl Hunting														
Communal drive:														
192. Balsas	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. Chief or director of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
194. Killing with club	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
194a. Killing with hands: break legs or neck	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194b. Rabbit net used	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
195. Mud hens taken	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
196. Young ducks taken	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
196a. Young geese taken	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
197. Hunter uses animal disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
198. For ducks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
200. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
Miscellaneous														
201. Rodents taken from burrow by twisting stick into skin	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
202. Cottontail taken	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. Rat taken	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
204. Chipmunk taken	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
205. Reptile hook	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
206. Game hung on belt by head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Rats poked out	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
208. Rats burned out	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
209. Smoking out of animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
210. Jack rabbit	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Cottontail	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Other rodents	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Fan to blow smoke in den	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Sage-hen wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
216. Crow wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
217. Hawk wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+

N
W
A
[224]

N
W
A
[224]

N
W
A
224

[p.369]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N W A 224

● N W A ● 223

N W A [231]

N W A 231

N W A 226

N [476]

N W A 226 227

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
218. Brush	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
221. Rodents flooded out	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
228. On net	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
229. Carries cage	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
239. Bird tied up	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
246. Rearing other birds	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
248. Chiefly dove	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
249. Young taken from nest	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Bird kept in cage	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Fishing														
252a. Trout caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
255. Fish nets	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
257. Rabbit net used	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
258. Wading in stream	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
258a. Ice pick	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
259. Net used through ice	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
259a. Communal fishing	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
260. Weir	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
262. Platform built over river	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 370]

Washo NT20

N 224

85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 253, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N [756 789]

91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

N [825]

Jack rabbit called kamö.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, Tö: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. Kü: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

● N 223

117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

W [223]

120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

N [825]

127. Tö: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. At: PS pointed out that sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot, etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[p. 423 (BD)]

●223 (Kelly, 89). Tg: In early times one disguised man was killed because another hunter mistook him for real antelope. Since then antelope disguise considered dangerous and so little used.

143. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254, fig. 2, which represents general Paiute "figure 4" type trigger for deadfall trap).

224 150. To: - (LP). At: The only pitfall used was a pit 8 or 10 inches deep dug just at the entrance to ground-hog hole. In the spring when the young rodents first came from their burrow they fell in pit. Being young and weak they could not get out.

Booths and Blinds

223 155. Ki: + (Kelly, 90).

156. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): "blinds resembling wickiups or summer houses."

159. To: - (LP).

160. Ki: + (Kelly 89): near "dance" ground.

165. Ki: Sage hens struck with stick as they "danced"; young geese and mud hens caught by hand (Kelly, 89-90). To: Sometimes disguised head and walked with body submerged until a duck's legs could be seized from under the water.

Decoys and Disguises

Decoy called tüa.

178-191. Wd: Checked with SC and BJ.

180. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255), although Steward cites Simpson's description of their use on Carson (p. 85) and Walker (p. 480) lakes. To: Lowie, 198, fig. 1, shows duck decoy from Fallon. Similar specimen obtained by me is now in U. C. Anthr. Museum. Ki: + from 1 informant, - from others (Kelly, 90). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 49, and pls. 33, 34). Tg: Informant had heard about stuffed-duck decoys and thought that old-time Tagö had used them, but he was not sure and had never seen one although he was about 80 years of age. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

181. Ki: Strings were attached to decoy (Kelly, 90).

183. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

183-187, 189. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Waterfowl Hunting

192. To: Fledglings and flightless adults of certain species hunted by numerous Indians in [501] tule balsas on Carson Lake (Curtis, 15, 73). Paviotso: Lowie, 197, describes 2 types of communal waterfowl hunting; both methods were similarly described by my informants. When mud hens were too fat to fly they were driven on to the land and caught when they tried to hide. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

194b. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255). Ts: Rabbit net was stretched near shore to keep birds from running too far. When net was not used fowl were allowed to hide under brush and

[p. 424(A)]

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).
203. Wd: - (SC).
204. Wd: - (SC).
209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso´ŏp°.

221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding
[177] out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of
[134 trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were
[133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
181 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chew-
●[223] aucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p.
212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol.
1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of
Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew,
Official Report, p. 10; NA, BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs
on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of
Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15,
24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt.,
1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on
Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute
from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation
see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley
Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the off-
114 ing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
649 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

[P. 5]
[P.4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 396 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

[182] Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Stillwater marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 [182] Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 283 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another [521 223 825] set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

Wadátkuht

222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh^{o}), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungíb pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 [223] Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohít), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa). Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (möhü or tsagüd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidü). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

Wadátkuht

Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men. 832

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, sinup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^a nu^u maiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return. 224 789

Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands. 223 789

Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov[1], of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier. 539 776

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual division of labor was not ironbound but was sufficiently definite to permit of a general statement. Hunting was the male province, but women often assisted, as in communal drives and the capture of water fowl. Traps for small game, such as sage hens, might be set by women or even girls. All equipment connected with the hunt, such as weapons, snowshoes, etc., was made by the men. In net making women might twist the bark fiber, but men did the netting "because they knew how." Such stone working as there was seems to have been done by the men, although with a domestic article as the metate, women seem occasionally to have taken a hand. 462

Women were concerned with the gathering of roots, seeds, berries, and insects, but men occasionally assisted with the last mentioned. Women also prepared food, hauled wood and water, and generally concerned themselves with domestic tasks. Men, home from the hunt, are said to have done the grinding when women were out gathering. Handicrafts such as basketry and sewing were preeminently a woman's work, although it is interesting to note that a man sewed his own quiver.

Both men and women cooperated in house building, the men setting the frame, the women applying the covering. Both sexes also worked hides, although the skinning, as an adjunct of hunting, was always done by the man. Both sexes likewise made rabbitskin blankets.

It is quite apparent that the sexual division of labor followed normal cleavage lines, men engaging in the violent and sporadic tasks, women in the less active and more continuous pursuits.

HUNTING

A boy was eight or nine years old when he started to hunt. After a light snowfall he was sent out to track cottontails and often would bring a few home. A small boy was also directed to hunt wildcats as they climbed in the junipers. He stood beneath the tree and shot the animal with his bow. 224 857

When a boy was ten or eleven years old he learned to hunt deer. He accompanied his father and was given instruction in technique. 224 868

If I have a boy I tell him how to hunt. I say, "Get up before daylight and go to the hill. Soon you will see deer. Get close and kill one. You must watch

224 the wind. Be sure to walk carefully. Watch the rocks where you step. Don't fall down or make a noise" (JB).

868 My father said, "You must watch the wind when you hunt so that the deer will not scent you. Track deer all day; then you will catch them easily. Get them early in the morning. Groundhog is the same way as deer. It is frightened if it scents you. But rabbits, ducks, and geese are not afraid; they do not smell" (CW).

A boy was not allowed to eat his first game, otherwise he would never become a successful hunter. When he had shot his first deer, or possibly antelope as an alternative, he was required to go through a set procedure, after which the food taboo was removed and good luck assured him. An account of this performance[17] follows:

A man told his son, "Do not eat the first deer you kill. Butcher it and hang it up. Then let me know. I will go with you to bring back the meat."

Once I killed a deer up above Lake City. My father came and asked me, "What kind of tree would you like? Service?" I said, "Yes, that is stout; maybe it will make me strong." Then we cut green service to make a ring. I pulled over the stem and my father cut it, saying "I cut you." Then he sliced thin meat from inside the ribs and twisted it around that service ring.

Then my father told me, "Take off your shirt, your moccasins. Take the beads from your neck." I took off my clothes. My father said "Step in this ring. Do it carefully; be sure not to touch it." I did that, and he lifted the ring up over my head and then let it down, and I stepped out. Then he put it over my head and pulled it down. I stood still. "Step over," he said. Every time my father did this he called all kinds of game—goose, swan, mountain sheep, bear, elk, and otter.

This is called nates'-[illegible],[18] and afterwards a person will always be lucky. My father said, "You can eat this meat tomorrow." I wanted some that day, but I waited (JB).

The account given by Pindy was in substantial agreement with the foregoing but differed slightly in detail. A willow was used in lieu of service, and the meat was strewn on the ground and the youth required to step over it. At the conclusion of the performance, the boy was allowed to eat any part of the animal he wished. Although he had previously killed small game, such as rabbits, he had not been allowed to eat them.

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777 Success in hunting was a matter of luck and skill, but the former was not attributed to any particular factor. Continence, which seems to be a widespread requisite, was reported by one informant[19] but denied by others.[20] According to Pindy:

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[17] Cf. Hopkins, 50.

[18] I am not sure if this term applies to the whole performance, or to the ring, or to both. It is probably the first, as Pindy said, "It is the same way they call skinning an animal," a neat case of imitative magic.

[19] DB.

[20] NO, JB, P.

I'm a deer hunter and I don't know any way to bring luck. Sometimes people dreamed of killing game and it brought good luck. I was a good hunter long ago when my eyes were strong, but I never had such a dream.

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Charms were not ordinarily carried, but according to Daisy, "Sometimes they cut little things (fetlocks) from the legs of deer and carry them along. The deer can smell them a long way off and they come." In the old days a deer hunter took a sweat bath and prayed to the sun at dawn.[21] Nowadays persons who have hunted several days without success sometimes resort to the sweat-lodge.

ANIMAL FOODS

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Deer (dühü'te) and antelope (dü'na') were the two chief larger game animals. One informant had heard of buffalo (pagu'tsᵉ),[22] which he said were hunted on the other side of Eagleville. All informants knew of mountain sheep (koipᵃ), although none had ever seen one. They were not found in Surprise but occurred beyond Plush as well as this side of Gerlach, Nevada. The hunter sighted his quarry and attempted to sneak close enough to shoot. He occasionally wore an antelope disguise, but this seems not to have been usual.

Deer.—Deer were hunted the year round. They were sometimes stalked, but this method was used principally in the north, around Adel and Plush, and but rarely in Surprise. The hunter wore an antelope head with ears and horns attached, but no body disguise.

One or two men might organize a deer hunt and on the following day the party would go forth, eight or ten strong. When five or six animals were located in the brush, two men would go in and frighten them; the others shooting as the deer ran past. The two or three brought down were skinned and butchered on the spot. The hide went to the one whose arrow had killed the deer; the head and back sinews went to the "boss"; the meat was divided evenly. It was cut with a six-inch obsidian knife which was carried about the waist in the same sack with fire sticks.

Deer were never taken in nets but were sometimes captured in pitfalls.[23] A hole, five or six feet in width and the same in depth,

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[21] This point is of some interest as Dr. Lowie tells me that the Washo claim to use the sweat-lodge only in connection with deer hunting. Among the Wishram (Spier and Sapir, 180) men sweated preliminary to a hunt. The Navaho myth of the Mountain Chant (Matthews, 389–390) associates sweating with success in the chase.

[22] From pa, water. These Paiute have the belief that the buffalo comes from the water.

[23] The Achomawi are said to employ this technique.

● 224 was dug on a deer trail and covered with small sticks, pine needles, etc. The hunter came there at night and watched. Sometimes he caught two deer this way. The animals were not shot but were dispatched by a sharp jab with a stick. The pitfall method was "a little too hard" because of the time and labor involved in digging and was infrequently employed. It was never used for antelope.

The only means of taking deer wholesale was by firing. This method was called kupi't^{e} and was practiced in late summer, about the middle of August. When deer were sighted on a hill, a group of hunters hastened there, some on either slope of the mountain. They started fires, working them around until the band was completely encircled. This accomplished, the fires were brought closer, constricting the circle until the animals were bunched on the crest of the hill where they could be shot conveniently. Deer firing was ordinarily executed without undue noise, but if a bear were accidentally caught in the fire, a great hue and cry was set up to warn the others and to inform them in which direction the animal was headed. Upon hearing the shouts, someone would sneak into the circle and conceal himself until he had opportunity to let fly. Deer were never driven into a corral "because they lived in the mountains and not in the open country."

Joshua Brown gave an account of deer hunting which is of particular interest because it involves individual hunting rights:

> Deer have a road; they go south for winter. My father had a place on a rock butte at the head of Buck canyon. He made a brush fence running downhill from each side of the butte where he left an open place like a gateway. He hid in a hole about ten feet from the road, and as the deer came through the gate, he shot. He killed one every night.
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> One night my brother and I went there. My brother said I was too young to go, but I went anyway. I had a little bow and arrow. I went to sleep. When the deer came by my brother woke me and told me to keep still. He shot with a big bow which he held horizontally so the animals wouldn't see it.
>
> When my father went to Yainax he told his friend Oshiho he could use the place. Nobody else could go. When my father died anybody could use it.

Antelope.—Antelope were stalked, but, as with deer, this was more frequently practiced in Warner than in Surprise. The hunter wore an antelope head with the small horns attached and also a hide body disguise. The latter was not necessary for deer stalking, but was required for the more alert antelope. The hunter carried white paint in a sack, and when he approached the animals he smeared it on his face and arms and on his body and legs below the hide covering. He carried a stick about the length of the antelope's leg as an aid in walking and gradually got within shooting range by imitating the movements of the animal, pawing the ground and simulating grazing in order to make the deception realistic. The antelope disguise was called düma'-dma. 224 ●

In the fall of the year four or five persons cooperated in hunting antelope. One or two would hide and the remaining members of the party would go far around, approaching the herd from the opposite direction and frightening them toward the concealed marksmen.

According to Dr. Sam, a herd might start for the rim, pursued by the hunter. "Any kind of game" might be so caught, even elk (pa'dühüte; pa, water, dühü'te, deer).[34] As Gidü'tikad[a] informants denied driving game over a cut bank, this statement may hold only for the Silver lake band.

In winter, when antelope ran in large herds, they were driven into 224
brush corrals and slaughtered in great numbers. This is the so-called 787
"antelope charming," several accounts of which follow. 622

Two men here and one in Warner could charm antelope. Charlie Washo's father could drive them into the corral like cattle.

One or two men were bosses, just as in the rabbit hunt. The headman (boss) sent one or two young fellows to look around for a band of antelope. In the evening they said, "We found one band." Then the boss called everyone; 15 or 20 camps came, maybe 100 men. In the evening that headman talked like a doctor, not like a ~~common~~ man: "We are going to have a song. We'll make them turn here." They had singing.

The doctor (headman) took a stick about so long,[35] and a string of horse hair (or other string before we got horses; maybe a deer string), and twisted this around the stick. Then he took off his coat, put it on a hide, and folded it into a bundle about four feet long like a body. He tied it tight lengthwise with a rope. Then he rubbed the rope with his stick, and made a noise on the string like a violin.

The boss faced the antelope; the young men faced him, and the other men sat around the fire in a circle, inside a brush fence. They sang maybe ten songs. They danced and made a noise like antelope.

The doctor (headman) stood up. The young men touched all the dancers and knocked them down. Then the boss sat down. All was quiet.

Soon there was talking, "The antelope come. Get up, boys. What do we know? The antelope are looking this way. They will come tomorrow. They say, 'If you do no wrong we shall come. You boys and girls, mind well.' "

We had a circular brush corral, two miles [*sic*] around, with an opening each side of which everybody lined up in a long wing. Four or five men went after the antelope. The boss stayed at the corral and directed the people: "The antelope are coming. Watch out. All steady; all quiet."

As the antelope galloped between the wings into the corral they never were frightened. If angry they would escape through a wing. The doctor stood

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[34] Which seem to have been extremely rare.

[35] About 18 inches.

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in the center of the corral with a married woman [not his wife], who knelt. He told her, "Don't move. The antelope will come to you. Don't be frightened." She kept still.

We camped in a circle and before sundown built campfires. The headman came to me and said, "Steady, take off your cap and scare them for about three hours until the sun is over there [indicating mid-afternoon]."

One man scared them around inside the corral until the headman said, "That's enough. They are tired already. When the headman said this, all the men tried to get one antelope apiece. The first man who shot a big buck put it in the center where the woman knelt (JB).

Just one man can charm antelope; I don't know how he learns. He is like a doctor. He sits with everyone in the circle and sings, making music on a doe hide (deer or antelope) that is stuffed with clothes and tied with string. If the people know how, they help him sing. A plain stick (unnamed) is wrapped with any kind of braid, and the charmer works it back and forth on the bundle. After a long time he says, "They haven't looked at us yet." Finally he says, "The deer are coming," and falls senseless on his drum and visions an antelope. Finally he recovers, sits up, says: "We are sure to kill antelope. I see them coming inside the corral. I see them lying there."

They have already placed sagebrush, root ends up, in a big circle, about as far as from here to camp.[26] There were many people so it didn't take long to pile the brush. Men and women line up in wings by an opening in the circle, the women nearest the corral, the men at the outer ends.

Then the fastest runner goes out, returning when he has sighted a herd of antelope. Then the men go out in 2 parties and circle the herd and drive them in. They close the opening of the corral and stand between the piles of sagebrush that form the corral. If an animal starts their way, they head him back.

The fastest runner chases the antelope around in the corral until they are tired and frightened, when he kills a doe and throws it on top of a sagebrush pile in the center, and then a buck. They eat these two first and everybody gets a share. Then the headman tells his people it is their turn to shoot. They shoot from the circle as the animals approach. A wife stands with each man and drags away his kill. A man (charmer or fastest runner?) stands in the center with a woman (maybe his wife), who takes the animals he kills.

When they stop for the night, the fastest runner guards the antelope. They set fire to that sagebrush[27] to frighten the animals.

The headman tells them to go ahead and kill. There are so many animals that they don't have to divide them; they never kill all of them, some escaping. Almost everyone kills one. Sometimes an antelope becomes so tired that it falls down, and a woman can kill it. A woman might even kill two or three.

The headman shoots too; he takes most of the buck horns, but not the does'. They put the horns on a pile of sagebrush in the middle of the camp circle. All the heads are turned toward the charmer's camp. He wants everyone to come. They cook the heads under the ashes and all eat, each person perhaps getting one head.

They butcher the antelope and dry the meat on sagebrush bushes. Coyotes and wolves never bother it.

When there is no sagebrush for a corral, they braid sagebrush bark and make a fence by tying it to posts about four feet tall. Loose strands of bark

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[26] About a half-mile.

[27] These seem to be the only circumstances under which antelope are fired.

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hung down the poles and when the antelope are in the corral the people pull the bundle, and the horn sounds were.

I have done this kind of antelope hunting. In winter the antelope are in big herds and that's the time to kill them. This kind of hunt is called [illegible]. They tell everybody to come.

It takes just one day to charm antelope (P).[28]

In the old days they made a sagebrush corral and danced around it. They did not smoke. The [illegible] woman knocked over each man in imitation of an antelope. As each fell, he said, "[illegible]."

Early in the morning when all the antelope were bunched, the people went out in two parties and drove them into the corral.

The antelope boss was a doctor. He wore an antelope head with horns and stayed behind in a corner of the corral.

Then the people took off their clothes, put them in a big bundle, and tied it with cord from the neck of an antelope. Then the doctor took a good straight (unnotched) stick and made music on that bundle.[29]

The first antelope killed was given to the boss. Sometimes two hundred were killed and divided evenly among all. If one person got more than his share the people would never be able to catch antelope again (TA).

When they were charming antelope, everybody stood up. The doctor made the antelope act as if they were poisoned. They got tired and ran slowly. Then the boss told one man to chase them. Every now and then the man would call out. Soon he caught one buck and threw it on a stack of brush, then another and threw it on top of the first. Then everybody went after them.

The boss got all the heads. They cooked them in the ground, covered with grass and dirt and with a fire on top. Then all the people came and ate them (BA).

Long ago many people were starving. My great-uncle told them to come to him and he would charm antelope for them. Many came. He made a big circle with piles of sagebrush and told a man and woman to stand at each pile of sagebrush. He said not to drop any clothing, or the antelope would run through the hole.

He went out alone on foot and drove in forty or fifty antelope. Then they had plenty to cook (DB).

One way to get antelope is to have a doctor do it. A doctor sent two men to sight antelope. When they returned he had the people stack sagebrush in piles (wa'Tia) to form a great corral, leaving a wide gap for an entrance.

Then the doctor asked all the people to come. They put out the fires and gathered. The doctor made his things into a bundle and tied it with sagebrush-bark twine. He took a notched stick[30] and made music.

He picked out ten men to dance and these ran around making noises like an antelope. The doctor sang, "The antelope are coming; I scent them coming through the canyon." Then he fainted, falling to the ground, his body hot and smoking. Finally he got up and said, "We have two, a doe and a fawn."

Next morning everybody went to the corral and surrounded the antelope. They made noises like wolves, and the antelope came into the corral. One man was selected who walked up and caught a doe and a fawn which were called "first luck," and divided among everyone.

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[28] But the killing evidently continues into the second day.

[29] In other accounts the music comes before the animals are driven into the corral and this is probably a slip in sequence.

[30] Dr. Sam here reports the notched stick for the Silver Lake band, but it was explicitly denied by GidI'tikadü informants.

224 They kept these antelope there all night. Nobody had to watch them. Just this man who caught the doe and the fawn killed the antelope for the people. It
622 took him two days.

789 Sometimes they stretched a long rope of sagebrush around like a corral. To it they tied bunches of sagebrush which shook and frightened the animals as they moved about.

Afterward they had a big feast. The doctor got most of the heads. They roasted them in the ground. The hides were divided. The doctor gathered all the horns which he strung and wore about his neck. A doctor never hunted, but he went where they killed the game. He had just certain medicine for game (SW).

These several accounts have been included because, though two or three are obviously cursory, each contributes something novel in the way of detail and, at the same time, confirms the general features of the procedure. It is of some interest that the notched stick figures only in the account of Dr. Sam; Gidü'tikad^{a} informants vigorously denied its use.[31] None had heard of charming horses[32] and the suggestion was received with great amusement. Now and then a certain person could charm bears. He could make a bear "so tame that it would come right up to him." Deer were not charmed "because they aren't in bands and aren't in open country," not, apparently, because of any innate incapacity.

224 *Bear.*—Pindy gave names for three kinds of bear: padu'a^{a}, grizzly oha'-paiyuna'^{a} (oha', yellow, tan)) brown bear;[33] toka'-kwatea'^{a}, black bear. Pa'hwa', father's sister, is a term applied to any kind of bear; sona'^{a} is also bear, perhaps only grizzly.

Bears were plentiful in Warner range and Fandango pass (Padu'a'-agan) derives its native name from that fact. In the old days, before the Paiute had horses, they shot bears from ambush. Early in the morning one or two hunters would conceal themselves in thick brush near a plot from which roots had been dug and shoot the bear when it came in search of roots. It was skinned and butchered; the hide was taken directly to camp and the meat left for a subsequent trip. In more recent times bears were hunted from horseback. The hunter went forth early in the morning carrying a spear in addition to his bow.

In winter several men would hunt bear. They tracked the animal to its hole into which they thrust a dry tree. The hunters then stood to one side, calling, and shouting.[34] Eventually the bear emerged, slowly, its progress impeded by the limbs of the tree. The hunters aimed at the jaw; two or three arrows were required to kill. There was no address of apology or other trait of the complex discussed by Hallowell; but the bear is said to pound on the ground and ask the earth if anyone is talking about it or ridiculing it. The earth gives such information, and the bear takes revenge on the offending individual.

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[31] See section on Musical Instruments for further discussion.

[32] Which Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, 57, claimed her brother could do.

[33] De Angulo, 229, gives oha'yo'aa as grizzly bear.

[34] Hallowell, 53, discusses the matter of address. Informants claim that they do not address a statement to the animal but only shout to attract its attention.

Wildcat.—Wildcat (duhu'^{u}) was hunted with the bow. The flesh was considered edible and the hide highly prized. Small boys were sent out to shoot wildcats with bow and arrow. They stood beneath a juniper and shot the animal as it climbed in the tree.

Groundhog.—Groundhog (gidü') was hunted in summer. In the old days it was run down by the native dog. If it were caught before reaching its hole, the dog would hold it until the hunter arrived; but if he were too slow, the dog would kill the animal. If the groundhog were run to its hole, it was pulled forth with a stick, hooked according to one informant, straight according to others. It was given a sharp crack on the jaw and carried to camp in a bag slung on the hunter's back. Groundhog meat remains a fairly important item in Paiute diet even today.

Minor game animals.—Badger (hu˘na) was not hunted, but if a person happened upon one he shot it. Raccoon (pata'kai'^{t}) was found along the creek and shot with the bow. Porcupine (sagwü'd^{a}) was hunted in the junipers in summer. Sometimes at night a hunter attracted the animal by bearing a torch of juniper or sagebrush. Otter (patsa'gu) was shot with the bow. Both flesh and pelt were utilized. Skunks (podü'ts^{a}) were never hunted according to Pindy, but Minnie Anderson said that they were hunted at night. They were found in caves and smoked, because when death resulted this way there was no odor. They were extracted by twisting a stick in the skin and pulling on it. The hide was used and, according to Minnie, the flesh as well.

Squirrels.—Ground squirrels (kügwü'), *Citellus douglasii*,[35] were hunted with the dog. They were run beneath a rock and pulled out by twisting a straight stick in the skin. Charlie Washo said that they were hunted particularly in midsummer this side of Fandango.

Smaller squirrels (sipi'c^{i}), *C. oregonus*, were caught in great numbers. They were captured in traps which from description seem iden-

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[35] This, as well as the identification following, is through the kindness of Mr. A. Hupe of the United States Biological Survey.

● 224 tical with the small one figured in Loud and Harrington.[36] A person might set such traps at twenty-five holes; often he set one either side of the hole. "Anybody could trap squirrels this way—a man, a woman, or even a girl."[37] Nowadays these squirrels[38] are shot with a gun, and a white family at Cedarville makes a practice of hunting them Sunday mornings and peddling them to the Indians for five cents apiece.

Rabbits.—In the fall and continuing into January, jackrabbits (kamu') were taken in communal drives. Nets (wa'na) about two feet in height and with meshes "just big enough for a rabbit's head" were strung in a straight line[39] perhaps four hundred feet long. There were at least two or three such nets, and their owners were the headmen for the drive. These men stood at the nets, a man at each intersection. Rabbits were driven in, one or two at a time. When a plot was exhausted they shifted the nets and drove in a different direction. Women stood by and watched; they also helped drive the animals into the net. Girls might stand at the net and twist the necks of entangled animals or kill them by pressing with the finger upon the soft spot on the head. Rabbits were carried by thrusting the head under the hunter's belt and allowing the body to dangle.

Joshua stated that one rabbit went to each participant, the remainder to the headmen. Pindy and Daisy maintained that the rabbits were divided evenly except in cases of unusual success, in which event the headmen received more than the others. Four or five camps might join in such a hunt. At least ten men participated and it is said that in the fall twenty or thirty might go to the brush flats near Lake City to hunt rabbits. On such excursions the women stayed home.

Rabbits were also tracked by dogs in the snow and shot with the bow. None of my informants had ever heard of the rabbit stick.[40] Both jacks and cottontails (dabu') were snared by catching their heads in a noose set on the trail. Cottontails were taken along the creeks, under the willows. Their flesh was preferable to that of the jacks; "they have good white meat."

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[36] Fig. 25.

[37] Strangely enough, Pindy denied that squirrels were trapped.

[38] Other members of the squirrel family were doubtless eaten, as, for example, sawa'', described as a little larger than a chipmunk and having yellow and black stripes.

[39] Pindy alone asserted that the nets were placed in a semicircle.

[40] I am positive of this point. Cf. de Angulo and Freeland, 320.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

Rats.—There are two kinds of edible rats, "tika"wa, which lives under the junipers, and ka"wa, which is smaller and lives under small rocks, but not in the hills." Neither was the object of much hunting, but if a person happened upon one he shot it. The smaller rat was sometimes taken by inserting a straight stick in the hole. The rat bit at this and was then pierced with a sharp thrust. If it died under the rocks, it was pulled forth by twisting the stick in the skin. 224

Birds.—On the whole, land birds figured slightly in Paiute diet. The sage hen (hu'dai')[41] seems to have been the only one of any importance and was the only bird snared. A green willow or service shoot, about ten feet in length, was set in the ground and bent over and a string with a noose on the far end was attached to the top of the shoot. The noose encircled a slight depression in the ground and was there secured by a little rock or a small pin. When the sage hen walked into the noose, the cord slipped from the pin, releasing the willow and holding the bird fast by the leg. A man might set five or six snares of this sort every morning. 223

Sage hens were also caught by the hunter from a small pit screened by a brush or willows. On such occasions a man did not shoot; he merely reached out and captured the birds. In spring the sage hens have a "dance," at which time they are thick and easy to catch. In the old days a hunter sometimes wore an antelope disguise[42] and approached the dancing birds undetected. He carried a short stick with which he knocked them on the head.

In spring when the birds came to water, a net, ten or fifteen feet across, was spread horizontally about a foot and a half above the ground. One side was pegged down and the other was supported at the corners by posts. A central post, slit at the top to receive the cord, prevented sagging. The hunter concealed himself in a pit near-by and when a large number of sage hens were beneath the net, he pulled a string, releasing the supporting posts. The net fell, securing the birds, their heads protruding upward through the meshes.

Grouse (kahü'ᵃ) were hunted in the spring with bow and arrow. The prairie chicken (pako'gᵉ) was also shot with the bow. Other birds such as blackbird (pako'dopᵉ) and robin (su'gu) were undoubtedly eaten in the old days but seem to have been of slight importance. Valley quail are plentiful now but have been recently introduced. Informants could not remember mountain quail from the old days.

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[41] The generic term for bird is hu'dai'-pa'ᵃ.

[42] SW. Probably this holds only for Oregon where the antelope disguise was more frequently used.

222 (hu· 'adada'^{a})[44] were never eaten but an unidentified insect similar to the grasshopper was considered edible. Ants (a· 'ni) were gathered early in the morning when they were bunched on the top of the hill. Ant eggs (a· 'ninoho) were gathered. "Worms" or larvae of some sort, probably caterpillars[45] (called biū' 'gū), were gathered early in the morning. They did not come every year and nowadays are never found in this vicinity. My interpreter saw some this summer near Gerlach, Nevada.

262 224 Animals not eaten. -- Coyote (iza''^{a}) was hunted with the bow but was not taken in a deadfall. Gidū´tikad^{ū} claim not to have eaten the flesh because it tasted badly, but they made use of the pelt. Wolf (i· ''sha) is said by Minnie to have an unpleasant odor. With exceptions of Piudy, all informants agreed that it was never eaten. He claimed that is was hunted with the bow and that the flesh was roasted on the coals.

Informants also denied eating fox (wañi'^{i}), dog (soko´puku),[46] lizard (kwida´mugus; kwida,´ excrement), frog (waha´tsa), snake (dogo`kw^{a}), and skunk (poñi´tc^{ū}). They stated that the Achomawi ate coyotes and that tribes to the east ate snakes and dogs. Several declared skunks inedible, but as I obtained an account of its preparation, I presume it was eaten by some; the Burns Paiute are said to have eaten it. Mice (puña´^{i}z) were declared too small to eat. Magpies (kwida`kagai^{i}; kwida,´ excrement; kagai^{i} from kai, kai, kai, the bird's call) and eagles (kwiña´ '^{a}) were not eaten.

252 Preparation of animal foods.-- Meat was prepared by stone boiling or by roasting in the pit oven (dū´avida) or on the coals. It was sometimes pounded or given other sorts of special treatment to be noted below.

Deer flesh was usually boiled in a willow basket. The meat was added when the water was simmering and it was "boiled rare, not like white people boil meat." The Gidū´tikad^{ū} did not cook food in a paunch or hide sack, but when a person was traveling in winter and no water was available, he dug a hole and lined it with a deer hide. He then heaped snow on the skin and added hot stones. Such melted snow was called pa'sa.´

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[44] This term is said to be onomatopoeic.

[45] They are described as black with yellow stripes and as about four inches in length.

[46] Two informants had heard of eating dogs in time of great scarcity, but the others vehemently denied it. One gets the impression that dogs were much too scarce to have been of any dietary significance.

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Arrow poison.—Pindy knew only one kind of arrow poison. It was called watsi' and was used for war and for big game, including deer. It took immediate effect, producing swelling, but not affecting the edibility of the meat.

> Our poison is made from the deer's aiwatsi', black looking stuff on the intestines which looks like the liver[169] but is smaller.[170] Cook it in the ashes and let it dry. It smells bad. Stick the arrowpoint in and let it dry, or rub on the poison with the finger. There is no cure, so you have to be careful, especially if your finger is cut.

Joshua claimed that poisoned arrows were kept apart from others; Pindy, that segregation was unnecessary as the dry poison did not rub off.

Joshua enumerated three kinds of poison (ta'iyūp^a) for arrows. A person might prepare poison from the spleen (?); he might let a rattlesnake bite the point; or he might insert the arrow in a root of wild parsnip so that it became coated with the juice. Joshua added that poison was not used much for game but principally when one "wanted to kill a man."

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Quiver.—Arrows were carried in a quiver (hu·gu'"na) of otter, raccoon, lynx, coyote, or deer skin. It was not made on a framework, but the hide was stretched while wet and allowed to harden in the desired shape. It is significant that a man always made his quiver in spite of the needlework involved. Pindy gave the following directions:

> Fold the hide lengthwise with the head part down, because that is the small end. Sew up the side and across the bottom (nose). Leave the tail on and let it roll around in the back. Tie one end of the pack string to the fore legs and the other to the hind legs.
>
> This string goes over the right shoulder. Wear the quiver on your back when traveling. Pull it to the left side of your chest to shoot, or, if lefthanded, the other way around.
>
> The quiver can be of untanned deer hide, with the hair on. Cut the hide so the quiver will flare from the bottom; it is straight across the top and slanting on the bottom. You can put fringe on the bottom and the side.

A person carried only one quiver. This contained his bow and upward of ten arrows, although Tom Anderson estimated its capacity at forty. When not in use, the quiver hung inside the house.

Spear.—The spear was apparently unknown in the old days, although Joshua thought otherwise. The spear-thrower was certainly unknown; "They never had anything like that even far back. The old people never even talked about it."

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[169] The interpreter (NH) was positive of this.

[170] Probably the spleen.

231 ● 224 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 492 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated. The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago"o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^a; koso', fire; yakwi'n^a, hold in the hand ?)) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans 171
did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on [241]
vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute [262]
south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1]
His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception [224]
of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of
large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not
disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the
tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one 000
of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is
thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appolas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

HUNTING AND FISHING.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hüwa, a Tö'+intesÀ+u seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

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[1] Chamberlin, 335.

[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

would drive the rabbits while four or five tended the net. They would 000
catch thirty or forty a day.

Rabbits were cooked in hot ashes. Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes.[1]

The Paviotso had a communal antelope hunt with a pound into which 224
the game was driven (see section on "Ceremonies and Dances"), and also communal duck, mud-hen, and rabbit hunts. Individual hunters stalked deer and antelope; they approached the game wearing a deer or antelope head with the antlers and mimicking the actions of their victims. This practice is called *tū'hū-ilaqwd*. In this way it was possible to sneak up close to the herd, and shoot an animal, which was then pursued till it fell down. A strong man might also run down an antelope by tracking it for one or two days before shooting at all. The antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley.

The duck and mud-hen hunting was executed under the leadership 223
of two head men. One of them would tell the people: "On such and such 624
a day each of you shall make a tule boat for himself. The next day you
shall make arrows. Two days after finishing the arrows you shall start." [501]
They would go on the water about daylight, led by one of the head men. There might be as many as thirty or more men in the party. They were led through the tule rushes out on the lake, where ducks and mud-hens were sighted. The hens would try to hide. Then they would divide into two parties, each led by one head man, and surround the flocks. When they had shot enough, they went home. That evening the head men told them to come again in two days for another hunt. They would scare the ducks from a small into a big lake. Then the head man said, "In three days from now we will go close and camp there. We'll start early." Then they would go through the tule on their rafts, sometimes driving the ducks out on dry land. Ducks were also caught in nets (*pühū'kwana*) stretched between long sticks stuck into the water. From a Fallon informant I obtained two canvas-back decoys (Fig. 1), the birdskins of which were fitted over a tule body.

The rabbit-hunt is likewise under the direction of a special manager; 224
at Fallon the office is filled by Billy Springer. Usually the Paviotso of 624
Wadsworth, Walker River, and other localities are invited to participate. The visitors stay with the Fallon people as long as the hunt lasts—say

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 252.

224 624 [462] ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have to go a considerable distance.

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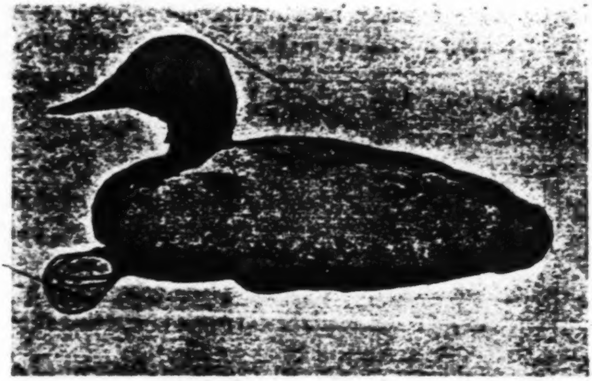

Fig. 1 (50.1–7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

224 624 In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

000 The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.[1]

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[1] Chamberlin, 335 f.

252 (*wiowdn*^{u}) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown 412 out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

276 [170] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa*·^{pu}. It is a weed growing [824] several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*·^{a}. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsiabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá·γoap*^{i}, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

224

DOGS.

231 262 Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

171 000 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212-214.

[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.

[3] See Lowie, 212 f.

[4] Chamberlin, 345.

000 animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

• 224
231 The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

060 The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

DRESS.

[291]
[171] The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump*^{i}. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000 advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[3] Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.
[4] Reed, 40.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624 rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. 224• Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), 223 succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. [628] They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622 authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623] said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606 Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171 group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000 that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being in association with the ceremonial antelope hunt. It is interesting to note that the association of this stick with game-charming occurs among the Cheyenne and Arikara,[1] though the connecting links are not clear and the resemblance may turn out to lack significance. I will begin by quoting Sarah Hopkins. 534 796

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

> My people capture antelopes by charming them, but only some of the people are charmers. My father was one of them, and once I went with him on an antelope hunt. 224 796
>
> The antelopes move in herds in the winter, and as late in the spring as April. At this time there was said to be a large herd in a certain place, and my father told all his people to come together in ten days to go with him in his hunt. He told them to bring their wives with them, but no small children. When they came, at the end of ten days, he chose two men, who he said were to be his messengers to the antelopes. They were to have two large torches made of sagebrush bark, and after he had found a place for his camp, he marked out a circle around which the wigwams were to be placed, putting his own in the middle of the western side, and leaving an opening directly opposite in the middle of the eastern side, which was towards the antelopes.
>
> The people who were with him in the camp then made another circle to the east of the one where their wigwams were, and made six mounds of sagebrush and stones on the sides of it, with a space of a hundred yards or more from one mound to the next one, but with no fence between the mounds. These mounds were made high, so that they could be seen from far off.
>
> The women and boys and old men who were in the camp, and who were working on the mounds, were told to be very careful not to drop anything and not to stumble over a sagebrush root, or a stone, or anything, and not to have any accident, but to do everything perfectly and to keep thinking about the antelopes all the time, and not to let their thoughts go away to anything else. It took five days to charm the antelopes, and if anybody had an accident he must tell of it.
>
> Every morning early, when the bright morning star could be seen, the people sat around the opening to the circle, with my father sitting in the middle of the opening, and my father lighted his pipe and passed it to his right, and the pipe went round the circle five times. And at night they did the same thing.
>
> After they had smoked the pipe, my father took a kind of drum, which is used in this charming, and made music with it. This is the only kind of musical instrument which my people have, and it is only used for this antelope-charming. It is made of a hide of some large animal, stuffed with grass, so as to make it sound hollow, and then wound around tightly from one end to the other with a cord as large as my finger. One end of this instrument is large, and it tapers down to the other end, which is small, so that it makes a different sound on the different parts. My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound, that could be heard afar off, and he sang, and all his people sang with him.
>
> After that the two men who were messengers went out to see the antelopes. They carried their torches in their right hands, and one of them carried a pipe in his left hand. They started from my father's wigwam and went straight across the camp to the opening; then they crossed, and one went around the second circle to the

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[1] Vol. XI, this series, 675, 896.

224 right and the other went to the left, till they met on the other side of the circle. Then they crossed again, and one went round the herd of antelopes one way and the other
796 went round the other way, but they did not let the antelopes see them. When they met on the other side of the herd of antelopes, they stopped and smoked the pipe, and then they crossed, and each man came back on the track of the other to the camp, and told my father what they saw and what the antelopes were doing.

This was done every day for five days, and after the first day all the men and women and boys followed the messengers, and went around the circle they were to enter. On the fifth day the antelopes were charmed, and the whole herd followed the tracks of my people and entered the circle where the mounds were, coming in at the entrance, bowing and tossing their heads, and looking sleepy and under a powerful spell. They ran round and round inside the circle just as if there was a fence all around it and they could not get out, and they stayed there until my people had killed every one. But if anybody had dropped anything, or had stumbled and had not told about it, then when the antelopes came to the place where he had done that, they threw off the spell and rushed wildy out of the circle at that place.

My brother can charm horses in the same way.[1]

A Pyramid Lake informant whose father had likewise been an antelope charmer differed from Sarah in setting the length of the entire hunt at three days, with the middle day specially devoted to the killing of the game. Early in the spring, when the ground was muddy and some one had seen a big herd, the Indians would gather together for the communal chase. One man acted as master of ceremonies and was called an Antelope man; apparently two or three others sharing this title acted as his assistants. These put on antelope heads and daubed themselves with war paint. They notched a stick, which was placed on a blanket and rasped as an accompaniment to the singing. A loud noise was produced. There was a big fire in the middle, round which the men danced. The women did not participate but were allowed to be present as spectators. The musicians were seated between the fire and the Antelope men, who were near the circumference of the circle.

224 Two scouts were sent out to watch all the movements of the antelope and returned at night to report their location. They would announce, "They are all there yet, they are not yet moving." The Antelope man would say, "We are sure the antelope are coming to our corral." They always told the truth and always killed plenty of antelope. In the center of a circular enclosure a big pile of sagebrush was heaped up, and from the sides of the gate two big diverging fences from three to four feet high were made of sagebrush, planted roots up, with the women camping along both wings. Some alert men on foot drove the game toward the structure and the sagebrush wings were set on fire while the central pile was left

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[1] Hopkins, 55–57.

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the 224 women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone.

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular 224 enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he 796 also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the [539] following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:—

wázunaq	ína	hāûʙa	wō̆′nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hāûʙa.	nō̆′mōnáqa	ína	hāûʙa.	
?	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down [756] in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he [787] fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay [841] far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation [857] of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained.

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nō̆′qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 [411] For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[714] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

AGRICULTURE.

241 222 [412] They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

FOODS.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region [1]. But

[136] [312] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
* Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

N W A 224

N [231]

N W A [141]

N A [736]

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE													
	Ts	Kl	Kl	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	AI
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2a. Communal	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*5. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	*-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-
*8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*9. With fire	+	-	-	-	*+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
*10. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	*+	-
11. In relays	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Shamanism	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	+	+	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	-	-	+	+	*+	+
14. In pit beside trail	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	*-	-	-	+
17. Single hunter stalks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Runs down	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*19. Disguise	*+	*-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	*-	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
22. Brush carried	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
24. Fire to signal hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
*25. Formal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+
26. Informal chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	*-	-
*27. Magic	-	-	-	*-	*+	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+
*Antelope Hunting														
*27a. Communal hunt	+	*+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	*+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	*+	-	+	-	*+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	*+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*29a. Brush fence around hill	+	*-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	*-	-
*30. Brush at intervals	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
31. Wings	*-	+	*-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	*+	+	
*32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	*+	*-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	-	*-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*+	-	+
36. Fire	+	+	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
*37. Notched stick	-	*-	-	-	+	*+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
*38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

[p. 366]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ya	Kl	K2	Ku	Ye	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AY
40. Wand	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
47. Antelope mask	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
48. Round dance	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
49. Stumbling taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
50. Loss of objects taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
53. Messengers to antelope	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
57. Fires to drive	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
58. Shaman in corral	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
59. Shaman "closes gate"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
60. Special archer	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
64. Drive	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
65. Past ambushed hunters	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
66. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
67. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70. Ambush beside spring	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
73. Disguise	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
74. Antelopeskin	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
75. Brush	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

Mt.-Sheep Hunting

	Ya	Kl	K2	Ku	Ye	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AY
76. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77. Drive	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
78. Past hidden hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
79. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
80. With dogs	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
81. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
83. Through V-fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
88. Entire skin used	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
89. Fire to signal hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
91. Magic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Communal Rabbit Hunting

	Ya	Kl	K2	Ku	Ye	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AY
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-

N W A 224

N A [156 276]

N W A [535]

N [231]

N W A [141]

[p.367]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N5E

N
W
A
224
N
[535]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Fo	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Ml	Ki	Ak
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
99a. 3	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
99b. Not fixed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+

Snares, Nets, Etc.

N
W
A
[223]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Fo	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Ml	Ki	Ak
100. Spring-pole trap	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
101. For birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
102. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
104. Trap behind fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
107. For rodents	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
109. For small mammals	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
110. For large mammals	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
113. Noose in fence gap	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
116. For birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
117. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
122. Tunnel shape	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
124. Willow frame	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
125. Sagebrush support	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
126. Edge staked down	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
127. Placed near water	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
129. Sagebrush wings	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
132. For sage hens	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
133. For doves	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
134. For ducks	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
136. Birds driven to net	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
137. With antelope disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
141. Basketry traps	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
144. 2-stick trigger	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
145. Bait used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
146. For large mammals	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
148. For birds generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
149. For grouse	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
153. For carnivores	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
154. For rabbits and rodents	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+

N
[223]

Booths and Blinds

N
W
A
223

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Fo	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Ml	Ki	Ak
155. Brush enclosure	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
158. Conical house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
159. Pit	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
160. With brush fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
162. Concealment in near water	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kd	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ac
163. Shooting birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
165. Bird caught from blind with bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
166. Off perch	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
167. Inclined pole as perch	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
173. Game killed from blind: sheep	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Antelope	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Tule blind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−

N
W
A
223
N
W
A
[224]

Decoys and Disguises

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kd	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ac
178. Live birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
180. Stuffed birds	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
180a. Stuffed heads on sticks	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
181. Moved with string	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
181a. Body of tule	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
182. Birdskin on head	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
183. Animal disguise	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
184. Head	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
185. Whole skin	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
186. Sticks as front legs	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
187. Paint arms	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
188. Deer	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
189. Antelope	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
190. Mountain sheep	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
191. Grass or brush disguise	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
[224]

Waterfowl Hunting

Communal drive:

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kd	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ac
192. Balsas	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. Chief or director of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
194. Killing with club	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
194a. Killing with hands: break legs or neck	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
194b. Rabbit net used	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
195. Mud hens taken	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
196. Young ducks taken	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
196a. Young geese taken	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
197. Hunter uses animal disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
198. For ducks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
200. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−

Miscellaneous

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kd	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ac
201. Rodents taken from burrow by twisting stick into skin	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. Cottontail taken	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. Rat taken	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
204. Chipmunk taken	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
205. Reptile hook	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
206. Game hung on belt by head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Rats poked out	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
208. Rats burned out	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
209. Smoking out of animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
210. Jack rabbit	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Cottontail	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Other rodents	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Fan to blow smoke in den	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Sage-hen wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
216. Crow wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
217. Hawk wing	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+

N
W
A
224

[p.369]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
224

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
218. Brush	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
221. Rodents flooded out	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fuel	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

Eagle (and Other) Catching

N
W
A
223

N
W
A
[231]

N
W
A
231

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
228. On net	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
229. Carries cage	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
239. Bird tied up	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
246. Rearing other birds	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
248. Chiefly dove	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
249. Young taken from nest	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Bird kept in cage	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Fishing

N
W
A
226

N
[476]
N
W
A
226
227

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
252a. Trout caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
257. Rabbit net used	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
258. Wading in stream	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
258a. Ice pick	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
259. Net used through ice	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
259a. Communal fishing	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
260. Weir	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
262. Platform built over river	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 370]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kk	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piegö) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (küa) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (watata'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	–	–	?	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	–	+	–	–	–	+	–		+	+	–			–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

N
W
A
262
136
[278]

W
[252
251]

N
W
A
262

N
W
A
224

N
[784]

N
W
A
[783]

[p.373]

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N
● 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running noose for deer present (Smith, notes). W [224]

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N [231] 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 716] 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N [301] 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted N [787]

[p.422 (8)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

● N 224 luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. [787] Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai döpi ("clay rock"). W [30] Wa: Hunters painted themselves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [136] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, töna'.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi'dö- [283] göpö, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls N of sagebrush hung down between bushes. [283 224] A: Rope of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304). Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - [796] (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched [534] stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking [276] morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[P.422 (c)]

N ●224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Tö: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [535 776] W [535] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'öm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koipᵋ, female, mutsaˊ. Koipᵋ also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

4: Stewart E-6 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

● N 224 85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 253, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N [756 789] 91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

N [825] Jack rabbit called kamŏ.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, Tö: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. Kü: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

N 223 117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

W [223] 120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

N [825] 127. Tö: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. At: PS pointed out that sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot, etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[p.425(BD)]

223 (Kelly, 89). Tg: In early times one disguised man was killed because another hunter mistook him for real antelope. Since then antelope disguise considered dangerous and so little used.

143. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254, fig. 2, which represents general Paiute "figure 4" type trigger for deadfall trap).

224 150. To: - (LP). At: The only pitfall used was a pit 8 or 10 inches deep dug just at the entrance to ground-hog hole. In the spring when the young rodents first came from their burrow they fell in pit. Being young and weak they could not get out.

Booths and Blinds

223 155. Ki: + (Kelly, 90).

156. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): "blinds resembling wickiups or summer houses."

159. To: - (LP).

160. Ki: + (Kelly 89): near "dance" ground.

165. Ki: Sage hens struck with stick as they "danced"; young geese and mud hens caught by hand (Kelly, 89-90). To: Sometimes disguised head and walked with body submerged until a duck's legs could be seized from under the water.

Decoys and Disguises

Decoy called tüa.

178-191. Wd: Checked with SC and BJ.

180. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255), although Steward cites Simpson's description of their use on Carson (p. 85) and Walker (p. 480) lakes. To: Lowie, 198, fig. 1, shows duck decoy from Fallon. Similar specimen obtained by me is now in U. C. Anthr. Museum. Ki: + from 1 informant, - from others (Kelly, 90). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 49, and pls. 33, 34). Tg: Informant had heard about stuffed-duck decoys and thought that old-time Tagö had used them, but he was not sure and had never seen one although he was about 80 years of age. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

181. Ki: Strings were attached to decoy (Kelly, 90).

183. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

183-187, 189. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Waterfowl Hunting

192. To: Fledglings and flightless adults of certain species hunted by numerous Indians in tule balsas on Carson Lake (Curtis, 15, 73). [501] Paviotso: Lowie, 197, describes 2 types of communal waterfowl hunting; both methods were similarly described by my informants. When mud hens were too fat to fly they were driven on to the land and caught when they tried to hide. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

194b. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255). Ts: Rabbit net was stretched near shore to keep birds from running too far. When net was not used fowl were allowed to hide under brush and

[p. 424(A)]

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).
203. Wd: - (SC).
204. Wd: - (SC).
209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso'öp°.

[177] 221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsónomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 [134] 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were [133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

N 342 constructions changed from domed to conical, as Kelly, 104, suggests, or whether both kinds were built at the same time. I believe house forms were not stable but depended upon the available materials and whim of the builder. Inasmuch as the framework was chiefly willow, dome-shaped houses were probably more common.

W [342] 580-581. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

582. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265): Domed willow shade. At: In old days all Paiutes had was willow half dome or willow half circle with end leaning toward center. There were no flat roofs.

583. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265). Ki: + (Kelly, 105, pl. 18,c); however, my informants said only brush enclosure was known formerly.

587. "Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical." "A very thick thatch of dry piñon needles was applied, and this sometimes covered with earth" (Curtis, 15:70, also pl. 78).

589. K: Picture of Pyramid Lake Paviotso dwelling (Lowie, 204, fig. 6). At: In old days some people would, at times, build no permanent winter camp. PS remembers his family wandering all winter much as they usually did only in summer. He did not remember why, yet thought it was to hunt. Although clothing was scant and often
N [291] wet, PS did not remember being cold. Nights were spent huddled around a fire with only the shelter afforded by a few sagebrush piled as windbreak. Ki: Dome-shaped winter houses were said to have formerly existed (Kelly, 104).

600. Kü, To, Tö, Sa, Pa, Tg: House was built of tule "mats" which were made by binding masses of tules between 2 or 3 pairs of sticks. The Tagö made also woven mats.

606. Wd: - (SC).

607a. To: - (LP).

613. At: A ring of willows was sometimes placed around fire to keep grass used to sleep on from catching on fire.

615. At: Paiutes used only tripod-type house after white people came. Wd: Tripod-type house used to be covered with buffalo skins. After buffalo left, grass and tules were used.

622. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264). Ki: Conical houses borrowed from north (Kelly, 104, pl. 18,b). Some denied any shelter besides the shade or windbreak for aboriginal times (Kelly, 106).

628. To: - (LP).

629. Ki: + (Kelly, 104).

N [224] 631. Wd: - (BJ). Informant said buffalo had been seen near Saddle Butte, but Wada never hunted them. Ki: Tule mat sewed and twined (Kelly, 104, pl. 19,c).

633. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264).

638. Wd: - (SC).

640. To: + (BS).

643. Wa: Door was of woven willows, that is, of basketry.

653. Owens Valley: + (Steward): Mountain house used in fall and winter had 2 upright poles and ridgepole. [p.1430(A)]

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 131 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the 226 262 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of 222 224 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit 621 648 or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall 529 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis- 755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among 755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of 754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among 756 182 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots
of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked
to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and
then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and
forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick.
A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman.
A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting [755]
worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to
weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all
the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight
and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking
ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a
shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell
you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise [775]
you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it
and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions."
I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when
this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what
to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777]
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises.
To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning
means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep
in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what
to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He
has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him
a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a
pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777]
through anything. That makes him lucky.

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. [685] One woman stole some from another woman's pile. [598] They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. [755] Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 234 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. [984] He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. [841] He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. [843] If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

756 904 787 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. [533] One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake. 756 224

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when fired upon with a gun. 756 789 [792 [illegible]]

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that. 756 754 789

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property. 787 756

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
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756 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of
114 the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2]
787 Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise
Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturi-
[791] ty, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers
from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary
755 in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only
791 mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor,
while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently
played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corrobo-
787 rated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise
Valley Paiute.[7]

756 The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back
the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is
[755] confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley
are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in
● [224] detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley
Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used
[778] in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco,
beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that
[791] employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens
Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*.; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunt- 101
ing in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known 131
as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gidid- 221
ika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall
they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck [224]
Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region [423]
west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise—Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern 423
Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver- 648
Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty 131
miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

648 579 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes."[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's 648 131 Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that [487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> [609] "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now."[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons [224] they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
●224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
181 Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan
[223] in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p.
212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol.
1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of
Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew,
Official Report, p. 10; NA, BIA, OS, Letters Received 1869, H-18 (Huntington's
detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks
on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs
on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of
Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered
there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15,
24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt.,
1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on
Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute
from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation
see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley
Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed
to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing,
114 immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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551 200. "Giltewa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baer" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865). N [224]

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648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'skEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'skEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable. N K [101]

202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

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648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N
K 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

649 208. Motcunka'skEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jack-
rabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred
individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of
the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hookeri Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

221
early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224] ●
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[*]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child. Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother. Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

[*] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get *wada* there was reciprocal exchange.

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa*, crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba*, sorcery power. All of these are thought
to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who
have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are
thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment
for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The
doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ba*, are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit
helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect
a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their
power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very
common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from
rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were
bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that
they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and
talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to
attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [504
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224] ●
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men
went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411 726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754- 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

[161 162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

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[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that 754
all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. 756
According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is al- 755
ways a public performance, with spectators participating to a
certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices
are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans.
The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the [796
only other important public ceremony.[13] The Paviotso shaman 224]
gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power,
nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is
not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an im-
portant public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious [796]
activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso 756
shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

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[13] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both movements, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they [796]
had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance.

787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.
756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or
stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with
other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not
widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of
these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were
not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking
clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced
belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

Antelope Shamans

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic
life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured
by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a
[222] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope. A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is
responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

[796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life,
are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites
that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely
simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The
shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the
success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of
the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one
of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only
men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may
enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the
antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the
[776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice,
but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

puhágəm or tunápuhágəm (tuná, antelope; puhágəm, shaman). 224 If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756 is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124] memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423] shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is fre- 224
quently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756
string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was re- 533
ported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

224 756 [533] across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of [422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

224 237 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs, and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup', and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be
seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these conditions 843]
causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and
escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating
and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in
the drive.

When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 224 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [833]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope
have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any
personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the
fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions
carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during
the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.
[23] Ibid., 55-57.

224 The "Kind of drum" which is described is

[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[24] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days. [534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[25]

224 756 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an important place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

The Position of the Shaman in the Social Order

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's [182] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

756 632 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

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[24] Ibid., 56.

[25] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304-305.

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621
gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131
canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent
of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough.
Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near
the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many
sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people
who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162]
Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the [114]
Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more
correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place"
given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115]
born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place
is ō-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1[1] although [103]
ō-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see
sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches
was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the
lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221]
seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224 ●
spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

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[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was 224
firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform
of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than
words of how the weight was released.

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not 291
even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute
never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. [136]
It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from [172]

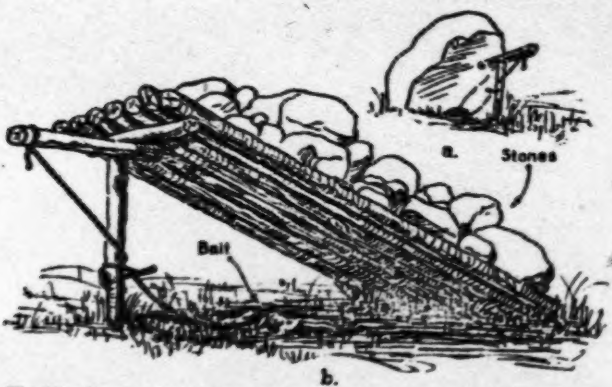

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Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that 291
way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes [172]
of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of
the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good [178]
hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin [231]
blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east.
Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful [136]
on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that [224]
no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin.

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and 224
children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them
into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would
follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across
a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill.

● 224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[43]

1. awaga.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus* or *Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. hu-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. how-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agai.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

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[113] [43] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

Wadátkuht

24. Nadu' pikwa ("Rocky"). Shinn Peaks at the north end of Secret Valley are given this name. 103 133

25. Şawa nŏna ("Brush Set"). Secret Valley is given this name. Susy Buster stated that both the Wadátkuht and the Kamŏtkuht used this area. It is true that the villages in Secret Valley had some Kamŏtkuht people in them, but the villages were Wadátkuht. It must be kept in mind that the Secret Valley Wadátkuht and the Kamŏtkuht were apparently quite neighborly. [648]

26. Sawá kudakʷ ("Sagebrush Mountain"). This mountain, Snowstorm Mountain, is located about five miles north of Karlo in T32N/R14E.

27. Hudzí kudakʷ ("Sagehen Mountain"). This low sage-covered hill is about four miles east of Karlo and one mile east of Highway 395 in T31N/R15E.

28. Suhngavi ("Cottonwood"). Stoney Creek, a tributary of Secret Creek, has this name. Stoney Creek is about five miles east of Karlo.

29. Masaida patsóna ("Watercress(?) Spring"). This spring is about one and a half miles north of Karlo and a short distance north of the archaeological site Las-7, also known as the Karlo site. This particular spring was not visited with my informant but is probably located in Section 5 or 6 of T31N/R15E.

30. Saga' patsóna ("Willow Spring"). This is a spring at the Shinn ranch (in T33N/R16E) where hunting parties went for deer and groundhogs (marmots) in the spring. This feature was not visited with my informant so the exact location was not recorded. [224]

31. Atsa' tukatud ("Red Dome"). This is the name for Red Rock (a mountain or hill) near (in T35N/R15E) the Red Rock post office on the northeastern side of Madeline Valley. A more exact location for this feature was not obtained since it was not visited with my informant.

32. Saib ("Tule"). Cold Springs, located about three miles north of Red Rock in T36N/R15E, bears this name because of the tules growing there. Both this feature and the previous one might properly be said to be in Kamotkuht territory, however, the Wadátkuht had access to them as if their own. My [137]

Wadátkuht

103 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features
133 belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudakʷ ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudakʷ. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch" in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring provides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28. [312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter [224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley. In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline [172] Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht. Evidence in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pówhanun° ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain, [224] Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular significance because deer were hunted here.

Wadátkuht

39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern extension of Pinaktud (Item 37 above). 133 103

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt. [224]

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú nuhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north end of the lake. [137] [361]

44. Wada banú nuhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm. [137] [101]

45. Kukwa^{p}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E. [789]

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root) This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering. [262]

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey [136]

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites. 361 [177]

The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained. [182]

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^{a} ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death. [312] [551]

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with [525] [172] [224]

Wadátkuht

361 [224] their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuus from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. [881] It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

361 464 [221] The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361 5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

[224] Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab^{i} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the [177] distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

The most important single food plant product in the [137] Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered in large enough quantities some years to last for two or [251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

Wadátkuht

222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh^{o}), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungíb pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 [223] Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohít), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa). Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (möhü or tsagüd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidü). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

Wadátkuht

224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the informants named a number of specific places where deer were [103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Tóka kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud), the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide. The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached [777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut, [262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To [412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately [262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung [251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean [237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi', [192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

● 224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be
obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to
have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamõtkuht
territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground
on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also
439 262 traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black
root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith
Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the
people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht
call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Wadátkuht

Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men. 832

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, simup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^a nu^u maiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return. 224 789

Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands. 223 789

Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov[1], of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier. 539 776

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[777] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying
the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost
constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at
the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots,
berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance
were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major
source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods
available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density
in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq.
mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country --
called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid
Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and
Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a limiting
161 factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum
182 food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects
of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and
[226] mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule
deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush
or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to
aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals
or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the
only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of
their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a
single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
[476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization because
[571] the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large
number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited
by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small
groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance
22 of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

Northern Paiute NR13

N
been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership with-
in a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the 621
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for ante- N
lope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also con- [222]
centrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger group-
ings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as op-
posed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad dif- [619]
ferentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476]
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war [628]
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

W

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evi-
dence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once ex-
tended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they repre- 197
sent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

W 182 22

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

W [648]

W N 592 621

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

W N 621 [624] [224] ●

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

W 628 619 [616]

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

W [701] [648] [211]

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 136 174 182 114 Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N ● 224 182 If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The N W [648] Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N 231 177 The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

FISHING

Fish were of slight importance to the Paviotso of this region who fished almost exclusively in early spring when the snow was melting and before roots were ready to be gathered.

It is surprisingly difficult to identify the native names for even the commonest fish. It is certain, however, that a'gai served as a generic word for fish and was applied also to salmon procured in trade.[81] Two informants[82] gave a'gai as trout. Pakwi', which Dr. de Angulo[83] regards as trout, was identified as minnow by Susie Archie. According to Joshua, pakwi' was "small like a sardine" and was found principally in Warner valley. It may be what is known locally as a chub. A fish a little larger was called sigu'^{pakwi} and was found in creeks running through open country, especially near Beatty and Burns and across from Adel.

Ha'wa'gu and tütsi'^{pakwi} (tütsi', scales?) were both translated as sucker. They were found in small streams in Warner, especially around Adel. Mu'su'hi-a'gai (mu'su'hi, whisker) and doda'na were given as names for catfish. They were known from the Achomawi country near Alturas.

Fish were never taken in nets[84] or by means of poison,[85] but this is not surprising in view of the fact that local fishing was done entirely in small creeks. There were no fish in Lake Annie[86] nor the Surprise valley lakes, and, although fish were caught in creeks tributary to Cowhead and Goose lakes, no effort was made to fish in the lakes themselves.

Fish were scooped from creeks by means of a twined tray or a handled basket. Inasmuch as these were not distinguished by name from the regular open twined tray or the seed beater, it is probable that they were not made especially for fishing. The true fish trap

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[81] SW:DC gave zia'nazi as an alternative word for salmon. Kroeber's data (Shoshonean Dialects, 96) show pakwi to be the generic term for fish among the Pueblo and Plateau Shoshoneans, save for two groups, the Walker Lake Paviotso and the eastern Oregon Wihinasht. Of these two, the former has both akai and pakwi, the latter, axai alone. The Surprise Valley Paiute seem to apply a'gai to fish in general, pakwi more specifically to small fish.

[82] JB, SW:DC.

[83] P. 330.

[84] "They used nets at Nixon (Nevada) because they had big rivers there" (DB).

[85] In a Pyramid Lake tale Wolf catches fish by putting grass in the water. Lowie, ST, 215.

[86] It has been stocked in recent years.

000 The construction of willow weirs in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake was noted by Stansbury[1] and this custom was also described by one of my Uintah informants. The Ute, he said, would stand in the water, catch the fish by the tail as it entered the fence and move their hands up to its head. It would struggle and sometimes make its escape, otherwise they hit it on the head with a stick and killed it. Sometimes the fish were thrown out by men to the women, who would split them in two, remove the bones, and hang the fish up on a frame for drying. The dried fish were stored in caches and eaten in the fall. Fish were also cut into pieces and boiled in earthen vessels. They were shot with barbed arrows, the hunters at times pursuing them on grass rafts. An Indian of the White River band said that though this was a Uintah custom, no such rafts were used by the White River people.

• 226 The Paviotso fished extensively, catching mountain trout in Pyramid and Muddy Lakes, and other species in other localities such as the Humboldt River, which were dried for winter use.[2]

000 Wilson repeatedly refers to fishing by the Shoshoni and specifically mentions trout and salmon. He describes women and children fishing through the ice of Jefferson River and tells how he himself would angle with a line made from horse-tail hair.[3]

VEGETABLE FOOD.

Agriculture was wholly lacking among the Plateau Shoshoneans, excepting only the Paiute; and even in this tribe it was confined to the Shivwits and Kaibab bands. The Moapa distinctly denied having raised corn before the coming of the whites. From the Shivwits the following brief account was obtained. The Indians planted both corn (*hawŭ'ʙ'*) and squashes (*párañárö*) before white contact. Irrigation was employed. Ditches were dug with an implement called *passaŭ'ᵘ*, which was shaped with a sharp rock. Along the Colorado River driftwood furnished the material, elsewhere a species of willow or the mesquite. The ground was watered from the spring before planting the seeds. When the water had not quite dried up, the men dug holes with a sharp-pointed stick (*aγō̄'ts*), while the women inserted the seeds. The earth was removed and later heaped up with the hands. When the plants came up, a second irrigation was customary. One corncob was used to shell another, and the seeds were ground on a metate (*maʀ*).

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[1] Stansbury, 148.
[2] Hopkins, 11, 15, 76.
[3] Wilson, 20, 25, 62, 63.

•226 796 In May, when the *kuyúi* fish came up, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the *kuyú'—nö'qa*, for which there was also a special master of ceremonies. There was no structure for this any more than for the other Paviotso dances. "In five days," the conductor would say, "get ready." Then the people got ready, moved toward the appointed site and erected their wikiups there. They only danced in the night-time and for five nights. Men and women joined in a circle, the sexes alternating except in so far as young men having no female partner were ranged beside one another. The dancers interlocked fingers. There was no instrument, but one man sang. Meager as are these notes they suffice to suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nŭakin*, which was also a spring festival held partly to ensure a plentiful supply of fish.

535 In the *tovú nö'qá* men and women went round fast, jumping up. This was the beginning of the dance and was enjoyed by the young people. Another name was *ahī nö'qa*, Love dance.

The *hī'nöqá*^{ua} was described as more popular among the Walker River Paviotso and said to have come from Esmeralda County. Nowadays a nickel or a dime is given to some of the Indians to make them dance: formerly the presents consisted of fish or beads. The men pull off all their clothes, but their breechclouts. They did not hold one another's hands but went round like turkeys and would assume a squatting posture. There are only about ten men in the performance; sometimes about three women joined, these receiving gifts from members of their sex. At Fallon I was told that six men dance without clothes, stamping their feet, and receive a quarter from all the spectators. Three women back of the men merely shuffle their feet. This was said to be a dance of the Bannock (Kutcútiqa, Buffalo-eaters), though coming directly from Indians south of Walker River. I got the impression that this might be a form of the Grass dance.

The only other dances mentioned at Pyramid Lake were the *nöcába*, Circle dance, and a modern war dance the *panák'iniq*, said to have been taught by Blackfoot visitors. The notched stick (*nå+idanàq*) so prominent in the antelope hunt was said not to be used for any of the dances.

At these dances men sometimes got fighting about a woman, then the strong men of the tribe got together and pulled the combatants apart.

At Fallon I heard of a "squaw dance" that was generally kept up for five days, sometimes longer.

[796] Sarah Hopkins describes a "festival of flowers" celebrated in the spring. The girls named for flowers would go to see whether their floral namesakes were in bloom and talk about them at home, saying, "Oh,

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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W
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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	A
218. Brush	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
221. Rodents flooded out	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
228. On net	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
229. Carries cage	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
246. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
248. Chiefly dove	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishing														
252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
257. Rabbit net used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
258. Wading in stream	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
258a. Ice pick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
259. Net used through ice	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260. Weir	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
262. Platform built over river	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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[p. 370]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

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226
227

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
266. In weir	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
273. Spear	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
274. 1 prong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
275. 2 prongs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
278. Torch or fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·	−	+
280a. Angle	−	−	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	·	−	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	·	−	−
281a. Of bone and wood	·	·	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
282. 1 barb at angle	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−	−
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
285. Pole	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
287. Grasshopper	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
288. Salmon egg	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
288a. Minnow	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	·	−	−
290a. Bait basket	·	·	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	·	−	−
291. Fly hook	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
293. Poison (toxa used) placed in stream	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
294. Stream dammed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
295. Creek diverted	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Animals Eaten

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
297. Dog (sorobuku) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297a. Mink (pai'uma) eaten	·	·	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
297b. Mole (teödzi' kwüsöva) eaten	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297c. Porcupine (taa'kwuda or mühü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kamü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakamö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavüü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
297h. Kangaroo rat (kotsi) eaten	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
297j. Muskrat (pamusö) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (töka'wa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikwü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (köbö or küpa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (woda'a) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavisi) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297q. Skunk (poŋi) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
297r. Bat (biya'hana) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297s. Elk (patu'huia) eaten	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
297t. Raccoon (patakai) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.371]

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

203. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso´öp$^{\ddot{o}}$.

221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding [177] out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

● 226 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of
[134] trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were
[133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

226 Both lakes are extremely deep and have rather [133] large rivers emptying into them, so that they are not too salty for fish. Pyramid Lake claims the [136] honor of supplying the world's largest trout; specimens have been caught weighing more than 20 pounds. "Pyramid lake is just reaching a degree of salinity sufficient to prevent human consumption." Pyramid Lake was a third more saline than Walker Lake in 1882 (Loud, 157). Kl: The [825] Kuyui had the best fishing area in Nevada. Trout were designated by seasonal names: spring trout (tama arai), summer trout (tatsa arai), fall trout (uva arai), winter trout (tomo arai). It is to be doubted that these represent different varieties. Arai is sometimes generic term for fish. Ki: Trout caught only in Goose Lake and its tributaries.

[136] 252c. "Kuyui, black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake .... Chamistes cujus" (Loud, 157). Kl: The kuyui is a large sucker-like fish, often weighing more than 15 pounds, which is only caught in the spring and early summer when it enters the streams to spawn. The kuyui (pronounced by local white people kwee-wee) occurred only in Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes and the streams flowing into them, especially the Truckee River. Great 251 quantities of this fish were dried each spring. The meat was stripped from the backbone so that from each fish two almost boneless pieces were prepared. Only about 4 pounds of meat were obtained from a 15-pound fish.

252d. Ki: + (Kelly, 97).

825 252e. Sucker called awagu. "Awago, red sucker .... Catostomus tahoensis (Loud, 156).

252g. Minnows called pak'ui or hopakui. Loud, 156: "tui-pagwI, a minnow or sucker .... Siphoteles obesus or Lencidius pectinifer"; "hu-pagwI, minnow .... Richardsonius egregius."

252i. Red-side salmon called koa'arai, "cold salmon." Silverside salmon called wovi-arai, "wood salmon."

227 255. Paviotso: "The dip-net and gill-net" (Curtis, 15:71). Tö: Fish net unknown in pre-white times. Only conical basket used. Kü: When the Küpa were at Nixon they employed the methods of Kuyui. In their own territory, the Küpa had different methods.

256. Ts: The Paiute fish net is similar to that of Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 7).

257. Owens Valley: Fish net same shape as rabbit net (Steward, 257).

258. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

258a. Lovelock Cave: "Ice pick" (Loud, pl. 64,g and p. 107). Kü: Informant's mother told him that the old-timers tied a sharp rock onto a stick to use to break the ice. He thought it similar to the one from Lovelock Cave. AL denied ever hearing of such an instrument being used. Ice was broken with any big stick. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

227 259. At: Minnows caught by cutting hole
226 through ice and dipping them out with a seed beater when they come up for air.

[p.425(A)]

N 226 227 260. To: - (LP). Ki: + (Kelly, 96): A troughed willow dam and trap. Kl: The weir described by DG was a trap as well as a barrier. Willows were stuck in the mud so as to form 2 parallel rows about 2 feet apart and extending completely across the stream. The ends of the willows above the water were bent and tied together to form a trough about a foot deep. The fish trying to leap the barrier were caught in the trough. It is similar to the one described by Kelly.

W [226 227] 261. Ki: Rock dam was only used to get suckers; trout were speared. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

262. Wd: SC denied the use of platforms for fishing for the Wada, but said the Hunipui employed them. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

263. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, reports conical basket used below willow dam. To: - (LP).

W [227] 264. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

269. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

270. Ts: Willow bundle used to drive fish was called tuma'nuŋa. Practice was known by ND but not used by his band, the Tasiget. To: - (LP).

272. To: - (LP).

272-273. Wd: Denied by BJ, who described a single-pronged spear; however, SC claimed the Wada used the harpoon and no spear. I am inclined to think SC correct.

273. Kü: Fish-spear tipped with 18-inch legbone of sandhill crane reported seen at Humboldt Lake (Leonard, 161). Remy and Brenchley, 42, saw 1 used on Carson River. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

274. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

275. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251). Paviotso: "The spear, a two-pronged pole with which the fish were pinned to the bottom" (Curtis, 15:71).

W [227] 276. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

276a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

278. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, quotes from Chalfant's MS concerning fishing by aid of a fire on the bank. (See Note 293a.)

280. Kü: Leonard, 166, describes a bipointed hook, which was probably gorget type, seen used on Humboldt Lake. Paviotso: "Hook, made of two crossed bones" (Curtis 15:71). To: - (LP). Wd: Both BJ and SC claimed ignorance of type of hook used in old days, although both thought lines had been used.

281a. Kü: + (Loud, 41, fig. 8). University specimen 1-42988 from the Heizer-Krieger 1936 excavation of Humboldt Cave was carried and shown to informants, but none identified bone-barbed piece of greasewood as a fishhook. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 51, p. 41).

286. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

287. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

293. All informants who knew of drugging fish said toza (Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt. var. multifida Jeps.) root was pounded and soaked in pools, streams, and the like. Steward, 251, re-

[p.425(B)]

N 226 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens
227 Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. K1, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N 262 825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

A [262] A [787] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü'iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N [832] 297k. Kl: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N [801 777 832] 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N [136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. Kl: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu'tsᵘ) hunted near Eaglsville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W [262] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 426(a)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 137 222 262 [278]
Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called the same plant suŋu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278]
484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

● N W [278 ● 226]
484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [262]
484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222]
485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N [249]
505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] N [764]
527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317]
529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [841] 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it N [525 777] could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after N 782 digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DW described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 ● [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-mûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (X)]

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of
a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations
at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the
Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern
131 part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores
of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on
the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together
621 in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
848 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
529 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements
would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic
755 treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement,
was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tchăktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tchăktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

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In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

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Direct descendants of Tchăktot and Panai'na still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above. N 648 [103]

225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's avoidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group. K [648] [101]

229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had probably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223. N [551] [649]

230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19. N [103]

At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was considered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had K 361 ● N K 226 ●

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N ●
K been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers,
●226 known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and
N Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishwea-
[103] wax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and
N Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and
K Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, with-
[166] in the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

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[101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L.S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

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648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

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early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[8]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the [535]
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities,
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[8] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] ● [226] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

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[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[42]

1. **awago.**—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. **tai-pagwI.**—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus* or *Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. **hu-pagwI.**—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. **how-pagwI.**—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. **agai.**—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

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[113] [42] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

6. agal.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agal.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis,* was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis,* is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata,* are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[48] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahapa, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wip.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?,* seeds eaten. [262]

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute saap, saip. [291]

sawipi, sawapi, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [372]

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[48] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

-824 [285] sebI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to se in composition; for example se-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sihopi, sihupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] [262] [226] taEpi, greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (ohotetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Still-water range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, taima, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-lump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwekobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo
[136] trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south
through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals
into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to
Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of
Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway
crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[148] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured
two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the
relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its
name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that
place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wahg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
● [226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the
[251] Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu.
Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly
aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following
section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to
conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their
locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon
174 an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture
even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

103 The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91,
361 and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more
[776] than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg^{o} tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg^{o}, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas
[226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers
[251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidū̃ dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16
[412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said
[231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that
[417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadátkuht

identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they [226]
swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught
in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught [251]
the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and
allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of
such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were
gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl
eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey
Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in
Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^{a} (a plant
said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion")
and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they
occurred. The tops of padus^{a}, which had a white blossom and [262]
looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this
plant to grow was under willows along streams.

It was not until summer, however, that the products of
the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months.
The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds [252]
of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden
basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The
favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the
southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds,
however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly.
Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full
of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald
Mountain.

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^{w}). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute [101]
group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been
harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee
on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are
about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned [251]
buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

Wadátkuht

222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

● 226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh°), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungíb pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 [223] Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohít), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa). Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (möhü or tsagüd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidü). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[177] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying
the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost
constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at
the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots,
berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance
were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major
source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods
available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density
in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq.
mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country --
called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid
Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and
Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a limiting
161 factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum
182 food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects
[226] of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and
mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule
deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush
or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to
aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals
or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the
only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of
their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a
single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
[476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization because
[571] the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large
number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited
by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small
groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance
22 of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N
W
A
224

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
218. Brush	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
221. Rodents flooded out	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

Eagle (and Other) Catching

N
W
A
223

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
228. On net	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
229. Carries cage	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
239. Bird tied up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
248. Rearing other birds	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
246. Chiefly dove	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
249. Young taken from nest	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
250. Bird kept in cage	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N
W
A
[231]

N
W
A
231

Fishing

N
W
A
226

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
252a. Trout caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
257. Rabbit net used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
258. Wading in stream	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
258a. Ice pick	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
259. Net used through ice	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
259a. Communal fishing	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
260. Weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
262. Platform built over river	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
[476]

● N
W
A
226

● 227

[p. 370]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AS
266. In weir	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
270. Fish drives with willow bundles	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
273. Spear	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
274. 1 prong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
275. 2 prongs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
278. Torch or fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	+
280a. Angle	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
281a. Of bone and wood	.	.	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
282. 1 barb at angle	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
285. Pole	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
287. Grasshopper	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
288. Salmon egg	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
288a. Minnow	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
290a. Bait basket	.	.	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
291. Fly hook	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
293. Poison (toka used) placed in stream	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
294. Stream dammed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
295. Creek diverted	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Animals Eaten														
297. Dog (sorobuku) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297a. Mink (pai'uma) eaten	.	.	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
297b. Mole (teödzi' hwüsöva) eaten	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297c. Porcupine (tsa'kwuda or mühü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kamö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakamö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavüü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
297h. Kangaroo rat (kotsi) eaten	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
297j. Muskrat (pamusö) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (töka'wa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikwü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (köbö or küpa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (woda'a) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavisi) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297q. Skunk (ponī) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
297r. Bat (biya'hana) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297s. Elk (patu'huia) eaten	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
297t. Raccoon (patakai) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
226
227

N
W
A
136
262

[p.371]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1071. Twined winnowing basket (timaban)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (yata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (tsamo or tōma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a. Angular tray (mano)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1080. Twined	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1082. Conical carrying basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091. Fishing trap (eyakui)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a. Bipointed, opening on side	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. Men made	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kötonamü)	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1096. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1096a. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1100. Pointed bottom	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1102. Pitch on outside	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1105. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
1106. Handle: horsehair	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1108a. Willow	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1114. Food bowl (taida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115. Coiled	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1117. Pitch coated	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled	·	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1119. Ladle (tänobasa)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1129. Lids modern	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (maro'o)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1133. Of twined tule	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1134. Mat (sōnā)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
285
415

N
W
A
[482]
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N
W
A
[227] ●

N
A
[291]

N
A
[362]

[p.387]

226 Both lakes are extremely deep and have rather
[133] large rivers emptying into them, so that they are
not too salty for fish. Pyramid Lake claims the
[136] honor of supplying the world's largest trout;
specimens have been caught weighing more than
20 pounds. "Pyramid lake is just reaching a de-
gree of salinity sufficient to prevent human con-
sumption." Pyramid Lake was a third more saline
than Walker Lake in 1882 (Loud, 157). Kl: The
[825] Kuyui had the best fishing area in Nevada. Trout
were designated by seasonal names: spring trout
(tama arai), summer trout (tatsa arai), fall
trout (uva arai), winter trout (tomo arai). It
is to be doubted that these represent different
varieties. Arai is sometimes generic term for
fish. Ki: Trout caught only in Goose Lake and
its tributaries.

[136] 252c. "Kuyui, black-skinned fish of Pyramid
lake .... Chamistes cujus" (Loud, 157). Kl: The
kuyui is a large sucker-like fish, often weighing
more than 15 pounds, which is only caught in the
spring and early summer when it enters the
streams to spawn. The kuyui (pronounced by lo-
cal white people kwee-wee) occurred only in Pyra-
mid and Winnemucca lakes and the streams flowing
251 into them, especially the Truckee River. Great
quantities of this fish were dried each spring.
The meat was stripped from the backbone so that
from each fish two almost boneless pieces were
prepared. Only about 4 pounds of meat were ob-
tained from a 15-pound fish.

252d. Ki: + (Kelly, 97).

825 252e. Sucker called awagu. "Awago, red sucker .... Catostomus tahoensis (Loud, 156).

252g. Minnows called pak'ui or hopakui. Loud, 156: "tui-pagwI, a minnow or sucker .... Siphoteles obesus or Lencidius pectinifer"; "hu-pagwI, minnow .... Richardsonius egregius."

252i. Red-side salmon called koa'arai, "cold salmon." Silverside salmon called wovi-arai, "wood salmon."

● 227 255. Paviotso: "The dip-net and gill-net" (Curtis, 15:71). Tö: Fish net unknown in pre-white times. Only conical basket used. Kü: When the Küpa were at Nixon they employed the methods of Kuyui. In their own territory, the Küpa had different methods.

256. Ts: The Paiute fish net is similar to that of Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 7).

257. Owens Valley: Fish net same shape as rabbit net (Steward, 257).

258. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

258a. Lovelock Cave: "Ice pick" (Loud, pl. 64,g and p. 107). Kü: Informant's mother told him that the old-timers tied a sharp rock onto a stick to use to break the ice. He thought it similar to the one from Lovelock Cave. AL denied ever hearing of such an instrument being used. Ice was broken with any big stick. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

227 259. At: Minnows caught by cutting hole
226 through ice and dipping them out with a seed
beater when they come up for air.

[p.425(A)]

N 226 227 260. To: - (LP). Ki: + (Kelly, 96): A troughed willow dam and trap. Kl: The weir described by DG was a trap as well as a barrier. Willows were stuck in the mud so as to form 2 parallel rows about 2 feet apart and extending completely across the stream. The ends of the willows above the water were bent and tied together to form a trough about a foot deep. The fish trying to leap the barrier were caught in the trough. It is similar to the one described by Kelly.

W [226 227] 261. Ki: Rock dam was only used to get suckers; trout were speared. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

262. Wd: SC denied the use of platforms for fishing for the Wada, but said the Hunipui employed them. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

263. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, reports conical basket used below willow dam. To: -(LP).

W [227] 264. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

269. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

270. Ts: Willow bundle used to drive fish was called tuma'nuŋa. Practice was known by ND but not used by his band, the Tasiget. To: - (LP).

272. To: - (LP).

272-273. Wd: Denied by BJ, who described a single-pronged spear; however, SC claimed the Wada used the harpoon and no spear. I am inclined to think SC correct.

273. Kü: Fish-spear tipped with 18-inch legbone of sandhill crane reported seen at Humboldt Lake (Leonard, 161). Remy and Brenchley, 42, saw 1 used on Carson River. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

274. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

275. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251). Paviotso: "The spear, a two-pronged pole with which the fish were pinned to the bottom" (Curtis, 15:71).

W [227] 276. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

276a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

278. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, quotes from Chalfant's MS concerning fishing by aid of a fire on the bank. (See Note 293a.)

280. Kü: Leonard, 166, describes a bipointed hook, which was probably gorget type, seen used on Humboldt Lake. Paviotso: "Hook, made of two crossed bones" (Curtis 15:71). To: - (LP). Wd: Both BJ and SC claimed ignorance of type of hook used in old days, although both thought lines had been used.

281a. Kü: + (Loud, 41, fig. 8). University specimen 1-42988 from the Heizer-Krieger 1936 excavation of Humboldt Cave was carried and shown to informants, but none identified bone-barbed piece of greasewood as a fishhook. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 51, p. 41).

286. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

287. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

293. All informants who knew of drugging fish said toza (Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt. var. multifida Jeps.) root was pounded and soaked in pools, streams, and the like. Steward, 251, re-

[p. 425 (B)]

N
226 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens
● 227 Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. K1, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N
262
825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

A
[262] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit
A
[787] it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü'iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N
[832] 297k. K1: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N
[501
777
832] 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N
[136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. K1: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu'ts^u) hunted near Eaglsville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W
[262] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

N 285 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [285] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

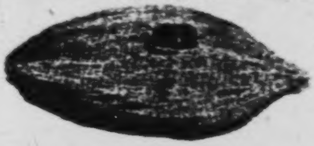
N [172]

Basket Forms

N 285 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idīwa, kawono.

N ● [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

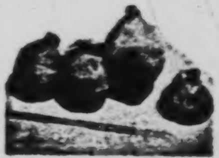


N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868.) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.



Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.434 (W)]

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[4] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[5] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[6] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *hu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[4] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[5] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[6] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

.824 [285] sehI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to se in composition; for example se-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sikupi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

● [227] [262] [226] taEpi, greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are pealed and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (shotetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tis'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, taima, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwekobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

woyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegape for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

Wadátkuht

222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

●227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh^{o}), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungíb pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 [223] Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohit), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa). Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (mōhů or tsagúd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidũ). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

Wadátkuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section. 285

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

Drum.—The drum (witu'a) is apparently recent. Piudy states 534 that it came from the north and northeast at the time of the white advent. The late intrusion seems in keeping with the fact that the 322 drum was rarely, if ever, used by shamans. According to several informants, tribes to the north employed the drum in doctoring. In recent times, the Gidü'tikad[8] have used it as a dance accompaniment. It is the usual tambourine drum—hide stretched on a circular frame.

A modern specimen which I was allowed to examine[174] was about sixteen inches in diameter. The frame was chokecherry, although juniper is more usual. Horse hide (with the hair surface facing in) was stretched taut over one side. It was held by six thongs radiating toward the center of the under side from as many slits spaced evenly along the margin of the turnover. Each thong was slit a short distance from the end and pushed through the hole in the skin cover. The body of the thong was then brought through its own end slit, just as merchandising tags are attached. The six thongs converged in the center, but their fastening was obscured by several rows of cotton cloth in wrapped stitch. The radiating thongs constituted a handle behind which the single drum stick was thrust when not in use. The stick to this drum had been lost but was described as short and hide-wrapped on one end.

A band of red paint encircled the rim of the drum, but the face proper was undecorated.

Joshua said that the drum was sometimes painted red, sometimes yellow. The coloring was applied around the edge and in the middle, the latter perhaps in stripes.

DOGS

There is practically unanimity on the subject of the native dog, 231 ● soko'puku. It was very scarce, very small, and looked "just like a coyote." It was of virtually no assistance in transportation, Dr. de [492] Angulo's assertion that "they used dogs for packing"[175] being contradicted by all informants. One[176] admitted under pressure of persistent questioning that "if a dog were good and strong he might carry a pack, but most dogs were poor, and they were pretty scarce." Certainly the dog pack was very much out of the ordinary. The travois was unknown; Bige Archie asserted that it was introduced with the horse, but this was denied by all other informants.

Because of their scarcity, dogs could never have been very important as food. The majority denied ever eating dog, but two had heard [261] of its being eaten in times of great shortage.

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[174] In possession of Nellie Townsend, Fort Bidwell.

[175] P. 322.

[176] MA.

231 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A
224 good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

452 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated.
492 The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago"o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^{a}; koso', fire; yakwi'n^{a}, hold in the hand ?) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

TRADE

Trade seems to have been carried on to a moderate extent. Sinew, arrowheads, red paint, buckskins, and moccasins were bartered with the adjacent Achomawi. The latter seem to have held moccasins in particularly high esteem, for when an Achomawi killed a Paiute he invariably removed the moccasins for his own use. In return for the above mentioned articles, the Paiute secured the Achomawi bow which "was of young oak and good and stout. It had lots of sinew on one side." Achomawi arrows (atsa'-adi; red-arrow, so-called because of red paint on them) were also "pretty good." A person might exchange a rabbitskin blanket for an Achomawi bow and arrow. 439

According to Joshua, the Paiute also secured baskets, including women's caps, from the Achomawi. This is not surprising in view of the execrable character of their own work. Piudy doubted there was much traffic in baskets; the only good Achomawi baskets, he said, were made far to the west, the craft of the eastern Achomawi not being much better than their own. Nowadays, at least, there is a certain amount of interchange, for I have noted several baskets purchased locally which are indubitably of Achomawi origin. Baskets of Klamath-Modoc type also crop up now and then.

Although Piudy minimized the traffic in food products, the Gidü'tikad[8] certainly obtained dried fish from their western neighbors. The fish were slit and sun-dried, not ground.[179] Joshua stated that the Paiute traded for kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), and yüani, tsia'na, and tsowa'm, the last three unidentified. In exchange, the Achomawi were given red paint and various foods such as ya'pa', hu"nibui, and hapi'ⁱ.

Informants report some trade with the Klamath, and there may possibly have been some with other Paiute bands, but on this I have no data. The Warm Springs Indians are said to have come from the north on trading expeditions, and it was from them that the Gidü'tikad[8] secured their first horses. "A nice looking pony" could be got in exchange for a sack of camas, but buckskin seems to have been the preferred medium. [231]

> Our horses came from the northeast, toward the Bannock. The Burns Paiute got horses and the Warm Springs Indians stole them and brought them here to trade. We had horses before the whites came.

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[179] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

252 412 (*wicwán*) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

276 [170] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

[824] The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa'^pu*. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà'^a*. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsiabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá-yodp'*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

224 231 262 171

DOGS.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212-214.

[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.

[3] See Lowie, 212 f.

[4] Chamberlin, 345.

000 animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

224 The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and
231 hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

060 The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

DRESS.

[291] The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing
[171] among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump'*. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[3] Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.
[4] Reed, 40.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
. Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
* Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

N W A 224

N ●[231]

N W A [411]

N A [736]

ELEMENTS	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2a. Communal	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*5. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	*-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-
*8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*9. With fire	+	-	-	-	*+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
*10. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	*+	-
11. In relays	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Shamanism	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	+	+	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	-	-	+	+	*+	+
14. In pit beside trail	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	*-	-	-	+
17. Single hunter stalks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Runs down	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*19. Disguise	*+	*-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	*-	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
22. Brush carried	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
24. Fire to signal hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
*25. Formal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+
26. Informal chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	*-	-
*27. Magic	-	-	-	*-	*+	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+
*Antelope Hunting														
*27a. Communal hunt	+	*+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	*+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	*+	-	+	-	*+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	*+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*29a. Brush fence around hill	+	*-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	*-	-
*30. Brush at intervals	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
31. Wings	*-	+	*-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	*+	+	
*32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	*+	*-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	-	*-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*+	-	+
36. Fire	+	+	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
*37. Notched stick	-	*-	-	-	+	*+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
*38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

[p. 366]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 224

	Te	Ki	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ah
40. Wand	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
47. Antelope mask	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
48. Round dance	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
49. Stumbling taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
50. Loss of objects taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
53. Messengers to antelope	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
57. Fires to drive	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
58. Shaman in corral	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
59. Shaman "closes gate"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
60. Special archer	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
64. Drive	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
65. Past ambushed hunters	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
66. With dogs	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
67. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Ambush beside spring	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
73. Disguise	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
74. Antelopeskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
75. Brush	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−

N A [56 276]

N W A [575]

N [231]

Mt.-Sheep Hunting

	Te	Ki	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ah
76. Surround	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
77. Drive	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
78. Past hidden hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
79. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
80. With dogs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
81. Into enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
83. Through V-fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
88. Entire skin used	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. Fire to signal hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
91. Magic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Communal Rabbit Hunting

	Te	Ki	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ah
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−

N W A [41]

[p.367]

J

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N W A 224

N W A 223

● N W A ● [231]

N W A 231

N W A 226

N [476] N W A 226 227

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kb	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AK
218. Brush	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
221. Rodents flooded out	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
228. On net	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
229. Carries cage	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
239. Bird tied up	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
245. For trade only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
246. Rearing other birds	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
248. Chiefly dove	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·
249. Young taken from nest	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Bird kept in cage	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Fishing														
252a. Trout caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
257. Rabbit net used	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
258. Wading in stream	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
258a. Ice pick	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
259. Net used through ice	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
259a. Communal fishing	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
260. Weir	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
262. Platform built over river	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 370]

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running W [224] noose for deer present (Smith, notes).

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N ● [231] 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 796] 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N [301] 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). To: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is N [787] a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

[p.422 (B)]

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

203. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso´öp°.

[177] 221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

● 231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 [134] 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were [133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[p.424(B)]

ence or at the treaty negotiations,[16] how many Indians gathered for the treaty-signing,[17] how the twenty-two Snakes present at the signing were persuaded to attend,[18] how long treaty negotiations lasted,[19] who spoke during these proceedings,[20] or the exact day the treaty was signed.[21] Available data being so scanty about the treaty proceedings as a whole, Philleo Nash concluded in 1937 that "It is impossible to learn from the treaty whom the commissioners dealt with as 'Yahooskin Snakes'"[22] in the treaty negotiations. Nash bases this statement on his examination of Klamath Agency correspondence; examination of other fugitive material which Nash did not consult makes the impossible now possible, as follows. 648

On July 17, 1864, almost three months before the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty was signed, Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew of Ft. Klamath encamped with a military expedition of sixty-two men near the head of Goose Lake, at the western base of the "Sierra Nevada Mountains" [Warner Range]. Two Indian scouts attached to Drew's expedition went from this camp "up into the Sierras [Warner Range] to hunt;" these scouts brought back twenty White prospectors they met in the mountains, as well as "three of the principal Snake Indians of that region" (underlining ours) whom, Drew says, "they were anxious we should see. These Indians came into camp on foot and unarmed, having left their horses and their arms, if they had any, some distance back in charge probably of some of their comrades." [231]

Both Indians and prospectors stayed at Drew's camp overnight. The next morning the Indians and four of the White visitors departed, the Whites leaving on the pretext of going hunting, but actually to steal the Indians' horses, which they had seen the day before: A fight over the horses ensued and one prospector was killed. 648 609

As soon as he was told what had happened, Drew sent soldiers out to bring the White men and the Indians back to his camp. Drew was apprehensive that the incident would provoke an Indian attack on the expedition, but his fears proved unfounded. "The Indians seem to have comprehended," he writes, "that the troops were in no way responsible for the outrage that had been perpetrated, and they made no hostile demonstrations toward us. Subsequently these Indians were represented 648

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Wollpah-pe
648 tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed,
622 Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all
their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name
103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes
101 River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (*ibid*., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along
the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations,
but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging
in the extreme" (*ibid*., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but
[114] McKenzie was a reliable reporter.

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345). 131 101

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246). [231] ● [411]

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140). [648] [262] [291] [231] [411]

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to 648 721 [181] [177]

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
[422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
● [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] [226] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25a).

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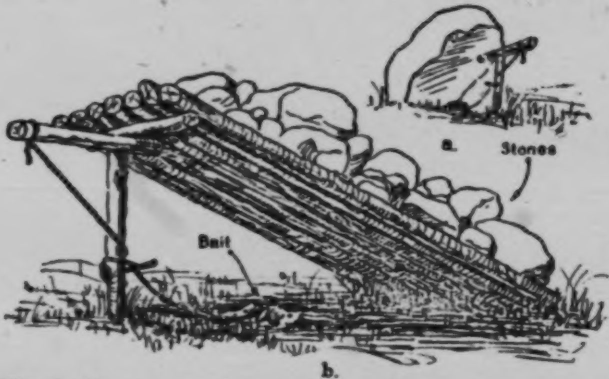
[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than words of how the weight was released. 224

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east. Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin. 291 [136] [172]



224

Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

291 [172] [178] [231] [136] [224]

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill. 224

Wadátkuht

103
361
[787]
[776] The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91, and it is at this spring that certain persons would see "water babies". This village site is located slightly more than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

[226]
[251] 14. Ak' wuhg° tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg°, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

[412] 15. Kidū dawaka ('"Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16 and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

[231]
[417] 16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí bŏbŏ' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

●231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

Wadátkuht

were plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 231 [177]

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone. [262] [825]

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Ki maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English. [552]

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people. 500

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated. 843

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults. 845

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?). 826 [789]

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was 854 826

175 648 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility [621] [178] [423] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 114 231 178 621 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

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114 Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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182 If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The
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[648] Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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177 The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

Northern Paiute NR13

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game. N 177 [231]

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations. N 177 648

The White Man: Culture without Society

W N 175 177 648

In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A [752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds.

● [232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 [182] [124] Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 [683] Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

The self bow was used only by boys; adults used the backed bow. 411 Sinew from the leg of the deer was stronger than that from the back 322 and consequently was employed in bow-making. It was chewed until 237e soft and was then warmed and applied along the back of the bow with lengthwise strokes, running from the center to the ends. It was tied at the nocks. The sinew was attached with fish glue (za'gu) "from [381] inside the sucker. It looks like little white bags. Put it in the fire to make it soft and sticky. Put this glue on the bow and then put on the sinew." There was but one coating of sinew; it was applied in a thin layer so that it would dry quickly. Three hours to a full day were required, otherwise the sinew would peel. The bow was not bent until thoroughly dry.

The bowstring (paga$^{\text{'kwi}}$) was always of two-ply sinew. The leg tendons were dried, shredded, and chewed. The strands were then overlapped and rolled on the thigh. The bow was unstrung when not in use, otherwise "it would lose its spring." One end of the string was fastened permanently and secured with pitch; the free end was noosed.

Arrows.—Arrows were of rose (tsia'b^{i}), currant (poho'nob^{i}), serv- 411 ice (wükwü'kobü),[163] tüa'b^{i}, and possibly of young cat-tail (toib^{ü}).[164] 322 Piudy said that service arrows were used only by boys, but at Beatty I saw duck arrows of that material. Arrows were of three sizes: those for bear and elk were somewhat over three feet in length, perhaps nearer four; those for deer and antelope, about three feet; those for birds, "much smaller."[165]

Arrows for big game bore a zigzag groove. The shaft was twisted in the fingers while the channel was being cut. Such arrows were called bagu'b^{ü}; the channel proper was unnamed.

An arrow was smoothed by being rubbed between two grooved stones. It was warmed, then straightened in the teeth. The arrow wrench was not regularly employed; Piudy said, "I saw somebody use one once, but I don't remember who it was." Dr. Sam reported a perforated deer horn wrench for the Silver Lake band. He called it muka'nu, a name applied by Gidü'tikad^{ü} informants to the horn flaker.[166]

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[163] Probably to be identified with Lowie's ugwo'qow^{a}, SE, 245.

[164] "The Achomawi had cane arrows" (P).

[165] The above mentioned duck arrows were about 15 inches long.

[166] The muka'nu figures in several tales as a rod of magical properties, for example, Kelly, tale 10*b*. There is much confusion concerning its translation, and several interpreters were unable to give any description, much less an English equivalent.

411 322 ●237 Arrows were invariably three-feathered, the sole exception being the rarely used unfeathered fishing arrows. Those for water fowl were always feathered; "an arrow without feathers would go no distance." Wing feathers (kwigi) of the sage hen, goose, swan, duck, or crow were split, leaving the very tip intact. They were attached with fish glue or with gum from the juniper or pine. Feathers seem to have been of fair length, five or six inches; if too long they were cut. They were attached about an inch from the end, leaving "just enough space so you could hold the arrow."

[324] The butt was nocked. The other end was slit and a stone point (taka') inserted and held with sinew lashing. There were three kinds of stone points, red (atsa'-taka'), white (toha'-taka'), and black (tuhu'-taka'). The last, black obsidian, was least valued because it broke too easily. The red, also obsidian, was said to "cost like buckskin" because of the scarcity of the stone and because a point could be used over again, even though it fell to the ground.

Arrows for birds and small game such as squirrels, rabbits, and groundhogs, were one-piece, sharpened at the end. They were dried in the sun or hardened in the fire, meanwhile being turned to prevent warping. I understood from Joshua that the shaft was sometimes bored and a greasewood point inserted, but as this was not confirmed by other informants, I may have misunderstood.[167]

According to Joshua, every man knew his own arrow. He decorated it with stripes of red, yellow, or blue, placed just behind the point and halfway down the shaft. Piudy differed as to means but not as to ends, saying, "You can tell your arrow by the feathers. Any kind of feathers could be used. Maybe I used duck; you used another kind. These Paiute never did paint the arrow." Identification of one's arrow was important as it affected division of the spoils.

In shooting, the bow was almost vertical with the arrow to its left. The release was primary, the arrow being grasped between thumb and forefinger, with the thumb superior. When shooting from ambush, the archer sometimes held the bow horizontally to avoid detection. The Achomawi are said to have held the bow horizontally.[168]

According to one informant, a person could "shoot hard from here across the street," a matter of fifty feet. Another informant thought that would be "pretty far." A well-shot arrow penetrated a deer three or four inches.

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[167] Although Lowie, SE, 245, mentions a greasewood point for rabbit arrows.

[168] Informant P.

Arrow poison.—Pindy knew only one kind of arrow poison. It was called watsi' and was used for war and for big game, including deer. It took immediate effect, producing swelling, but not affecting the edibility of the meat. 224 278 411

> Our poison is made from the deer's akwatsi', black looking stuff on the intestines which looks like the liver[169] but is smaller.[170] Cook it in the ashes and let it dry. It smells bad. Stick the arrowpoint in and let it dry, or rub on the poison with the finger. There is no cure, so you have to be careful, especially if your finger is cut.

Joshua claimed that poisoned arrows were kept apart from others; Pindy, that segregation was unnecessary as the dry poison did not rub off.

Joshua enumerated three kinds of poison (ta'iyūp^a) for arrows. A person might prepare poison from the spleen (?); he might let a rattlesnake bite the point; or he might insert the arrow in a root of wild parsnip so that it became coated with the juice. Joshua added that poison was not used much for game but principally when one "wanted to kill a man."

Quiver.—Arrows were carried in a quiver (hu'gu'"na) of otter, raccoon, lynx, coyote, or deer skin. It was not made on a framework, but the hide was stretched while wet and allowed to harden in the desired shape. It is significant that a man always made his quiver in spite of the needlework involved. Pindy gave the following directions: 411 237 e

> Fold the hide lengthwise with the head part down, because that is the small end. Sew up the side and across the bottom (nose). Leave the tail on and let it roll around in the back. Tie one end of the pack string to the fore legs and the other to the hind legs.
>
> This string goes over the right shoulder. Wear the quiver on your back when traveling. Pull it to the left side of your chest to shoot, or, if lefthanded, the other way around.
>
> The quiver can be of untanned deer hide, with the hair on. Cut the hide so the quiver will flare from the bottom; it is straight across the top and slanting on the bottom. You can put fringe on the bottom and the side.

A person carried only one quiver. This contained his bow and upward of ten arrows, although Tom Anderson estimated its capacity at forty. When not in use, the quiver hung inside the house.

Spear.—The spear was apparently unknown in the old days, although Joshua thought otherwise. The spear-thrower was certainly unknown; "They never had anything like that even far back. The old people never even talked about it."

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[169] The interpreter (NH) was positive of this.

[170] Probably the spleen.

hats. At Whiterocks I noted a young girl whose forehead was decorated with a circle painted in the middle. At Navaho Springs most of the men and some of the women had plucked out their eyebrows. 000

291 [237] The Paviotso also had rabbitskin capes for winter wear. They were very warm and lasted three or even four winters. Otherwise their main use was as a cover when sleeping. The men's costume consisted of a buckskin breechclout and fringed leggings secured with a buckskin cord. In the old days badger skin caps were occasionally worn. The woman's dress was of antelope skin and reached down just below the knees. Women did not wear leggings but exposed the leg between footgear and dress; they had basket hats. For babies blankets of sagebrush bark were made, and a boy's leggings were manufactured from deer and coyote hide. The Paviotso used a porcupine tail for a comb, also the dried and doubled roots of wild rye.

The Wind River Shoshoni women wore buckskin dresses decorated with elk teeth but not with beadwork. The cut of the dresses was like that of the cloth ones worn nowadays. Some were decorated all over with elk teeth in front. Leggings were of buckskin and distinct from the moccasins. Generally speaking, the Plains Indian style prevailed among both sexes. 000

Formerly young Shoshoni men who were courting girls used to pluck out their eyebrows. Among the Comanche I noticed that practically all the men were without eyebrows and at least to some extent the practice extends to the female sex.

The hair was parted by some Shoshoni men on the side, by others in the middle. It was not braided but hung down loose as a rule. Once in a while it was braided and wrapped on the side, but this was rare. In the early days there was a bang in the center, curled on a stick. They never wore a big braid in the back, but all had a little braid so that a feather or other ornament could be tied to it. Wawanabidi (1912) had his hair unparted but brushed up pompadour fashion in the center and with braids on the sides. The women parted their hair and left it loose; they never braided it as today. The parting line was painted red and still is. Old women with gray hair would paint it red. A peaked boy's cap of muskrat skin with two rabbit's tails for tassels is described by Wilson.[1]

The Moapa had deerskin moccasins if rich, while poor people wore jossweed (*tsowáramp'*) sandals. What the sandals (*úwüp*) were like among the Paiute was determined at Shem, where a model pair was

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[1] Wilson, 35.

000 secured (Fig. 5a). The two strings pass, each on one side of the second (next to the big) toe, are crossed over the toe and then pulled through the rear loop, against which the heel rests. They were tied in front on the instep. Sandals were worn on snow. Both men and women used them. Another Shivwits informant said that sandals were worn both winter and summer. They were made of the leaves of *ü's*, a plant identified by Powell as the yucca or Spanish bayonet.[1] In the winter a kind of bark called *cünap* was tied on the sandals across the foot by means of loops. Sandals wore out more rapidly than moccasins: if a man put them on in the morning and chased mountain sheep they were worn out in the evening on account of the many rocky places trodden. Otherwise they lasted somewhat longer.

While the Moapa and Kaibab Paiute had deerskin moccasins, the Shivwits say they made theirs exclusively of mountain-sheep skin.

The Ute wore hard-soled buckskin moccasins (of Plains Indian style).

291 -237 [824] The Paviotso wore deerskin moccasins in the summer. Skin from the tough neck of the deer was taken for the sole. Badgerskin with the hairy side in was used for winter moccasins. Softened sagebrush bark was put inside to keep the feet warm. According to one informant, only the sole was of badger hide, the uppers of buckskin. I saw a pair of woman's moccasins with a cowhide sole, deerhide uppers, and an inverted U-shaped piece in front, crenate at the top: the seam was in the back. Models of tule sandals in openwork twining were obtained for the Museum (Fig. 5bc).

000 Wind River Shoshoni moccasins were formerly all of buckskin; the Arapaho introduced the custom of having hard soles.

DWELLINGS.

In the summer the Moapa and the Tö'+intesà+u bands used a shade of rectangular groundplan called *hawáγan'*. The walls were formed of brush on three sides and the sloping roof was covered with the same material. The winter lodge differed inasmuch as the Tö'+intesà+u had cedar houses (*moγáqan'*).—conical structures with a framework of cedar trees tied together at the top and a covering of cedarbark thick enough to keep out the rain; pieces of bark were tied together with cord. Possibly this very imperfect description was meant for the slab-house type reported by Dr. Barrett from the Washo.[2] There was a fireplace in the

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[1] Powell, 126.

[2] Barrett, (b), 10, pl. II.

and stretched so as not to touch the ground. In this position it is 000
sprinkled with brains mixed with water, then soaked in water again, wrung out with a stick, put on a blanket and stretched with hands and feet. When dried it is soft like cloth.

The Shivwits do not smoke skins but the Kanab Paiute do. They dig a hole in the ground and sew the hide together putting up sticks to support it. They make a fire in the pit and allow the smoke to play on the inside, which becomes brownish-yellow. Only one side is smoked.

The Ute (Uintah) also scrape the hair off with a deer shinbone. The hide was then wetted, dried, stretched, and smoothed with a flat stone. On the dry buckskin wetted brains are used. The skin is sewed together and hung from a tripod to be smoked. My informant's tripod was standing in her summer shade and a stick extending from it to the shade formed a meat rack. For the fire the Ute use dried willows. On September 1, 1914 I was able to observe the process of smoking. The pit was rather small and in it a smoldering fire was maintained. The skin was sewed together and suspended from a tripod, being staked down with three small pieces of wood and weighted down with earth. The smoking began at 9.05 A.M. and the skin was taken down, tanned on the inside at 9.38. It was then turned inside out and suspended once more but without the bottom being staked. The second smoking began at 9.42 and ceased at 9.51, but the side tanned then was of much lighter shade than that first exposed to the smoke.

Captain Bob's wife said that in dressing a skin the Ute first of all removed the flesh with a serrate flesher, next scraping off the hair with a knife. Then the hide was soaked and stretched. A beaming tool was used only on the hairy side. Brains were put on and the hide was soaked with them, then stretched, dried and softened with a smooth stone. The beaming tool only was used on deerskins. On tough hides, such as those of the buffalo and nowadays the cow, the adze-shaped scraper is and was substituted. The beaming tool was made of deer bone.

The Paviotso remove the hair with a horse rib, which is also applied 281
to the fleshy side. The scraping process is called *pō''hwōna*. After being [237]
scraped, the skin is soaked in cow or deer brains, which process is known as *tōzó'pigin*. Rubbing the skin with the hands is called *tōcáñgo+i+a* and smoking it *tō'wipuciak* ^{ui}.

According to "Bob," the Wind River Shoshoni dressed the hides of 000
all animals in similar fashion. In making robes the hair was left on, for other garments it was removed. First the hide was stretched out on the ground, then with a toothed flesher, *tótzidòə*, the blade of which was once

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
[237] maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-
[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cö'dzitä* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening
[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
285 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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[1] Mason, (b), 480 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

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The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

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Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ārō*) by the Paviotso,—*tsītsaʙi*, *poγo'nōʙ'*, and *ugwo'qow^a*, the last-mentioned being used for arrows (*poñoss^e*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war. The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the *kuyúi* fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamūʙi*) twisted on the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point. Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirūpi'*). The arrow-head was sometimes smeared with poison (*nōtúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized with the thumb and index in shooting.

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[1] Hopkins, 54.
[2] Reed 26, 79, 83.
[3] Powell, 128.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262 Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251 cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252 mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417 pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796 people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756 as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787] constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171] viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773 stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171] emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [774] assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

237 ●

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner.

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276 pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171] his own people very seldom made them that way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 301 237

N A W 291

N A [321]

N W A 202 286

N W A [183]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1322. Necklaces (törakiapö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or butö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pakoha)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (paidöma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1328. Animal claws	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1330. Wildcat	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1331. Animal teeth	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1332. Dewclaws (takoeoma or tumitoö)	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1333. Charred pine seeds	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	−	−	−
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339. Animal fur	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339a. Human hair	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1340. Beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1341. Hoofs	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1342. Bones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1342a. Quills	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1351. Hair	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wiza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oaröpi)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (paitoötaigan)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

[p. 391]

224
756 across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for
[533] the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of
[422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

224 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together
237 with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup^1, and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be
seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these conditions 843]
causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and
escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating
and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in
the drive.

When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 224 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [833]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope
have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any
personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the
fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions
carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during
the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.

[23] Ibid., 55-57.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivalvis* are also called potE. 237 ● 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[44] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahapa, bog-rush, *Juncus*. Gosiute, pa'kwap, pa-ma-wăp.

pipohE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, seeds eaten.

saI, tule, *Scirpus lacustris*. Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, sāwapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata*. Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wă pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[44] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

N
W
171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice
never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation
[841] because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely
it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's
spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting
the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel
better, more equal."

N La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
W privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation
of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote
meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two
eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and
ate dried peyote buttons.

N The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
W elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben,
171 admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
177 have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting
*795 too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water
N Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
W during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part
[533] of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs
they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from
conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and
for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing
practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not
allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great
Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs
were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute
peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite
different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534] to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
[237] prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual
because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam.
[955] Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can."
This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture
is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

N W

*795 some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clock-
796 wise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgive-
276 ness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be
[782] concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

[237] After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. N W The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[55] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string [824] buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

N W Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any [533] peyote song they wish.[56] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[57] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. N W With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

[783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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N W [534]

[55] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[56] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[57] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

Wadátkuht

224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the
informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Toka
kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud),
the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of
Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at
Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at
the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants
did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and
butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any
case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide.
The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped
from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was
taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the
sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were
eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being
roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done
with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove
the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better
meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair
[237] from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
[192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the
Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

Wadátkuht

352 177 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term nutugwish^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow splints used for the active element were piwung. The bone
[413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string. Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who
[824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark,
● [237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide). Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger
[492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they
[525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
[292] was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[181] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab^1 (after naká, "ear")
and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
[304] which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
[881] seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pishuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

Wadátkuht

411 "pretty short". The juniper was cut and left to cure before it was made into a bow. Ike never mentioned backing the bows with sinew, so the assumption is that the Wadátkuht bow was a simple one.

[283] [824] Bowstrings were made from sinew, tihiya tamu', "deer string" (Kitty called deer tuhu'^{ya}). Kitty said that bowstrings were made from sagebrush bark and sinew twined together. She also said that bows were made from split willow (sagap^{i}) which was bent and dried. She said that chokecherry wood also could be used for bows.

[824] [413] Arrows, pamos^{a}, either could be made of serviceberry, taúbui, or arrowcane, wakokob. When serviceberry was used a straight limb was taken and dried with the bark on. When the limb was dry the bark was scraped off. Crooked serviceberry limbs were straightened with one's teeth and mouth. The arrowshaft was sighted along its length to determine its straightness. The arrowshafts made from serviceberry had the undesirable propensity to return to their original crooked condition. When this occurred they had to be heated by holding them close to the fire, or by heating them on hot stones. They were then held in the teeth and bent straight again. Arrowcane arrowshafts were better than serviceberry shafts because they remained straight. Arrows from arrowcane were straightened on a rounded stone that had been heated in the fire. It was not stated whether the stone was grooved, or not. Kitty said that arrows were heated near the fire and straightened with either the teeth or the feet used as the fulcrum point. The act of straightening arrows is called tapat^{u}, "to straighten".

●[237] Kitty and Ike were in agreement that all arrows had three feathers, although if a person did not have enough feathers he could use two on the arrow. Three feathers "carry arrow straight". Duck wing feathers and sagehen tail feathers were best for feathering arrows. Though not stated, it is presumed that the feathers were radially attached.

[824] Greasewood and serviceberry were used for foreshafts of arrowcane arrows. The foreshafts often were rubbed in sap running from a freshly broken juniper limb. This sap was smeared on one end of the foreshaft, the foreshaft was pushed into the arrowcane shaft, and sinew then was bound around the base of the shaft to securely bind the foreshaft into the arrow shaft.

Wadátkuht

412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^{w}, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called söukustu'wa. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht. [137]

[302]
[237] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhde, or wunuhds^{u}.

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534
[821] Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^{u}, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí bö̆bö̃' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans 171
did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on [241]
vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute [262]
south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1]
His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception [224]
of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of
large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not
disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the
tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one 000
of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is
thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appolas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

HUNTING AND FISHING.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hüwa, a Tö'+intesà+u seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

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[1] Chamberlin, 335.
[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick
[411] (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[014] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

AGRICULTURE.

241 They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but
222 like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds.
[412] They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

FOODS.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region [1]. But

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[136]
[319] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N W A 222

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
487. Spatulate end	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
488a. Point both ends	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuavoi)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
492. Conical seed basket (tümayuone)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
500. Wooden	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
501. Shin bone	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

● N W A ● 241

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
506. Wild seeds irrigated	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+

N W A 251

Seed Storage

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
527. Storage in cave	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
528. Storage in rock cranny	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

N W A 317

N W A 251 252

Food Preparation

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
530. Mineral from rocks	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
539. In house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
540. Pulverized	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
541. Mixed with seeds	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
542. Mixed with berries	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
543. Mixed with fat	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
552. Pulverized	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
553a. Only fish bones ground	·	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
554. Ground bone cooked	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
555. Vertebrae ground	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
556. Joints ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 376]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley. K 101 648

Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73] K 114 161

In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley,[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78] K N 648

The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum- N [166] K N [177 241]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

K N 622 648

In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

N [177] [241]

In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

N [161] 648

K N 226 251

N [161]

Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panai'na still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

N 101 [361

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they
spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back
into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into
the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other
supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches.
Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They
were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into
round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored
until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'is*, was likewise
pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[415] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
[251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'ūsd, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgi*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ŭ''ūts*, little onions; *ási*;
a'qō'; *kusiək'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+į*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubűs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing
small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tüpá-qwana* or *tŭ'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 13, 75; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*^{a}, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tü'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawúl'nö*^{a}. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.

[531] →

[412] →

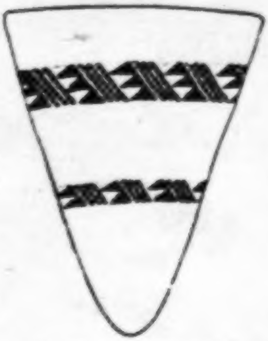

Fig. 16 (50.1–7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1–7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamö"nö, ya'td*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1–7927 and 50.1–7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.

[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 237]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
524
N
W
A
436

	Ts	K1	K2	Hm	Ts	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AS
1887. Poggus	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1888. MONEY (kuuitsa)	−	•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1890. Glass	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1891a. With middle finger	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1892. With thumb	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1893. With hand to elbow	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
TOBACCO AND SMOKING														
Pipe														
*1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1902. L-shaped bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•−	−
1903. Of stone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1904. With stem	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
*1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1906a. Bone	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
1907. Cane	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
1908. Elderberry	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
1909. Rosewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cigarette														
*1914. Cane filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
*1916. Chewing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Miscellaneous														
1921. Smoking any time	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1922. Bedtime	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+
1927. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	·	·	·	·	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
***Tobacco (pui'pamo)**														
1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	−	+	+	+	•+
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+

N
W
A
276

N
W
A
[756]
N
A
[782]
● N
W
A
● 249
276

[p. 402]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1933. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1935. Root of tsmp for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
249
276
324

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

	Ta	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1944. Cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1945. Attached to stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1947. Used by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1953. Sheep-horn rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1956a. Used by dancers	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1958. Used by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witsaviga)	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1962. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1971. Hoofs in line	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1973. Notched stick (wühunagi)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1974. Plain, notched	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1979. Used in "bear dance"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
534

W
[756]

N
[756]

N
A
[756]

	Ta	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1981. Buzzers (tösa'sühinyu)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
1982. Deer patella	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Bull-roarer

(See Games)

	Ta	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1992. 6-12	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p. 403]

N
137 Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc.
222 My informants insisted this was in pre-white
262 days.

[278] 483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called the same plant suŋu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [262] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

● [249] 509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] N [764] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

N
436 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
177 ute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to
439 use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
W [439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N
276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field
Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.
1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by
some informants that the elbow pipe was aborigi-
nal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe
N on her plate 32,b.
[177 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a re-
cent introduction.
172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).
W 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men
[276 smoked much in old days.
756] 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).
887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).
N 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Moun-
[782] tain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Töt-
sikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and
Old Winnemucca.
N 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering
[756 of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the
782] pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N
● 249 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa$^{\varepsilon P^u}$.
824 1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.
1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita,
Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with
Nicotiana.

N
534

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians
W when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
[534] (Smith, notes).
N 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).
[172 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only
756] by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a
deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley:
N + (Steward, 278).
[178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).
1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line
N along a buckskin string; the string is wound
[281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.
1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his
informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on
[178 skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa:
759] Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the
Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that
time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

[p. 439(A)]

Skunk, otter, porcupine, squirrel, rabbit, and rat were cooked in the pit oven. Otter was skinned before being placed in the ground. Porcupine was edible save for the intestines and the membrane covering them. Minnie said that squirrels were placed head to tail in the oven, but Daisy said that "they were thrown in any way, just so they were not too close together and there were plenty of coals and ashes between them." Squirrels were cleaned, singed, and left in the ground one to three hours. One informant thought they were skinned before being roasted. The intestines were sometimes eaten. Rabbits were usually skinned and cleaned before being cooked. 252

Sage hens were cleaned inside by scraping with grass, the feathers were then plucked, and the birds roasted in the coals. Sometimes they were dried and stored. Grouse and prairie chickens were roasted on the coals. The latter were not dried; "they ate them right away; there were not enough of them to dry." Mud hens were prepared for roasting the same way as sage hens. Swans were usually boiled, but were sometimes cooked in the earth oven. Geese were skinned, not plucked. They were cleaned and cooked under the ashes or roasted on the coals. Sometimes they were dried but are said not to have kept very well. Small cranes were plucked, cleaned, and cooked beneath the ashes. They were not dried.

Crickets were gathered early in the morning. A fire was built in a hole some three feet in diameter and two feet deep. If many women participated in the gathering, the hole might be five or six feet in diameter with the piles belonging to different individuals separated in the pit by a few handfuls of grass. The live crickets were dumped on the coals and roasted from a few minutes to several hours, time varying with informants. After cooking they could be dried. Biü″gü (caterpillars, larvae?) were poured on the coals and covered for two or three minutes, then eaten immediately. Ants were gathered, parched, and ground on the metate. Ant eggs were likewise parched.

Preservation of meat.—Deer, antelope, or mountain-sheep meat was cut in strips and dried near the fire or in the sun. It was hung on sagebrush, any convenient tree, or on a rack. The latter, of recent introduction, consisted of two unforked poles stuck vertically in the ground with a cross-bar tied near the top of the uprights. 251 ●

Meat was sometimes smoked in addition to being dried. In that case, willows were leaned together to make a frame and a small smudge fire of green willows started beneath. When the meat had partly dried, it was taken from the rack, and placed on the frame over the

251 fire. Here it was allowed to smoke until red when it was removed and turned, afterward being replaced on the rack for further drying.

Dried meat was pounded with tallow, stored in tule bags, and buried beneath rocks and earth. It could be eaten without additional cooking, but was usually roasted on the coals or boiled. In any event, it was softened by pounding. Jackrabbits were dried, but not so cottontails, probably because the latter were not caught in any quantity. Birds of all kinds, particularly sage hens and mud hens, were dried and boiled. Swans were also dried but did not keep well.

262 *Special dishes.*—Eggs (noho) of various sorts were gathered, prin-
252 cipally those of mud hens which were formerly plentiful in Warner valley and near Paisley. Goose, meadowlark (pa'tsi'don^{e}), and blackbird eggs, as well as those of a large crane, were utilized. The eggs of a bird[48] frequenting the Warner valley lakes were also eaten, but never those of the magpie. Eggs were cooked beneath the ashes or boiled, the latter possibly due to white influence.

Deer guts (asi')[49] were dried, boiled, and eaten. The fat from deer buttocks was dried and eaten raw with any kind of uncooked dried meat.

"Lard" (düza') was made from marrow. Bones were broken over a cavity in a rock, pounded, and water and hot stones added. After the mixture had cooled, the grease which had risen to the top was skimmed off with the hand and squeezed into a container. Fat which had been pounded, heated, and made into rolls was called yu'hu-zo'ho (fat-pound). It is said to have kept well.

251 Meat was not mixed with berries but was sometimes pounded with tu'nu'yu roots, dried, and stored in a skin bag. Joshua described a sort of pemmican of deer meat, bone, and fat. The ingredients were pounded and shaped into rolls,[50] eight or ten at a time, and then stored for winter use. Rabbit backbones and adhering flesh were pounded and fat added. This kept well and might be eaten without further preparation or made into soup. Mashed meat (zoho'-tuku'; pound-meat) and tallow were cooked with dried kuyi roots and the mixture eaten immediately.

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[48] "This bird was called oha'lt^{a}; it was about the size of a duck and was red around the eyes. The body was reddish brown" (DB).

[49] Asi' is also the word for umbilical cord.

[50] "Just like head cheese" (JB).

251
252
Black haw (*Crataegus douglasii* Lindl.) (kwinü'pe) is a berry which was formerly, but is no longer eaten. It was used either fresh or dried. Service berry (*Amelanchier venulosa* Greene) (ti'gabui) was eaten fresh or dried, boiled or uncooked. Such berries were always kept overnight; otherwise they would give one a stomachache. They were crushed before being dried. Daisy said that ground a'gü' seeds were mixed with mashed fresh berries (particularly ti'gabui), or with dried berries which had been soaked, and the compound eaten without further preparation. It was called düma'iyu (mixture of any sort) or tützaʼkiü (also mixture, but applying only to fruits and the like).

Mogu'tsiabui (gooseberry; mogu', thorn), boko'pe (wild currant), and atsa'pui (*Ribes cereum* Dougl.) were eaten fresh and uncooked. Before gathering atsa'pui, a person had always to throw a handful of dust on the bush, otherwise he would surely have a headache. Dust was also thrown on a berry bush to prevent birds from eating the fruits.

Buffalo berry (*Shepherdia argentea* Nutt.) (wi'yüpui) called for special preparation. One might eat the berries fresh, but if a person were going to dry them, he covered them with rye grass to which he set fire. While the grass was burning he stirred the whole well in order to cook the berries. After this preliminary cooking, the fruits were dried. Dried buffalo berries had to be "washed hard" to remove the accumulated charcoal. Afterward they were boiled, drained, and crushed. My informant said that nowadays buffalo berries are mixed with flour and sugar and made into a pudding.

Elderberries (*Sambucus glauca* Nutt.) (hubu') were eaten fresh or dried; they were not cooked before being dried.

272
The Gidü'tikadᵃ used to manufacture a beverage from juniper berries (wa"pui). The fruits were picked, broken in the hands, and water added. After a thorough stirring, the pitch rose to the top and was skimmed off with a blade of grass. The beverage was served in individual willow bowls and drunk immediately. Sometimes it was mixed with pounded deer liver to make a "gravy." Juniper berries were never kept any length of time.

222
252
Roots.—From early spring well into summer root gathering was an economic activity of great importance. Women went each day to dig ya'pa', tu'nu"yu, mu"a', hu"nibui, pa'si'go'ᵃ, and other roots. These they prepared by boiling or by pit-roasting,[44] or sometimes preserved

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[44] Spier (Havasupai, 119) is probably mistaken in thinking pit-roasting absent in the Basin. Although Lowie does not mention it in Shoshonean Ethnography, he does report it for the Northern Shoshone (188); for the Gosiute, Chamberlin (337, 339) speaks of it as "the usual method of cooking" certain roots; and among these Paviotso, it is a standard method of food preparation.

received in powdered form.[88] Joshua listed the fish obtained through 439
trade as kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), yüani, tsia'ns, and tsowa'n.

Preparation of fish.—Fish were usually cooked in the ashes of the 251
fireplace, although they could be boiled. They were dried on a rack 252
or hung from the boughs of a juniper, but were never placed near the fire to dry as was meat. Usually fish were slit before drying but sometimes not, doubtless depending upon size. As a general thing, fish were not smoked.

Dried fish were packed in an open-twine tule or sagebrush-bark 251
sack "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." These bags 416
were called mago"o (general word for container) and were possibly four feet in length and two in width. Their size argues considerable quantity. Minnie Anderson said that fish did not keep very long; "they tasted funny." Dried fish were prepared by boiling or by roasting but were not pounded.

Fish eggs (a'gai naho) were dried and ground.

VEGETABLE FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION

The Gidü'tikad[5], like other non-agricultural peoples, gathered 222
such seeds, berries, and roots as their habitat offered. All informants 137
stressed the great plenty of these foods in the early days, and their statements are corroborated by those of the first settlers, who maintain that, although now sage-covered, the whole valley was formerly meadowland. Plant specimens are difficult to obtain and on the whole the data are pretty meager. Surprise valley itself yielded little, but a number of specimens were procured on the southern shores of Cowhead lake, a few miles northeast of Fort Bidwell; some were also gathered west of the Warners and a few more near Beatty, Oregon. The seed material is particularly sparse; the list below probably includes less than a fourth of the original number. It does appear however, that the most important seed plants are represented. The list of berries and roots is somewhat larger and seems relatively complete.

Seeds.—In late summer women gathered seeds in a twined conical 222
basket or in a light sack of deer or antelope hide. For ordinary seeds, 415
such as grasses, the woman held the container in her left hand and knocked the seeds into it with the twined beater which she wielded in her right hand. She gathered other seeds, such as those of sunflowers, by pulling the dry blossoms and depositing them in the burden basket.

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[88] Cf. de Angulo, 230.

by drying in the sun. Nowadays there is little root gathering, one very good reason being that the plants are no longer to be found. In May of 1930, however, a party of older Gidü'tikadᵃ women crossed the Warners to Davis creek[66] and there spent several days digging ya'pa'. 222 252

The digging stick in use today is a straight iron bar about three feet in length, pointed at one end, the other end turned in a loop or else provided with a wooden cross-piece as a handle. The old digging stick (bodo') was a straight piece of mountain mahogany (tu'pi) sharpened to a point with a stone knife or by being rubbed on a stone and hardened in the fire. Sometimes a limb at right angles made a handle of sorts, but ordinarily the stick was unhandled and the butt bound with buckskin to protect the hand. In digging, the butt rested against the body, one hand on it, and the other part way down the shaft. From demonstrations, the technique was one of pushing rather than of thrusting. 412

Roots of various members of the parsley family figured prominently in Paviotso diet, particularly ya'pa' (*Carum oreganum* Wats.), commonly known as epos. Quantities of it were gathered from the hills east of Surprise, and from the flats near Bear ranch in the south end of the valley. The roots were rubbed on an open twine tray to divest them of their skins and were subsequently prepared in a variety of ways. They might be eaten immediately, raw or boiled, or else dried in the sun and stored. Dried ya'pa' was boiled and sometimes pounded. Most kinds of dried roots were soaked and eaten without being either pounded or cooked. 251 ● 252

Ha'pi'ⁱ was a root of some importance and was formerly plentiful in the hill country east of Surprise, although today it is difficult to find a single specimen. It is a *Lomatium*, probably *L. canbyi*, a species known from eastern Oregon. The roots were cooked in the earth oven, either fresh or dried. Ha'pi'ⁱ, like ya'pa', was skinned on a basket tray and dried in the sun. Tu'nu'"yu (*Lomatium leptocarpum* C. and R.) was also found east of Surprise as well as near Bear ranch and in Fandango valley. The flat west of Bear ranch derived its native name, Tu'nu'"yu-kama'ᵃ, from this root. Tu'nu'"yu was eaten uncooked, either fresh or dried, and when stored, was mixed with ya'pa'. The roots are said to have spoiled if they became damp.

Hu'"nibui (*Lomatium macrocarpum* C. and R.) also was eaten either fresh or dried. Charlie Washo thought it could be eaten raw

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[66] Achomawi territory.

251
252

but that it was usually cooked. A related form known as pa-ya"p^a (explained as water (pa) ya'pa') has been doubtfully identified as *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.

Camas, called pa'si'go'^{a} or tapa'kog^i (*Camassia quamash* Greene), was plentiful in certain districts such as Fandango and Big valleys. The roots were gathered in large quantities and dumped into an earth oven with a few handfuls of rye grass separating the piles of different individuals. They were allowed to cook overnight with a small fire on top of the pit. When cooked, the roots were either eaten directly or else dried, in which condition they are said to have kept well.

The roots of mu"a' (*Allium pleianthum* Wats.) were gathered in great numbers, two to five sacks at a time. Fire was kindled in a pit and small stones added. When there were sufficient coals, the mu"a' was placed in the oven, covered with grass and earth, and left overnight. The seeds of this plant were never eaten, but the green leaves were regarded as a sort of relish. Leaves of gü'ka' (*A. acuminatum* Hook) were similarly regarded. The bulbs of this onion were sometimes roasted, but I was told that "we don't care much about the roots." The seeded heads of gü'ka' were gathered in bunches and placed in the hot ashes for two or three minutes, then the seeds were extracted and eaten. Badi's^i (*A. bisceptrum* Wats.) and pani'zi (*A. platycaule* Wats.) were treated the same as gü'ka' but their bulbs were more highly regarded. Wini'da (*Brodiaea hyacinthina* Baker) furnished bulbs which were roasted; the seeds and leaves were not considered edible.

Joshua stated that the digging stick was not required in gathering wild onions; "they just pulled them up with the hands." He said that such bulbs were cooked in small quantities by being placed between two heated rock slabs until soft. According to him, "They were all fresh. They never made your belly ache, your tooth ache, or your head ache; no, nothing. They all ate them." My notes do not mention drying the *brodiaea* or any of the wild onions, and in view of Chamberlin's observation,[66] it seems likely that they were not so treated.

Bulbs of ko'gi' (*Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl.) were skinned and eaten fresh in spring, but they were never plentiful enough to be dried. Bitter root (*Lewisia rediviva* Pursh.) (kañü'tc^a) was pulled and boiled "like macaroni." It could also be dried. Informants asserted that the Warm Springs Indians ate bitter root.

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[66] P. 360.

One informant spoke jestingly of kuyi (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) as 251
"Indian Limburger."[87] She said that the tops were broken off and 252
the roots left overnight in the pit oven, in this instance with no fire on top. In the morning when the mess was uncovered, it was "black as coal" and smelled bad but was sweet to the taste. An unidentified root called guyū is probably the same thing. It was gathered chiefly in Big valley (which derived its native name from it) and at Twenty Mile, between Warner and Surprise valleys.

The roots of bikwa'ida (*Balsamorhiza terebinthacea* Nutt.) were eaten raw, either fresh or dried. Sometimes they were roasted in the ground and pounded. Ko'tsiū', another sunflower (*Cirsium acaulescens* Sch.), furnished roots which were eaten raw, or if plentiful, were roasted in the earth oven. The roots of yet another composita, kwanū'pie (*Scorzonella* sp.), were similarly cooked.

Unidentified roots include iza'"ᵉbui (coyote's eyes),[88] which is said to grow extensively near Paisley and sporadically in Warner valley. It was cooked in the ashes and had a sweet flavor. Tsu'ga is a root which grows only in Oregon. Tsa'na-tsu'ga (sweet tsu'ga) is a root which used to grow in the high country east of Surprise and on the hills of Bidwell canyon. It was cooked in the ground and sometimes dried.

Miscellaneous.—The leaves of tūbu'hi (*Crepis occidentalis* Nutt.) were eaten raw; the stem and root were not used. The peeled stems of young iza'"ᵉkwasi' (coyote's tail) (*Cirsium occidentale* var. *candidissimum* Macbr.) were eaten raw. Roots of young tule and cat-tail were gathered, broken open, and the white meat eaten uncooked. It was not dried. Haws of the wild rose (*Rosa pisocarpa* Gray) (tsia'bⁱ) were pounded with deer tallow and eaten.

Salt was not known to the Gidū'tikadᵃ before the coming of the 263
whites. They had a sugar substitute in honey-dew which was deposited on leaves by a "little black bug," doubtless aphis. The syrup was gathered and used without any preparation. Sugar was not secured from cottonwood or from cat-tail.[89]

Fermented beverages and intoxicants were unknown. A tea was [278
produced by pouring hot water on the dried leaves of a species of 272
Mentha, possibly *M. arvensis* L., and by boiling the stalks of wild rose

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[87] Fremont (160) notes that the "Snakes" near Fort Hall ate the roots of *Valeriana edulis* which they called kooyah.

[88] Bui is the term for berry, root, and eye.

[89] The Pyramid Lake Paiute are said to make a candy-like substance from cat-tail pollen.—Loud and Harrington, 158.

226 The construction of willow weirs in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake was noted by Stansbury[1] and this custom was also described by one of my Uintah informants. The Ute, he said, would stand in the water, catch the fish by the tail as it entered the fence and move their hands up to its head. It would struggle and sometimes make its escape, other-
226 wise they hit it on the head with a stick and killed it. Sometimes the
462 fish were thrown out by men to the women, who would split them in two, remove the bones, and hang the fish up on a frame for drying. The dried
● 251 fish were stored in caches and eaten in the fall. Fish were also cut into pieces and boiled in earthen vessels. They were shot with barbed arrows,
[501] the hunters at times pursuing them on grass rafts. An Indian of the White River band said that though this was a Uintah custom, no such rafts were used by the White River people.

The Paviotso fished extensively, catching mountain trout in Pyramid and Muddy Lakes, and other species in other localities such as the Humboldt River, which were dried for winter use.[2]

226 Wilson repeatedly refers to fishing by the Shoshoni and specifically mentions trout and salmon. He describes women and children fishing through the ice of Jefferson River and tells how he himself would angle with a line made from horse-tail hair.[3]

VEGETABLE FOOD.

241 Agriculture was wholly lacking among the Plateau Shoshoneans,
177 excepting only the Paiute; and even in this tribe it was confined to the Shivwits and Kaibab bands. The Moapa distinctly denied having raised corn before the coming of the whites. From the Shivwits the following brief account was obtained. The Indians planted both corn (*hawü'ʙ*^{i})
241 and squashes (*pàrañàrŏ*) before white contact. Irrigation was employed. Ditches were dug with an implement called *passdū'*^{u}, which was shaped with a sharp rock. Along the Colorado River driftwood furnished the material, elsewhere a species of willow or the mesquite. The ground was watered from the spring before planting the seeds. When the water had not quite dried up, the men dug holes with a sharp-pointed stick (*aγō̆'ts*), while the women inserted the seeds. The earth was removed and later heaped up with the hands. When the plants came up, a second irrigation was customary. One corncob was used to shell another, and the seeds were ground on a metate (*maʀ*).

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[1] Stansbury, 148.
[2] Hopkins, 11, 15, 76.
[3] Wilson, 20, 35, 62, 83.

It is more than probable that even among the corn-planting Paiute 222
life depended mainly on seed-gathering and hunting, as among the other 241
Plateau Shoshoneans.

A full discussion of Gosiute ethno-botany has been given by Chamberlin 114
in a paper already cited. My own relatively meager data on that 241
of other Shoshoneans follow.

The Moapa gathered various seeds growing round the mountains 222
and prepared them for the winter. Among these were sunflower seeds.
When the mesquite ripened the people would come down from the mountains 251 ●
and dry them for the winter. At present cassava melons and watermelons [241]
are extensively planted. Pine-nuts were and are used to a considerable extent. Practically all the Moapa left for a pine-nutting expedition in the middle of September, 1915, and did not expect to return before some time in October. When I arrived among the Shivwits in the second half of September, they, too, had departed to gather piñon nuts and though some returned after a short time they were preparing to go out again for the same purpose. Of the Kaibab Powell writes as follows:—

> They gather the seeds of many plants, as sunflowers, golden rods, and grasses. For this purpose they have large conical baskets, which hold two or more bushels. The women carry them on their backs, suspended from their foreheads by broad straps, and with a smaller one in the left hand, and a willow-woven fan in the right, they walk among the grasses, and sweep the seed into the smaller basket, which is
> emptied now and then into the larger, until it is full of seeds and chaff; then they 222
> winnow out the chaff and roast the seeds. They roast these curiously; they put the
> seeds, with a quantity of red hot coals, into a willow tray, and by rapidly and dexterously 252
> shaking and tossing them, keep the coals aglow, and the seeds and tray from burning. As if by magic, so skilled are the crones in this work they roll the seeds to one side of the tray, as they are roasted, and the coals to the other.[1] (There follows the description of grinding the seeds on a metate, for which see below.)

The Ute likewise depended partly on vegetable food. In August 222
1849, Stansbury encountered a group of naked Indian women and girls
gathering grass-seeds in the valley of Ogden's Creek for their winter 251
provisions, "with their baskets dangling at their backs." At an abandoned campsite on the Great Salt Lake the same observer found "a quantity of some species of seeds which they had been beating out," and the grinding of seeds into a kind of flour between two flat stones is noted in another connection.[2] A Whiterocks informant explained that formerly old women would go up the mountains in quest of berries, taking along willow baskets with a burden strap. The women would reach

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[1] Powell, 128 f.; Spier found an identical method among the Havasupai.
[2] Stansbury, 82, 103, 148.

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they
spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back
into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into
the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other
supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches.
Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They
were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into
round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored
until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'és*, was likewise
pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[415] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
• [251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'ünă, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgí*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ü''üts*, little onions; *ăni*;
a'qō'; *kustak'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+j*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubûs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tüpá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no
acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from
their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in
Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251 ●
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252
mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the
ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals
in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information
is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted
it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized
religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently.
It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious
forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite
well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he
positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the
world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [774]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the
Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which
George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently
found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
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782
796

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

N
W
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222
252
251

Gathering

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
•410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
413. Grinding in mortar (puram)	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

Miscellaneous Plants

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
•433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mütsö)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
436. Needles burnt off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
[462]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	•+
•443a. Hooked pole (tsamu) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
•445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
451a. Piled on ground, covered	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
•457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
•458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
•462. Nuts ground on metate (mata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
•467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
•468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

N
W
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[423
262]

[p.374]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS 5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Af	N W A
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	*–	*–	–	*–	–	+	–	+	–	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	*+	–	–	+	–	222
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	252
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	N
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	–	A
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	[261]
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*Other Plants and Seeds Used															N W
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
*483a. Sunflower (aköpö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	137
*483b. Sunflower (paoö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222
483d. Sunflower (kusiaka)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	262
*483e. Sunflower (kusipacö)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.	
*483f. Pickleweed (kuhava)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.	
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.	
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanakö)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	+	.	
*483i. Saltbrush (sönö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	*+	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	.	
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
*483kk. Rabbit brush (mogodühupi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	–	+	.	.	+	.	N
*483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihovi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	A
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
*483p. Wild tobacco (puivano)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[276]
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pawia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	.	.	
*483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	
*483t. Spike rush (pamasivö)	.	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	.	.	
*483v. Sagebrush (sawava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	
*483w. Saltbrush (uweka)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
*483x. masai	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
*483y. commosigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	
*483z. hiwovi	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
*484. Jointfir (tuudupi)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	
*484a. saiagava	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	–	.	.	.	.	.	
*484b. Indian balsam (tosa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	*–	+	+	+	+	.	
484e. yapö	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
484f. tsupagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	–	–	.	
*484g. tüvsa	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	.	.	
*484h. tövusi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	.	
484i. Indian potatoes (camas?) (saga or hüga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsö)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	
Gathering Implements															N W
*485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	A
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222

[p. 375]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
222

	Ty	Kl	K2	Hi	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Ki	AS
487. Spatulate end	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
488a. Point both ends	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuavoi)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
492. Conical seed basket (tünnywono)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
500. Wooden	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
501. Shin bone	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

N
W
A
241

	Ty	Kl	K2	Hi	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Ki	AS
*506. Wild seeds irrigated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	*+	+	+	*-	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+

Seed Storage

● N
W
A
251 ●

	Ty	Kl	K2	Hi	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Ki	AS
521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
527. Storage in cave	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-
528. Storage in rock cranny	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

Food Preparation

N
W
A
317

N
W
A
251
252

	Ty	Kl	K2	Hi	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Ki	AS
*529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	-	-	*+	*+	+	*-	-	-	-	-	-
530. Mineral from rocks	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*533. Roasted, entrails removed	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*538. Smoked	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
539. In house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	*-	-	-
540. Pulverized	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	-	-
*541. Mixed with seeds	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*542. Mixed with berries	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
543. Mixed with fat	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	-	+	+	*+	-	+	+	+	-	+	*+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
552. Pulverized	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
553a. Only fish bones ground	·	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
554. Ground bone cooked	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
555. Vertebrae ground	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
556. Joints ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 376]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N ●
W
A
251 ●
252

N
266

N
X
342

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
558. Feet dried	+	−	+	−	−	−	*+	−	*+	*+	−	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	−	+	−	+	+
*562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
563. In basket	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
566. Pair forked sticks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
*568. Boiling in pot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	−	−	*+	*+	−	−	−	−	*+	−	−	−	+	−
*HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	−	−
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	−	−
Sun Shade														
*582. Brush or tree only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	*−	−
584. Posts: 6-8	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
584a. Any number	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
586. Side walls: 1	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
586a. More than 1	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
588. For summer use	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
589. For winter use	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	−	*+	+	+	+	*−	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
594a. 8-10	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
595a. 14-20	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
598. Layers of grass (maiava)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
600. Mat	−	−	−	*+	*+	*+	*+	−	+	*+	*+	−	−	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	*+	−	+
606a. Opposite wind	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	−	*+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−

[p.377]

226 Both lakes are extremely deep and have rather [133] large rivers emptying into them, so that they are not too salty for fish. Pyramid Lake claims the [134] honor of supplying the world's largest trout; specimens have been caught weighing more than 20 pounds. "Pyramid lake is just reaching a degree of salinity sufficient to prevent human consumption." Pyramid Lake was a third more saline than Walker Lake in 1882 (Loud, 157). Kl: The [825] Kuyui had the best fishing area in Nevada. Trout were designated by seasonal names: spring trout (tama arai), summer trout (tatsa arai), fall trout (uva arai), winter trout (tomo arai). It is to be doubted that these represent different varieties. Arai is sometimes generic term for fish. Ki: Trout caught only in Goose Lake and its tributaries.

[136] 252c. "Kuyui, black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake .... Chamistes cujus" (Loud, 157). Kl: The kuyui is a large sucker-like fish, often weighing more than 15 pounds, which is only caught in the spring and early summer when it enters the streams to spawn. The kuyui (pronounced by local white people kwee-wee) occurred only in Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes and the streams flowing into them, especially the Truckee River. Great 251 quantities of this fish were dried each spring. The meat was stripped from the backbone so that from each fish two almost boneless pieces were prepared. Only about 4 pounds of meat were obtained from a 15-pound fish.

252d. Ki: + (Kelly, 97).

825 252e. Sucker called awagu. "Awago, red sucker .... Catostomus tahoensis (Loud, 156).

252g. Minnows called pak'ui or hopakui. Loud, 156: "tui-pagwI, a minnow or sucker .... Siphoteles obesus or Leucidius pectinifer"; "hu-pagwI, minnow .... Richardsonius egregius."

252i. Red-side salmon called koa'arai, "cold salmon." Silverside salmon called wovi-arai, "wood salmon."

227 255. Paviotso: "The dip-net and gill-net" (Curtis, 15:71). Tö: Fish net unknown in pre-white times. Only conical basket used. KH: When the Küpa were at Nixon they employed the methods of Kuyui. In their own territory, the Küpa had different methods.

256. Ts: The Paiute fish net is similar to that of Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 7).

257. Owens Valley: Fish net same shape as rabbit net (Steward, 257).

258. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

258a. Lovelock Cave: "Ice pick" (Loud, pl. 64,g and p. 107). KH: Informant's mother told him that the old-timers tied a sharp rock onto a stick to use to break the ice. He thought it similar to the one from Lovelock Cave. AL denied ever hearing of such an instrument being used. Ice was broken with any big stick. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

227 259. At: Minnows caught by cutting hole 226 through ice and dipping them out with a seed beater when they come up for air.

[p.425(A)]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

K N
In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths 622
was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken 648
of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other
bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of
'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The
Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however;
this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at
Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late
1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far
as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate
names as having come on the Reservation at the same time
Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate N
says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot [177]
and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently [241]
here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and
in improvement generally."[239]

In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the N
Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred [161]
and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] 648
In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as
38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis'
statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted ● K
of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate N
wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of 226
this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went 251 ●
with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried
a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining N
here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi [161]
population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panai'na still live at the N
"Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge 101
from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi [361
has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern
Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits
abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred
individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of
the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region
over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one
person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was
denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a
large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of
the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 221 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.*

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium),
and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel
of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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* During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior*. The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows [354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some [251] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] 2. *Grass House*. The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. *Bark House* (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. *Cave House*. Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. *Cloth House*. The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. *Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks*. These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[342 841] 7. *Shades*. These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. *Winter Menstrual Hut*. This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[342] 9. *Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343 844 10. *Birth House*. This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by these informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

PLATE 4

342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary
[222 shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of
263] the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and [415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi. Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with
[415 dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made water-
531 tight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for
252] cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the
222 water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of
251 worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis,* was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis,* is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata,* are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[44] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahago, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wip.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?,* seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute sump, saip. [262]

sawipi, sawapi, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wa pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[44] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo
[136] trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south
through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals
into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to
Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of
Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway
crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured
two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the
relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its
name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that
place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wuhg^{o} ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the
[251] Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu.
Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly
aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to
conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their
locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon
174 an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture
even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

103
361 The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91,
and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more
[776] than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg^{o} tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten").
This seems to be a general term for camping places along
Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg^{o}, "Sucker").
The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82
T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the
informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas
[226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers
ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers
[251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidū dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin
said this name applied to the place where she had her home
before her death. She seemed to be the only individual,
however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this
place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one
mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation
for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16
[412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite
boulders at the site which would indicate that the site
had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines,
cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which
Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said
[231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information
concerning this village was obtainable, except that
[417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a
corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air
of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that
there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not
know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so
he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept
the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and
Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
735 enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, remarked
476 to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hearing,
[262] the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

Wadátkuht

identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they [226] swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught [251] the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^a (a plant said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion") and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they occurred. The tops of padus^a, which had a white blossom and [262] looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this plant to grow was under willows along streams.

It was not until summer, however, that the products of the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months. The following are summer products. [252] The small yellow seeds of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds, however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly. Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald Mountain.

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^w). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute [101] group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned [251] buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

Wadá tKuht

222 winnowed to remove foreign material, then reduced to a flour with a mano and metate and made into a soup. Flour from the atsá seeds could be mixed with snow in the winter to make "ice cream".

In the summer currants, called pokóp^{shia} (Ribes sp.), were picked near Standish. In mid-summer red raspberries (Rubus sp.), called atsá pui, were gathered on Parker Creek and behind the 42 ranch (between Milford and Buntingville). Raspberries were eaten fresh or were dried for winter use.

About the beginning of August, before sunflower seeds were harvested, yapa and moa roots were dug in the Last Chance Creek area in Plumas County. Dixie Valley, in that area, is called Tasu^{P} ("Wild Game Spot") because it was a good place to hunt deer. Although the Wadátkuht went there to gather roots and presumably to hunt the region belonged to the Washo according to Gladys Mankins.

222 252 The moa bulbs (unidentified), after having been unearthed with a digging stick and washed in a basket sieve, called yuhtá, were put in a large pile in a preheated pit lined with flat stones. Hot stones from a second fire were put on top of the bulbs and covered with oak leaves or fir branches. The oven was opened "after several days". The bulbs were removed from the oven and mashed with the hands and made into patties which were dried in the sun. A flat stick was used to turn the patties over as they dried.

222 [251] [415] [482] The Joaquin family remained in the Last Chance area for about a month each summer gathering roots and drying the patties. At the end of this time the patties were loaded into conical burden baskets, called túma, and carried back to the main winter camp of Matá at Milford.

[252] While in the vicinity of Last Chance and Indian Creeks in Plumas County wild rhubarb was gathered at about the same time as yapa (possibly Carum sp.) and moa. This plant was eaten raw but was not too well liked because it was too sour.

[413] [251] [252] Seeds of two kinds of sunflower, pákuh and akú, were gathered after wada was harvested. A seed beater, called tsiku, was used to knock off the heads of the sunflowers into a burden basket. The heads were taken home and beaten in order to knock out the seeds. The seeds were stored away to be hulled and ground as needed. The ground seeds produced a flour, called akí, which was eaten without further preparation, or could be cooked into a mush.

Wadátkuht

222 Seeds of the sunflower were parched oftentimes before
[251] being stored away. Parching, called sagá, is differentiated
from heating seeds somewhat like popcorn, an action termed
kutsí kwu'^{t}. Flour from these seeds was considered to be
more a dessert than a staple. An important place for gathering sunflower seeds, particularly for the Secret Valley
Wadátkuht, was at Mud Flat (Tubisha nöna).

Chokecherries, called ta'shabui ("deep-red chokecherry"),
were picked before going to gather pine nuts. The choke-
[252] cherries were prepared by being pitted in a sieve. This was
done by rubbing the flesh of the chokecherries through the
interstices of the basket leaving the pits in the basket.
This action was called tudá kwid^{a}. The mashed chokecherries
were made into patties and dried for winter use. When the
patties were soaked in water "they become fresh, they taste
good". A favorite place for obtaining chokecherries was
along Parker Creek near the village of Kasawihnaid.

Elderberries, called hubú, were gathered at the village
of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, or at least in this vicinity, when they
became ripe in the late summer or early fall. The berries
[251] were gathered by picking the complete stem, or bunch, then
drying them that way. An energetic person might pick the
berries from the stem.

Late in the summer níshu (apparently Mormon crickets)
and kúa (locusts), when they occurred in great numbers, were
gathered for food. Good places to collect níshu were Secret
Valley and in the vicinity of Doyle. They were collected by
being scraped into a container with the hands, or by being
picked from sagebrush where they would be clustered in great
numbers. The gathering had to be done early in the morning
before the insects became warm and active. After they had
been gathered a pit would be dug into the ground and a fire
[252] built in the pit. When the fire was reduced to a quantity
of hot coals the insects were dumped into the pit and immediately covered with earth. From time to time they were
[251] sampled to see if they were done. When cooked the insects
uncovered and removed from the pit and laid in the sun to get
perfectly dry. After drying they were sacked for future use.
Before they were eaten, however, their heads and legs were
[252] pulled off and discarded. The body was ground into a flour
with a mano and metate and eaten dry, or made into a soup
which had a flavor somewhat like that of dried deer meat.
(Deer meat also could be ground into a flour coarser than
[263] acorn flour and made into soup.) Flour made from níshu could
be salted to taste when eaten.

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quartities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

[224] Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab^{i} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this [177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

[137] The most important single food plant product in the Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered in large enough quantities some years to last for two or [251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

Wadátkuht

222 up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

● [251]

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh^{o}), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungít pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohít), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa).

[223] Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (möhü or tsagüd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidü). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several men watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. THe men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

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224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the
informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Tóka
kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud),
the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of
Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at
Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at
the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants
did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and
butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any
case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide.
The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped
from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was
taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the
sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were
eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being
roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done
with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove
the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better
meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
[237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair
from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
[192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the
Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

Wadatkuht

222 The buckberry (wiápui, "iron seed", Elaegnus sp.) was enjoyed by the Wadátkuht but does not grow in their territory. These berries had to be gotten to the east about Gerlach, [439] Winnemucca and Yerington, Nevada. They were undoubtedly obtained through trade and visits to the areas in which they grew.

The buckberry was good to eat fresh and "tastes like fresh huckleberries". One person held the limb of the bush down while another person beat the berries off into a basket. [251] The berries were dried and stored to be used as needed. [252] Dried berries were boiled for about fifteen minutes and then strained through a basket sieve to remove the seeds.

MATERIAL CULTURE

342 Habitations. The relatively permanent, or winter type of house was the conical, tule covered structure called káni. Susy Buster said that no excavation was made for this house but Kitty Joaquin and Gladys Mankins said that a pit about one foot deep was excavated. Whether a pit was dug or not was probably left up to individual preference. The ground plan was circular and ranged from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. Vertical willow poles (Susy Buster said juniper poles were used) were sunk into the ground in a circle, and at the rim of the excavation. The willow poles were about ten feet long and were lashed to a hoop of willow at their upper extremities. The willow hoop was about eighteen inches in diameter and served as the smoke hole. The vertical uprights standing in a circle had, of course, to be bent inward to be lashed to the ring. Several, Susy Buster said three, horizontal elements of willow encircled the vertical, or rather upright elements to give additional stability to the house. The structure was then covered with tule matting (not mentioned by Susy Buster) and then with shingled frames of tules. These frames, called síkwat, consisted of two poles about eighteen inches apart with tules attached to a depth (thickness) of about six inches. These frames of tules were put on in such a way that they provided a shingled pattern. That is to say, both the frames and the underlying tule mats were first attached to the bottom of the house. The dirt from the excavation was banked around the outside of the house and brush piled all around the house for a windbreak and fuel supply for the winter. A ditch also was dug around the house to carry away rain water and melting snow.

222 (hu· 'adada·^{a})[44] were never eaten but an unidentified insect similar to the grasshopper was considered edible. Ants (a˙ 'ni) were gathered early in the morning when they were bunched on the top of the hill. Ant eggs (a˙ 'ninoho) were gathered. "Worms" or larvae of some sort, probably caterpillars[45] (called biŭ˙ 'gŭ). were gathered early in the morning. They did not come every year and nowadays are never found in this vicinity. My interpreter saw some this summer near Gerlach, Nevada.

262 Animals not eaten. -- Coyote (iza''^{a}) was hunted with the bow but
224 was not taken in a deadfall. Gidŭ´tikad^{u} claim not to have eaten the flesh because it tasted badly, but they made use of the pelt. Wolf (i˙ ''shaʃ is said by Minnie to have an unpleasant odor. With exceptions of Piudy, all informants agreed that it was never eaten. He claimed that is was hunted with the bow and that the flesh was roasted on the coals.

Informants also denied eating fox (wañi·^{i}), dog (soko´puku),[46] lizard (kwida´mugus; kwida,´ excrement), frog (waha´tsa), snake (dogo`kw^{a}), and skunk (poñi´tc^{u}). They stated that the Achomawi ate coyotes and that tribes to the east ate snakes and dogs. Several declared skunks inedible, but as I obtained an account of its preparation, I presume it was eaten by some; the Burns Paiute are said to have eaten it. Mice (puña´ z^{i}) were declared too small to eat. Magpies (kwida`kagai^{i}; kwida,´ excrement; kagai^{i} from kai, kai, kai, the bird's call) and eagles (kwiña´ ·^{a}) were not eaten.

252 Preparation of animal foods.-- Meat was prepared by stone boiling or by roasting in the pit oven (dŭ´avida) or on the coals. It was sometimes pounded or given other sorts of special treatment to be noted below.

Deer flesh was usually boiled in a willow basket. The meat was added when the water was simmering and it was "boiled rare, not like white people boil meat." The Gidŭ´tikad^{u} did not cook food in a paunch or hide sack, but when a person was traveling in winter and no water was available, he dug a hole and lined it with a deer hide. He then heaped snow on the skin and added hot stones. Such melted snow was called pa'sa.´

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[44] This term is said to be onomatopoeic.

[45] They are described as black with yellow stripes and as about four inche in length. [46] Two informants had heard of eating dogs in time of great scarcity, but the others vehemently denied it. One gets the impression that dogs were much too scarce to have been of any dietary significance.

252 When a hunter was hungry and had no cooking equipment at hand, he boiled deer in the carcass. He cut the body at the neck and below the ribs, stood the thorax on a grassy spot, and added water, meat, and hot stones. Deer meat was also roasted on stones at the side of the fire; or if one were hungry, he might put the meat directly on the coals. Deer legs were impaled on sticks thrust into the ground at an angle to bring the meat over the fire.

Antelope was usually boiled or was roasted on the end of a stick. One informant thought that it could be cooked in the carcass as was deer, but this was denied by another. At all events, it was not the normal procedure. The fact that antelope were usually taken through a concurrently of effort implies a certain amount of organization and presumably attendant equipment. After a drive the whole camp feasted on antelope heads which were roasted in a pit oven with a fire on top. Deer head was similarly prepared; the tongue was not cooked separately.

The hoofs of deer and antelope were dried with the skin on. They were then singed and boiled, or, lacking vessels, they were cooked under the ashes.

The Gidü'tikad^{a} had no aversion to bear meat and no particular parts were tabooed. Minnie Anderson stated that bear flesh had to be boiled a long time, but Mettie Petty said that it was always cooked in the ground. She also said that bear "was eaten right away; it was not kept over night." According to Pindy, "Build a fire. Get lots of coals. Put grass on the coals and spread the meat on it. Then put on more grass and cover it with earth. Don't leave it all day or all night, maybe four or five hours will be enough. If you cut the meat thin it takes just a little while." According to Daisy Brown, bear was cooked differently from anything else. "They made lots of flat rocks good and hot and set them together like a pavement. Then they spread the meat on top. They took fir boughs and put them on the meat, and then they put on more hot rocks. They call this way of cooking padü'n^{a}. Nothing else was cooked this way."

Flesh of the wildcat and of the raccoon was roasted on the coals. Groundhog was roasted in the earth oven with a fire on top. The hair was burned off before cooking and the intestines were discarded. Groundhog flesh cooked quickly; it is said to be salty and comparable to bacon in flavor. Badger was cooked in the same manner as groundhog but was probably skinned.

Skunk, otter, porcupine, squirrel, rabbit, and rat were cooked in the pit oven. Otter was skinned before being placed in the ground. Porcupine was edible save for the intestines and the membrane covering them. Minnie said that squirrels were placed head to tail in the oven, but Daisy said that "they were thrown in any way, just so they were not too close together and there were plenty of coals and ashes between them." Squirrels were cleaned, singed, and left in the ground one to three hours. One informant thought they were skinned before being roasted. The intestines were sometimes eaten. Rabbits were usually skinned and cleaned before being cooked. 252 ●

Sage hens were cleaned inside by scraping with grass, the feathers were then plucked, and the birds roasted in the coals. Sometimes they were dried and stored. Grouse and prairie chickens were roasted on the coals. The latter were not dried; "they ate them right away; there were not enough of them to dry." Mud hens were prepared for roasting the same way as sage hens. Swans were usually boiled, but were sometimes cooked in the earth oven. Geese were skinned, not plucked. They were cleaned and cooked under the ashes or roasted on the coals. Sometimes they were dried but are said not to have kept very well. Small cranes were plucked, cleaned, and cooked beneath the ashes. They were not dried.

Crickets were gathered early in the morning. A fire was built in a hole some three feet in diameter and two feet deep. If many women participated in the gathering, the hole might be five or six feet in diameter with the piles belonging to different individuals separated in the pit by a few handfuls of grass. The live crickets were dumped on the coals and roasted from a few minutes to several hours, time varying with informants. After cooking they could be dried. Biũ"gũ (caterpillars, larvae?) were poured on the coals and covered for two or three minutes, then eaten immediately. Ants were gathered, parched, and ground on the metate. Ant eggs were likewise parched.

Preservation of meat.—Deer, antelope, or mountain-sheep meat was cut in strips and dried near the fire or in the sun. It was hung on sagebrush, any convenient tree, or on a rack. The latter, of recent introduction, consisted of two unforked poles stuck vertically in the ground with a cross-bar tied near the top of the uprights. 251

Meat was sometimes smoked in addition to being dried. In that case, willows were leaned together to make a frame and a small smudge fire of green willows started beneath. When the meat had partly dried, it was taken from the rack, and placed on the frame over the

251 fire. Here it was allowed to smoke until red when it was removed and turned, afterward being replaced on the rack for further drying.

Dried meat was pounded with tallow, stored in tule bags, and buried beneath rocks and earth. It could be eaten without additional cooking, but was usually roasted on the coals or boiled. In any event, it was softened by pounding. Jackrabbits were dried, but not so cottontails, probably because the latter were not caught in any quantity. Birds of all kinds, particularly sage hens and mud hens, were dried and boiled. Swans were also dried but did not keep well.

262 *Special dishes.*—Eggs (noho) of various sorts were gathered, prin-
252 cipally those of mud hens which were formerly plentiful in Warner valley and near Paisley. Goose, meadowlark (pa·tsi'dee^{e}), and blackbird eggs, as well as those of a large crane, were utilized. The eggs of a bird[48] frequenting the Warner valley lakes were also eaten, but never those of the magpie. Eggs were cooked beneath the ashes or boiled, the latter possibly due to white influence.

Deer guts (asi')[49] were dried, boiled, and eaten. The fat from deer buttocks was dried and eaten raw with any kind of uncooked dried meat.

"Lard" (dīna') was made from marrow. Bones were broken over a cavity in a rock, pounded, and water and hot stones added. After the mixture had cooled, the grease which had risen to the top was skimmed off with the hand and squeezed into a container. Fat which had been pounded, heated, and made into rolls was called yu'hu-so'ho (fat-pound). It is said to have kept well.

261 Meat was not mixed with berries but was sometimes pounded with tu·nu'yu roots, dried, and stored in a skin bag. Joshua described a sort of pemmican of deer meat, bone, and fat. The ingredients were pounded and shaped into rolls,[50] eight or ten at a time, and then stored for winter use. Rabbit backbones and adhering flesh were pounded and fat added. This kept well and might be eaten without further preparation or made into soup. Mashed meat (soho'-tuku'; pound-meat) and tallow were cooked with dried kuyi roots and the mixture eaten immediately.

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[48] "This bird was called cha'it^{a}; it was about the size of a duck and was red around the eyes. The body was reddish brown" (DB).

[49] Asi' is also the word for umbilical cord.

[50] "Just like head cheese" (JB).

received in powdered form.[89] Joshua listed the fish obtained through 439
trade as kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), yümi, tsis'ra, and
tsowa'a.

Preparation of fish.—Fish were usually cooked in the ashes of the 251
fireplace, although they could be boiled. They were dried on a rack 252
or hung from the boughs of a juniper, but were never placed near the
fire to dry as was meat. Usually fish were slit before drying but sometimes not, doubtless depending upon size. As a general thing, fish were not smoked.

Dried fish were packed in an open-twine tule or sagebrush-bark 251
sack "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." These bags 416
were called mago"o (general word for container) and were possibly four feet in length and two in width. Their size argues considerable quantity. Minnie Anderson said that fish did not keep very long; "they tasted funny." Dried fish were prepared by boiling or by roasting but were not pounded.

Fish eggs (a'gai noho) were dried and ground.

VEGETABLE FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION

The Gidü'tikadü[6], like other non-agricultural peoples, gathered 222
such seeds, berries, and roots as their habitat offered. All informants 187
stressed the great plenty of these foods in the early days, and their statements are corroborated by those of the first settlers, who maintain that, although now sage-covered, the whole valley was formerly meadowland. Plant specimens are difficult to obtain and on the whole the data are pretty meager. Surprise valley itself yielded little, but a number of specimens were procured on the southern shores of Cowhead lake, a few miles northeast of Fort Bidwell; some were also gathered west of the Warners and a few more near Beatty, Oregon. The seed material is particularly sparse; the list (below) probably includes less than a fourth of the original number. It does appear however, that the most important seed plants are represented. The list of berries and roots is somewhat larger and seems relatively complete.

Seeds.—In late summer women gathered seeds in a twined conical 222
basket or in a light sack of deer or antelope hide. For ordinary seeds, 415
such as grasses, the woman held the container in her left hand and knocked the seeds into it with the twined beater which she wielded in her right hand. She gathered other seeds, such as those of sunflowers, by pulling the dry blossoms and depositing them in the burden basket.

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[89] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

252 415 A standard procedure was followed in preparing seeds of all sorts. They were placed in a fan-shaped willow tray and parched with coals from a sagebrush fire. The hulls were then winnowed from the same tray, either by working them to one side with a rotary motion or by pouring and allowing the chaff to blow off. The remaining seeds were ground on the metate and the meal thus produced was ready for immediate use or for storage. In the latter case, it was placed in a buckskin bag and buried. Sometimes seeds were stored as gathered and were not parched or ground until needed. Seed meal was mixed with water and boiled in a willow basket by the addition of hot stones. These stones were handled by means of two sticks "of any kind," a flat stake some two inches in width, or by a willow bent into a loop. Boiling food had to be stirred constantly lest the stones burn the basket.

264 415 Seed gruel was served in individual willow bowls and was either drunk or scooped up with the first and second fingers. Young boys "who wanted more mush" used three fingers. The Gidü'tikad^{a} did not manufacture horn spoons but used instead a basketry spoon, a piece of bark, a split stick, or a rabbit or deer scapula. Most persons ate with their fingers, but men used spoons more often than women.

262 137 Edible seeds included wüdü', sugü',[59] and magu'g^{a}, which are unidentified, and also the following: atsa' (*Sisymbrium sophia* L.) (?)[60]; gu'ha' (*Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.); wa''da (*Suaeda depressa* var. *erecta* Wats.); wa''tsa' (*Chenopodium album* L.); üyü'p (*Chenopodium nevadense* Standley); a'gü' (*Wyethia mollis* Gray); pa^{ha} (*Helianthus annuus* L.) (?).[61]

A few observations may be made on the seeds listed above. Atsa' (red, so-called from its color) was mixed with snow, making a "sort of ice cream."[62] In the old days the principal gathering grounds of the ubiquitous a'gü' were in Goose Lake valley. Plate 17c shows a field of it in that region, along the western foot of the Warners. Stems as well as seeds of a'gü' were edible; they were pulled and eaten raw.

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[59] One informant thought this was a root, saying it was "like epos but grew only in the mountains."

[60] Which is intrusive in northeastern California. Mr. Howell tells me that two superficially similar species are *S. incisum* Engelm., and *S. pinnatum* Greene, both native to the region. I have evidently collected the wrong species, and atsa' is undoubtedly one of the two indigenous ones here suggested. *S. incisum* is used by the Klamath (Spier, 166).

[61] Which botanists consider native to the Middle West.

[62] Chamberlin, 340, notes that the Gosiute mixed ground seeds of a *Sisymbrium* with snow to make a "kind of confection."

Seeds were sometimes mixed with berries but never with meat. 252 Informants had not heard of eating sage seeds. They considered cat-tail (toib^a) seeds edible, although the root was a more important food. Cat-tail stalks were spread on the ground, fired, and the seeds gathered. These were shelled by being worked lightly on the metate and after this were prepared like other seeds.

Identified grass seeds include the following: waha'b^a (*Hordeum nodosum* L.); sopi'b^a (*Poa nevadensis* Vasey)[illegible]; mono'p^a (*Sitanion histrix* J. G. Smith), foxtail; waiya' (*Elymus condensatus* Pres.), rye-grass; ——— (*Alopecurus aequalis* Sobol); so'pi' (*Glyceria borealis* (Nash) Batchelder). 137

Pine-nuts (tü'ba) were of minor importance to the Gidü'tikad^ö. 222 Aside from a few nut-bearing piñons near Bidwell mountain, they 252 are quite lacking in the whole territory. Informants knew them from 415 Pyramid lake and several described methods of preparing them. Minnie Anderson said that the cones were beaten from the trees with long sticks and dumped into an earth oven. They were roasted for an hour or so, after which they were removed, picked, and the nuts spread to dry. The latter were then shelled on the metate and winnowed. They were further dried, then ground on the metate, and made into gruel. As the gruel cooked, it was stirred with a willow twig, one end of which was looped back and tied with the outer bark of the twig. Nannie Ochiho gave substantially the same procedure except that the nuts were ground unshelled. According to Joshua they were successively parched, shelled, winnowed, ground, and made into mush.

Fruits and berries.—Chokecherries (*Prunus demissa* Dietr.) (do'-isabui) were eaten fresh or dried. Preliminary to drying they were broken lightly with a stone, molded into cakes, and placed in the shade to harden. Such dried cakes were ground to powder on the metate and then boiled. Nowadays dried cherries are mixed with water and flour, possibly with seed meal in the old days. Chokecherries and wa"da seeds were sometimes combined. A beverage was [272] made by pouring hot water on the fruits and a tea was made from chokecherry stems.

Wild plums (tuyu) were gathered in an open-twine burden basket. They were pitted but not crushed and dried in the sun. The dried fruits were "pretty strong" before sugar was available. Wild plums are quite plentiful in the Warners and are still gathered in late summer.

[illegible] And probably *Poa gracillima* Vasey as well, for which I have no native term.

251 Black haw (*Crataegus douglasii* Lindl.) (kwinü'pc) is a berry
252 which was formerly, but is no longer eaten. It was used either fresh or dried. Service berry (*Amelanchier venulosa* Greene) (ti'gabui) was eaten fresh or dried, boiled or uncooked. Such berries were always kept overnight; otherwise they would give one a stomachache. They were crushed before being dried. Daisy said that ground a'gü' seeds were mixed with mashed fresh berries (particularly ti'gabui), or with dried berries which had been soaked, and the compound eaten without further preparation. It was called düma'iyu (mixture of any sort) or tütza'kiü (also mixture, but applying only to fruits and the like).

Mogu'tsiabui (gooseberry; mogu', thorn), boko'pc (wild currant), and atsa'pui (*Ribes cereum* Dougl.) were eaten fresh and uncooked. Before gathering atsa'pui, a person had always to throw a handful of dust on the bush, otherwise he would surely have a headache. Dust was also thrown on a berry bush to prevent birds from eating the fruits.

Buffalo berry (*Shepherdia argentea* Nutt.) (wi"yüpui) called for special preparation. One might eat the berries fresh, but if a person were going to dry them, he covered them with rye grass to which he set fire. While the grass was burning he stirred the whole well in order to cook the berries. After this preliminary cooking, the fruits were dried. Dried buffalo berries had to be "washed hard" to remove the accumulated charcoal. Afterward they were boiled, drained, and crushed. My informant said that nowadays buffalo berries are mixed with flour and sugar and made into a pudding.

Elderberries (*Sambucus glauca* Nutt.) (hubu') were eaten fresh or dried; they were not cooked before being dried.

272 The Gidü'tikadᵃ used to manufacture a beverage from juniper berries (wa"pui). The fruits were picked, broken in the hands, and water added. After a thorough stirring, the pitch rose to the top and was skimmed off with a blade of grass. The beverage was served in individual willow bowls and drunk immediately. Sometimes it was mixed with pounded deer liver to make a "gravy." Juniper berries were never kept any length of time.

222 *Roots.*—From early spring well into summer root gathering was
252 an economic activity of great importance. Women went each day to dig ya'pa', tu'nu"yu, mu"a', hu"nibui, pa'si'go'ᵉ, and other roots. These they prepared by boiling or by pit-roasting,[44] or sometimes preserved

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[44] Spier (Havasupai, 119) is probably mistaken in thinking pit-roasting absent in the Basin. Although Lowie does not mention it in Shoshonean Ethnography, he does report it for the Northern Shoshone (188); for the Gosiute, Chamberlin (337, 329) speaks of it as "the usual method of cooking" certain roots; and among these Paviotso, it is a standard method of food preparation.

by drying in the sun. Nowadays there is little root gathering, one 222
very good reason being that the plants are no longer to be found. In 252
May of 1930, however, a party of older Gidū'tikad^a women crossed the Warners to Davis creek[46] and there spent several days digging ya'pa'.

The digging stick in use today is a straight iron bar about three 412
feet in length, pointed at one end, the other end turned in a loop or else provided with a wooden cross-piece as a handle. The old digging stick (bodo') was a straight piece of mountain mahogany (tu'pi) sharpened to a point with a stone knife or by being rubbed on a stone and hardened in the fire. Sometimes a limb at right angles made a handle of sorts, but ordinarily the stick was unhandled and the butt bound with buckskin to protect the hand. In digging, the butt rested against the body, one hand on it, and the other part way down the shaft. From demonstrations, the technique was one of pushing rather than of thrusting.

Roots of various members of the parsley family figured prom- 251
inently in Paviotso diet, particularly ya'pa' (*Carum oreganum* Wats.), 252
commonly known as epos. Quantities of it were gathered from the hills east of Surprise, and from the flats near Bear ranch in the south end of the valley. The roots were rubbed on an open twine tray to divest them of their skins and were subsequently prepared in a variety of ways. They might be eaten immediately, raw or boiled, or else dried in the sun and stored. Dried ya'pa' was boiled and sometimes pounded. Most kinds of dried roots were soaked and eaten without being either pounded or cooked.

Ha'pi'^{i} was a root of some importance and was formerly plentiful in the hill country east of Surprise, although today it is difficult to find a single specimen. It is a *Lomatium*, probably *L. canbyi*, a species known from eastern Oregon. The roots were cooked in the earth oven, either fresh or dried. Ha'pi'^{i}, like ya'pa', was skinned on a basket tray and dried in the sun. Tu'nu"yu (*Lomatium leptocarpum* C. and R.) was also found east of Surprise as well as near Bear ranch and in Fandango valley. The flat west of Bear ranch derived its native name, Tu'nu"yu-kama"^{a}, from this root. Tu'nu"yu was eaten uncooked, either fresh or dried, and when stored, was mixed with ya'pa'. The roots are said to have spoiled if they became damp.

Hu"nibui (*Lomatium macrocarpum* C. and R.) also was eaten either fresh or dried. Charlie Washo thought it could be eaten raw

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[46] Achomawi territory.

251 but that it was usually cooked. A related form known as pa-ya"pᵃ
252 (explained as water (pa) ya'pa') has been doubtfully identified as *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.

Camas, called pa'si'go'ᵒ or tapa'kogⁱ (*Camassia quamash* Greene), was plentiful in certain districts such as Fandango and Big valleys. The roots were gathered in large quantities and dumped into an earth oven with a few handfuls of rye grass separating the piles of different individuals. They were allowed to cook overnight with a small fire on top of the pit. When cooked, the roots were either eaten directly or else dried, in which condition they are said to have kept well.

The roots of mu"a' (*Allium pleianthum* Wats.) were gathered in great numbers, two to five sacks at a time. Fire was kindled in a pit and small stones added. When there were sufficient coals, the mu"a' was placed in the oven, covered with grass and earth, and left overnight. The seeds of this plant were never eaten, but the green leaves were regarded as a sort of relish. Leaves of gü'ka' (*A. acuminatum* Hook) were similarly regarded. The bulbs of this onion were sometimes roasted, but I was told that "we don't care much about the roots." The seeded heads of gü'ka' were gathered in bunches and placed in the hot ashes for two or three minutes, then the seeds were extracted and eaten. Badi'sⁱ (*A. bisceptrum* Wats.) and pani'zi (*A. platycaule* Wats.) were treated the same as gü'ka' but their bulbs were more highly regarded. Wini'da (*Brodiaea hyacinthina* Baker) furnished bulbs which were roasted; the seeds and leaves were not considered edible.

Joshua stated that the digging stick was not required in gathering wild onions; "they just pulled them up with the hands." He said that such bulbs were cooked in small quantities by being placed between two heated rock slabs until soft. According to him, "They were all fresh. They never made your belly ache, your tooth ache, or your head ache; no, nothing. They all ate them." My notes do not mention drying the *brodiaea* or any of the wild onions, and in view of Chamberlin's observation,[68] it seems likely that they were not so treated.

Bulbs of ko'gi' (*Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl.) were skinned and eaten fresh in spring, but they were never plentiful enough to be dried. Bitter root (*Lewisia rediviva* Pursh.) (kañü'tcᵘ) was pulled and boiled "like macaroni." It could also be dried. Informants asserted that the Warm Springs Indians ate bitter root.

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[68] P. 360.

One informant spoke jestingly of kuyi (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) as 251
"Indian Limburger."[67] She said that the tops were broken off and 252 ●
the roots left overnight in the pit oven, in this instance with no fire on top. In the morning when the mess was uncovered, it was "black as coal" and smelled bad but was sweet to the taste. An unidentified root called guyü is probably the same thing. It was gathered chiefly in Big valley (which derived its native name from it) and at Twenty Mile, between Warner and Surprise valleys.

The roots of bikwa'ida (*Balsamorhiza terebinthacea* Nutt.) were eaten raw, either fresh or dried. Sometimes they were roasted in the ground and pounded. Ko'tciü', another sunflower (*Cirsium acaulescens* Sch.), furnished roots which were eaten raw, or if plentiful, were roasted in the earth oven. The roots of yet another composita, kwanü'pic (*Scorzonella* sp.), were similarly cooked.

Unidentified roots include iza''ᵃbui (coyote's eyes),[68] which is said to grow extensively near Paisley and sporadically in Warner valley. It was cooked in the ashes and had a sweet flavor. Tsu'ga is a root which grows only in Oregon. Tsa'na-tsu'ga (sweet tsu'ga) is a root which used to grow in the high country east of Surprise and on the hills of Bidwell canyon. It was cooked in the ground and sometimes dried.

Miscellaneous.—The leaves of tübu'hi (*Crepis occidentalis* Nutt.) were eaten raw; the stem and root were not used. The peeled stems of young iza''ᵃkwasi' (coyote's tail) (*Cirsium occidentale* var. *candidissimum* Macbr.) were eaten raw. Roots of young tule and cat-tail were gathered, broken open, and the white meat eaten uncooked. It was not dried. Haws of the wild rose (*Rosa pisocarpa* Gray) (tsia'bⁱ) were pounded with deer tallow and eaten.

Salt was not known to the Gidü'tikad[8] before the coming of the 263
whites. They had a sugar substitute in honey-dew which was deposited on leaves by a "little black bug," doubtless aphis. The syrup was gathered and used without any preparation. Sugar was not secured from cottonwood or from cat-tail.[69]

Fermented beverages and intoxicants were unknown. A tea was [273
produced by pouring hot water on the dried leaves of a species of 272
Mentha, possibly *M. arvensis* L., and by boiling the stalks of wild rose

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[67] Fremont (160) notes that the "Snakes" near Fort Hall ate the roots of *Valeriana edulis* which they called kooyah.

[68] Bui is the term for berry, root, and eye.

[69] The Pyramid Lake Paiute are said to make a candy-like substance from cat-tail pollen.—Loud and Harrington, 158.

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were 342
wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'ï-nobi (saib^{a}, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74]

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^{a}, rye grass). The grass, four or five feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at 462
the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the follow- 342
ing winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place.
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went 417
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dü'a-nobi; dü'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18c, is frequently seen at the present time. It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they
spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back
into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into
the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other
supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches.
Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They
were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into
round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored
until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'ės*, was likewise
pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[415] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
•[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
[251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'ūsá, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgí*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ü''ūts*, little onions; *ási*;
a'qō'; *kustak'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+į*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubûs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing
small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tüpá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a [412]
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *ási* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāī*" seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tüm*^{e}) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *ásúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tü'm*^{e} tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*^{e} together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic'* root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

Metates.

000 The Shoshoneans of Utah and Nevada employ the metate to reduce their seeds to meal.

Among the Paiute of Moapa the metate (*măr*) is used only on one side: the muller is called *mŭ'ə* (Fig. 3). Powell writes as follows about the Kaibab method:—

> . . . they grind the seeds into a fine flour, and make it into cakes and mush. . . For a mill, they use a large flat rock, lying on the ground, and another small cylindrical one in their hands. They sit prone on the ground, hold the flat rock between the feet and legs, then fill their laps with seeds, making a hopper to the mill with their dusky legs, and grind by pushing the seeds across the larger rock, where it drops into a tray. I have seen a group of women grinding together, keeping time to a chant, or gossiping and chatting, while the younger lassies would jest and chatter, and make the pine woods merry with their laughter.[1]

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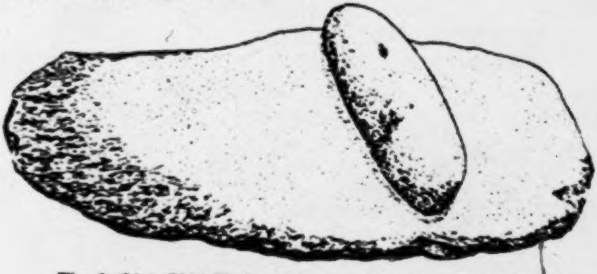

Fig. 2 (50.1-7909,7907). Paviotso Metate and Muller.

000 At Whiterocks, Utah, I saw three or four metates in my interpreter's house. They differed from those of the Paviotso in being trough-like, with two or three of the edges rimmed. They had been dug up in ploughing and were used by the Ute women for grinding coffee. I also saw a smooth slab metate, on which ripe *qō* seeds were said to be ground. My informants said that the flat and the rimmed metates were used in the same manner.

412 Among the Paviotso the metate (*matá'ᵉ*) was still in constant use
•252 in every encampment in the summer of 1914 (Fig. 2). Thus I saw a woman grinding *qōγá* seeds on a slab, scrape off the meal with her fingers, and put it into a tin can. Here I observed what I could discover among no other Shoshonean group,—a difference in the use of the two sides of the metate. In loosening the shells of certain seeds the women allow the slab to rest on a basketry tray (*tūm'ᵒ*) and give the stone separator

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[1] Powell, 127.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 215

252 (*wiowán*") a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown
412 out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

296 [170] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa'*^{pu}. It is a weed growing
[824] several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà'*^{a}. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsíabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawd'γodp'*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

DOGS.

224 231 262 171 Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212–214.

[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.

[3] See Lowie, 212 f.

[4] Chamberlin, 345.

INDUSTRIES.

000 *Stone Technique.* On the stone work of the Plateau Shoshoneans the following statement by Powell merits being rescued from its recondite source:—

> The obsidian or other stone of which the implement is to be made is first selected by breaking up larger masses of the rock and choosing those which exhibit the fracture desired and which are free of flaws; then these pieces are baked or steamed, perhaps I might say annealed, by placing them in damp earth covered with a brisk fire for twenty-four hours, then with sharp blows they are still further broken intò flakes approximating the shape and size desired. For the more complete fashioning of the implement a tool of horn, usually of the mountain sheep, but sometimes of the deer or antelope, is used. The flake of stone is held in one hand, placed on a little cushion made of untanned skin of some animal, to protect the hand from the flakes which are to be chipped off, and with a sudden pressure of the bone-tool the proper shape is given. They acquire great skill in this, and the art seems to be confined to but few persons, who manufacture them and exchange them for other articles.[1]

Pottery. There were significant differences among the Plateau Shoshoneans with regard to their knowledge of ceramic processes. Early travelers speak with tantalizing vagueness of earthen jars among the Lemhi and their neighbors, stone-boiling being also reported.[2] On the [323] [285] [252] other hand, Wind River Shoshoni informants only mentioned man-made soapstone pots and the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake very definitely denied having ever made pots, saying that baskets were used for boiling food and pitched basketry bottles for storing and carrying water. However, Sarah Winnemucca notes the modeling in mud indulged in by children, who made herds of animals and then shot at them with bow and arrow.[3] The Paiute cooked in earthen kettles (*pambö'n*^{a}) made of hard clay (*wids*^{a}). According to one hardly convincing Moapa statement these used to be made by a *man* specializing in the art for the rest of his people. This is indeed contradicted by the Shivwits, who say their "mud buckets" (*pambŏ'ni*) were made by women, as we should expect. It proved impossible to have a pot made, but a brief description was given. The clay used was of a yellow color but became brownish-black on firing. Only two localities were believed to yield suitable material, one near the Colorado River and the other to the south of the Reservation on a mountain over which the Shivwits originally roamed, near the boundary line of Utah and Arizona. The coiled technique was employed and a piece of turtle shell served to smooth the vessels within and outside. They were pointed at the bottom so that they could be stuck into the

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[1] Powell 27-28.
[2] Lewis, 177, 188.
[3] Hopkins, 57.

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
[237] maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-
• [252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cö'dzitä* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening
[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
285 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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[1] Mason, (b), 489 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group. 262 251 252 412

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 796 756 [787]

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people. 881 [171]

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians. 773 [171] [776]

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that his own people very seldom made them that way. 276 [171]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
782
796

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Gathering														
*410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
413. Grinding in mortar (purana)	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Miscellaneous Plants														
*433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mütse)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
436. Needles burnt off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	•+
*443a. Hooked pole (tsama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
451a. Piled on ground, covered	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
*457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
*458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
*462. Nuts ground on metate (mota)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
*463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
*466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
*467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
*467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
*468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
*469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
*470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	-	+	+	+	+	*-	*-	-	*-	-	+	-	+	-
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	*+	-	-	+	-
472. Boiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
475. Willow-sap sugar	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	-
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
482. Pitch	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
***Other Plants and Seeds Used**														
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483a. Sunflower (aköpö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483b. Sunflower (paoö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483d. Sunflower (kusiake)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483e. Sunflower (kusipaoö)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.
*483f. Pickleweed (kuhava)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sazakö)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	+	.
*483i. Saltbrush (sünü)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	*+	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	-	+	+	+	.
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483kk. Rabbit brush (mogoöhupi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	-	+	.	.	+	.
*483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihovi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483p. Wild tobacco (paivumo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pawia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	.	.
*483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483t. Spike rush (pamasivö)	.	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	-	.	.
*483v. Sagebrush (sawava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483w. Saltbrush (wusha)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483x. wasai	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483y. oammoigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*483z. hiwovi	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*484. Jointfir (tuduhpi)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	.	.
*484a. saiagava	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	-	.	.	.	.	.
*484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	*.	*.	+	.	.	+	.
*484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	*-	+	+	+	+	.
484e. yapö	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484f. toopagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.
*484g. tüvaa	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	.	.
*484h. tövasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	.	-	-	.
484i. Indian potatoes (camas?) (saga or höga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484j. Indian potatoes (aputaö)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pöro)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
262
222
251
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N
W
A
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N
W
A
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N
W
A
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W
A
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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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N
W
A
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	Ts	K1	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AP
487. Spatulate end	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
488a. Point both ends	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuavoi)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
492. Conical seed basket (tünayuno)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
493. Basketry seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
495. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
500. Wooden	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
501. Shin bone	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

N
W
A
241

	Ts	K1	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AP
*505. Wild seeds irrigated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	+	•-	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+

Seed Storage

N
W
A
251

	Ts	K1	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AP
521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
527. Storage in cave	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-
528. Storage in rock cranny	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

Food Preparation

N
W
A
317

● N
W
A
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● 252

	Ts	K1	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AP
*529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-
530. Mineral from rocks	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*533. Roasted, entrails removed	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*538. Smoked	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
539. In house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	•-	-	-
540. Pulverized	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-	-
541. Mixed with seeds	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*542. Mixed with berries	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*543. Mixed with fat	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	-	+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
552. Pulverized	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
553a. Only fish bones ground	·	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
554. Ground bone cooked	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
555. Vertebrae ground	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
556. Joints ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	K1	K2	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
558. Feet dried	+	−	+	−	−	−	*+	−	*+	*+	−	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	−	+	−	+	+
*562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
563. In basket	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
566. Pair forked sticks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
*568. Boiling in pot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	−	−	*+	*+	−	−	−	−	*+	−	−	−	+	−
*HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	−	−
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	−	−
Sun Shade														
*582. Brush or tree only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	*−	−
584. Posts: 6-8	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
584a. Any number	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
586. Side walls: 1	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
586a. More than 1	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
588. For summer use	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
589. For winter use	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	−	*+	+	+	+	*−	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
594a. 8-10	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
596. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
596a. 14-20	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
598. Layers of grass (swiava)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
600. Mat	−	−	−	*+	*+	*+	*+	−	+	*+	*+	+	−	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	*+	−	+
606a. Opposite wind	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	−	*+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
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N
X
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Achomawi N35

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N W A [356]

N W A [252]

	To	Kl	K2	Ki	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	Ak
830. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
830a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
831. Use: for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
832. For meat	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
833. For bone	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
834. For paint	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
835. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
836. With porcupine tail	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
837. With sage-bark brush	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
842. With grass-roots brush	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
841. Scraping with stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
835a. Did not clean metate	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
843. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*845. Rotary motion	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mush Stirrer														
*847. Looped stick (patu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	−	−
848. Paddle (ogo)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
*852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tsoko or tsiku)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
863. Twined willow cup (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
863a. Coiled willow cup	•	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
*864. Stone bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
*866. Pottery bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	−	•+	−	−	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
*868. Biconical basket (osa; cf. 1096)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−
Knives (wihi)														
*870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
*872. Flint blade hafted in wood	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	•	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
874. Bone knife	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers (ptsanasu)														
876. Stone, broken cobble	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, end notched	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
882a. Scapula	•	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Awls (witu)														
884. Horn	•	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
885. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	•	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

N W A [415]

[p.382]

Achomawi NSS

N
262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere is it common.

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to
A
trade. I think the distance would prohibit such
[222] a thing before the horse was introduced. AE: Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good, were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

N
[415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N
222
423 467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although among several of the bands there was said to have been family ownership of plots, among none of these was it true ownership. One family might claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

N
468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

252
262 470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N
252
272
262 471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as described by Steward, 245. Tö: The seeds of the tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important. Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moccasins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Still-
N
[438] water (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Humboldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

137
222 Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

Metate and Muller

N 412 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 239).

830a. Ki: - (Kelly, 138).

N [303] 834. Tö: Paint was ground to a fine powder, mixed with water, shaped into a small brick and dried. Powder was scraped from the brick as the paint was needed.

A [356] 835. AE: Mortars and metates were left out so that the rain would clean them.

N [252] 844. Paviotso: Seeds ground on metate with a forward and backward motion (Lowie, 203, 204, fig. 2), but "a forward and sidewise motion" was also used (p. 215).

845. Most informants demonstrated a back-and-forth motion using both hands on the mano. However, the shape of some of the metates and the condition of their worn surfaces suggest that a rather indefinite rotary motion was used. Some manos were too small to be held in two hands, which would also indicate an irregular movement with one hand, probably rotary. I did not inquire whether one or two hands were habitually employed.

Mush Stirrer

847. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 246). Tg: Spoon of mt.-sheep horn and basketry ladle were used to stir mush. The looped stick used only to "fish meat from hot water." Wd: - (BJ).

Spoons, Dippers, Etc.

852. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b). Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b, g, i).

863a. Tö: "The old-timers never knew coiling. This just started with younger generation." It is possible that this is true for all Northern Paiute.

864. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 169).

N 415 866. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266). Steward, 269, cites Leonard's reference to pottery on Humboldt Lake which I criticized in note 338. Leonard visited Humboldt, Carson, Walker, and Mono lakes and refers to them collectively as "these lakes." Since he visited Mono Lake, and since we know they had pottery there, it would be safer to assume that is where he saw it.

867. Animal-stomach bag only used when other container lacking. Sometimes hunter will have no basket jug and then will use stomach of game.

868. Owens Valley: Steward, 273, translates osa, "water olla." Ki: Kelly, 124 (pl. 21,c), calls o'sa', "water jar." Kü: Loud, 65, (pl. 67), "basket water bottle." Same as 1096.

Knives

N 412 870. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 277).

W [412] 871. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[P-431(D)]

PLATE 4

342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-
white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled
brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicir-
cular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary
[222 shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of
262] the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada.
The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was
the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information
on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr.
C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is
a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and
a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and
[415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held
in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right
edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the
better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904),
and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi. Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary
brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out
deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with
[415 dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made water-
tight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined
531 winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for
252] cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*,
pp. 117-22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs
on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the
rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the
water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians
222 Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of
251 worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the
shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

Gathering seeds.—By October various seeds were ripe. The seeds of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, were especially mentioned, also the seeds from the cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The fine down to which the cat-tail seeds are attached is spread upon the hard ground of a playa to the depth of 1 or 2 inches and over a space of 5 to 10 feet in diameter. It is then burned. More of the down is gradually added and continually stirred with sticks in order that it may be fully consumed. At the end of a hard day's labor there may be a sufficient quantity of seed upon the ground to fill several sacks. The method of removing the nut-like shell of these and other minute seeds is explained in discussing the various implements. It was a common thing to make porridge of several seed meals mixed. 222 [262]

The one-leaf piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, a tree 8 to 25, or rarely 45, feet in height, is found on the range east of Carson sink at an elevation of over 1000 or 1500 feet above the valley. It formed so important a source of food that different bands of Northern Paiute held proprietary rights to certain tracts. Winnemucca claimed the particular mountain on which is located the mythical "Weasel trail," described later (p. 160; no. 1, pl. 68). Late in autumn the nuts were gathered and secreted in piles until opportunity presented itself for transportation. [423] [621]

Basketry.—The typical Northern Paiute hulling basket (tema) is a flat triangular tray, while other tribes, as well as the cave people, had circular hulling trays. A layer of seeds is placed upon such a basket, and pressure applied with a circular motion with a flat stone. This cracks the nut-like seed coverings, after which the kernel and shells are separated by winnowing. A hulling basket may be of coiled (pl. 30a)* or other weave, but it must be a tight weave, as it is used to hull small seeds. Tema baskets are also used in roasting seeds, either before or after hulling, by placing them on the basket with coals and shaking. For the hulling of pine nuts and the larger seeds a coarser basket called yata may be used. 285 252

A flat wicker tema basket, triangular in shape, 24 by 30 inches in size, was found several miles north of Lovelock cave, at the base of a cliff, at an elevation of some 300 feet above the level of the plain. It is undoubtedly a Northern Paiute specimen left on the spot in recent decades. It is made of willow, there being 32 warp rods and 40 courses of woof to 10 centimeters. The woof is single, unlike that in baskets found in the cave, and passes over two warps at a time, giving the basket a superficial appearance of being of diagonal twined weave. 285

*[See category 116, End Plate 30—Analyst]

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
735 enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
[264] acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

Wadátkuht

identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^a (a plant said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion") and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they occurred. The tops of padus^a, which had a white blossom and looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this plant to grow was under willows along streams. [226] [251] [262]

It was not until summer, however, that the products of the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months. The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds, however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly. Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald Mountain. [252]

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^w). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [101] [251] [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

Wadā-tKuht

222 winnowed to remove foreign material, then reduced to a flour with a mano and metate and made into a soup. Flour from the atsá seeds could be mixed with snow in the winter to make "ice cream".

In the summer currants, called pokoṕ^{shia} (Ribes sp.), were picked near Standish. In mid-summer red raspberries (Rubus sp.), called atsá pui, were gathered on Parker Creek and behind the 42 ranch (between Milford and Buntingville). Raspberries were eaten fresh or were dried for winter use.

About the beginning of August, before sunflower seeds were harvested, yapa and moa roots were dug in the Last Chance Creek area in Plumas County. Dixie Valley, in that area, is called Tasu^{p} ("Wild Game Spot") because it was a good place to hunt deer. Although the Wadátkuht went there to gather roots and presumably to hunt the region belonged to the Washo according to Gladys Mankins.

222 The moa bulbs (unidentified), after having been unearthed
252 with a digging stick and washed in a basket sieve, called yuhtá, were put in a large pile in a preheated pit lined with flat stones. Hot stones from a second fire were put on top of the bulbs and covered with oak leaves or fir branches. The oven was opened "after several days". The bulbs were removed from the oven and mashed with the hands and made into patties which were dried in the sun. A flat stick was used to turn the patties over as they dried.

222 The Joaquin family remained in the Last Chance area for
[251] about a month each summer gathering roots and drying the
[415] patties. At the end of this time the patties were loaded into conical burden baskets, called túma, and carried back
[482] to the main winter camp of Matá at Milford.

While in the vicinity of Last Chance and Indian Creeks
[252] in Plumas County wild rhubarb was gathered at about the same time as yapa (possibly Carum sp.) and moa. This plant was eaten raw but was not too well liked because it was too sour.

Seeds of two kinds of sunflower, pákuh and akú, were
[413] gathered after wada was harvested. A seed beater, called tsiku, was used to knock off the heads of the sunflowers into a burden basket. The heads were taken home and beaten in order to knock out the seeds. The seeds were stored away to
[251] be hulled and ground as needed. The ground seeds produced
[252] a flour, called akí, which was eaten without further preparation, or could be cooked into a mush.

Wadátkuht

222 Seeds of the sunflower were parched oftentimes before
[251] being stored away. Parching, called sagá, is differentiated
from heating seeds somewhat like popcorn, an action termed
kutsí kwu'^{t}. Flour from these seeds was considered to be
more a dessert than a staple. An important place for gathering
sunflower seeds, particularly for the Secret Valley
Wadátkuht, was at Mud Flat (Tubisha nõna).

Chokecherries, called ta'shabui ("deep-red chokecherry"),
were picked before going to gather pine nuts. The choke-
cherries were prepared by being pitted in a sieve. This was
[252] done by rubbing the flesh of the chokecherries through the
interstices of the basket leaving the pits in the basket.
This action was called tudá kwid^{a}. The mashed chokecherries
were made into patties and dried for winter use. When the
patties were soaked in water "they become fresh, they taste
good". A favorite place for obtaining chokecherries was
along Parker Creek near the village of Kasawihnaid.

Elderberries, called hubú, were gathered at the village
of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, or at least in this vicinity, when they
became ripe in the late summer or early fall. The berries
[251] were gathered by picking the complete stem, or bunch, then
drying them that way. An energetic person might pick the
berries from the stem.

Late in the summer níshu (apparently Mormon crickets)
and kúa (locusts), when they occurred in great numbers, were
gathered for food. Good places to collect níshu were Secret
Valley and in the vicinity of Doyle. They were collected by
being scraped into a container with the hands, or by being
picked from sagebrush where they would be clustered in great
numbers. The gathering had to be done early in the morning
before the insects became warm and active. After they had
been gathered a pit would be dug into the ground and a fire
[252] built in the pit. When the fire was reduced to a quantity
of hot coals the insects were dumped into the pit and immediately
covered with earth. From time to time they were
[251] sampled to see if they were done. When cooked the insects
uncovered and removed from the pit and laid in the sun to get
perfectly dry. After drying they were sacked for future use.
Before they were eaten, however, their heads and legs were
[252] pulled off and discarded. The body was ground into a flour
with a mano and metate and eaten dry, or made into a soup
which had a flavor somewhat like that of dried deer meat.
(Deer meat also could be ground into a flour coarser than
[263] acorn flour and made into soup.) Flour made from níshu could
be salted to taste when eaten.

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the
[224] vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht
hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake
despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized
territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab^{i} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were
222 harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai,
"pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada.
By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts
were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could
return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might
gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The infor-
mants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this
trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the
[177] distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not
until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize
the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

The most important single food plant product in the
Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for
[137] gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines
between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa
woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered
in large enough quantities some years to last for two or
[251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the
ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar
material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

Wadatkuht

222 The buckberry (wiápui, "iron seed", Elaegnus sp.) was enjoyed by the Wadátkuht but does not grow in their territory. These berries had to be gotten to the east about Gerlach, Winnemucca and Yerington, Nevada. They were undoubtedly obtained through trade and visits to the areas in which they grew. [439]

The buckberry was good to eat fresh and "tastes like fresh huckleberries". One person held the limb of the bush down while another person beat the berries off into a basket. The berries were dried and stored to be used as needed. [251] Dried berries were boiled for about fifteen minutes and then strained through a basket sieve to remove the seeds. [252]

MATERIAL CULTURE

342 Habitations. The relatively permanent, or winter type of house was the conical, tule covered structure called káni. Susy Buster said that no excavation was made for this house but Kitty Joaquin and Gladys Mankins said that a pit about one foot deep was excavated. Whether a pit was dug or not was probably left up to individual preference. The ground plan was circular and ranged from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. Vertical willow poles (Susy Buster said juniper poles were used) were sunk into the ground in a circle, and at the rim of the excavation. The willow poles were about ten feet long and were lashed to a hoop of willow at their upper extremities. The willow hoop was about eighteen inches in diameter and served as the smoke hole. The vertical uprights standing in a circle had, of course, to be bent inward to be lashed to the ring. Several, Susy Buster said three, horizontal elements of willow encircled the vertical, or rather upright elements to give additional stability to the house. The structure was then covered with tule matting (not mentioned by Susy Buster) and then with shingled frames of tules. These frames, called síkwat, consisted of two poles about eighteen inches apart with tules attached to a depth (thickness) of about six inches. These frames of tules were put on in such a way that they provided a shingled pattern. That is to say, both the frames and the underlying tule mats were first attached to the bottom of the house. The dirt from the excavation was banked around the outside of the house and brush piled all around the house for a windbreak and fuel supply for the winter. A ditch also was dug around the house to carry away rain water and melting snow.

343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame of such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called saínovi.

285 [177] **Basketry**. Kitty Joaquin made various types of basketry and would copy Maidu baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come frpm the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsikú, or tsaíyun. The tsikú was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munish, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called sioshá ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was covered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

[482] 352 177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakono'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was taínope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "slingshot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

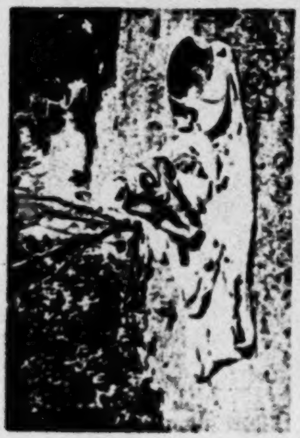
15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadatkuht

[P.91]

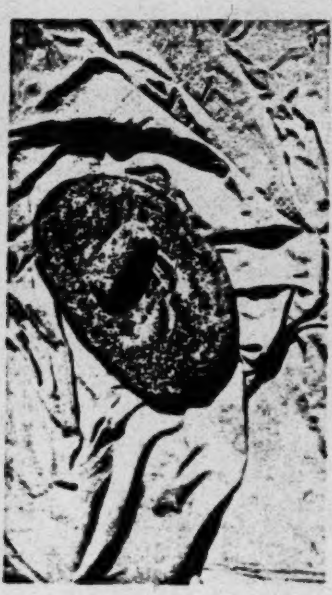
Plate 4

5/16
● 252

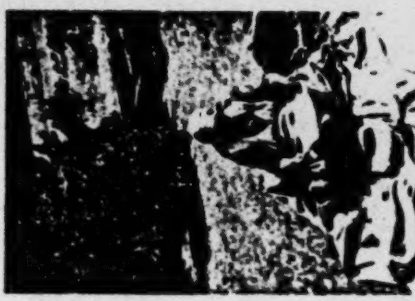


a. Grinding with metate and mano

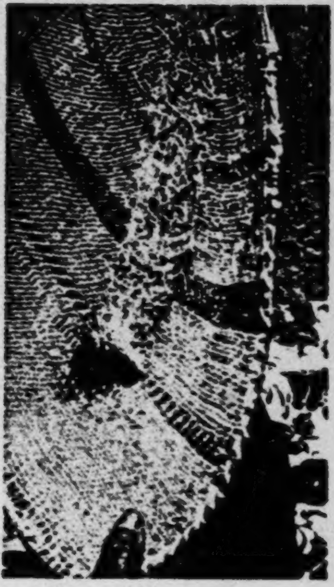
412
415
←
285
→



b. Metate and mano



c. Winnowing meal



d. Winnowing tray

[End Plate 4]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadatkuht

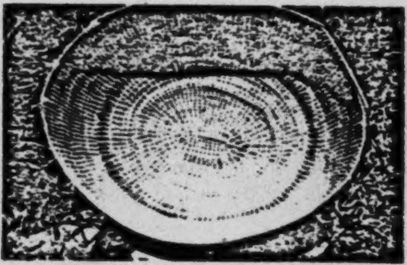
[P. 97]

Plate 5

285

● [252]

a. Washing "wild potatoes" with [illegible], "sieve"



b. Coiled basket

291
222

c. Digging "wild potatoes"

252

d. Leaching acorn flour

[End Plate 5]

Drum.—The drum (witu'a) is apparently recent. Pindy states that it came from the north and northeast at the time of the white advent. The late intrusion seems in keeping with the fact that the drum was rarely, if ever, used by shamans. According to several informants, tribes to the north employed the drum in doctoring. In recent times, the Gidü'tikadᵃ have used it as a dance accompaniment. It is the usual tambourine drum—hide stretched on a circular frame. 534 322

A modern specimen which I was allowed to examine[174] was about sixteen inches in diameter. The frame was chokecherry, although juniper is more usual. Horse hide (with the hair surface facing in) was stretched taut over one side. It was held by six thongs radiating toward the center of the under side from as many slits spaced evenly along the margin of the turnover. Each thong was slit a short distance from the end and pushed through the hole in the skin cover. The body of the thong was then brought through its own end slit, just as merchandising tags are attached. The six thongs converged in the center, but their fastening was obscured by several rows of cotton cloth in wrapped stitch. The radiating thongs constituted a handle behind which the single drum stick was thrust when not in use. The stick to this drum had been lost but was described as short and hide-wrapped on one end.

A band of red paint encircled the rim of the drum, but the face proper was undecorated.

Joshua said that the drum was sometimes painted red, sometimes yellow. The coloring was applied around the edge and in the middle, the latter perhaps in stripes.

DOGS

There is practically unanimity on the subject of the native dog, soko'puku. It was very scarce, very small, and looked "just like a coyote." It was of virtually no assistance in transportation, Dr. de Angulo's assertion that "they used dogs for packing"[175] being contradicted by all informants. One[176] admitted under pressure of persistent questioning that "if a dog were good and strong he might carry a pack, but most dogs were poor, and they were pretty scarce." Certainly the dog pack was very much out of the ordinary. The travois was unknown; Bige Archie asserted that it was introduced with the horse, but this was denied by all other informants. 231 [492]

Because of their scarcity, dogs could never have been very important as food. The majority denied ever eating dog, but two had heard of its being eaten in times of great shortage. [261]

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[174] In possession of Nellie Townsend, Fort Bidwell.

[175] P. 322.

[176] MA.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	K1	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	*–	*–	–	*–	–	+	–	+	–
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	*+	–	–	+	–
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	–
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
***Other Plants and Seeds Used**														
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483a. Sunflower (ahögö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483b. Sunflower (paaö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483d. Sunflower (kusiako)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483e. Sunflower (kusipaoö)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.
*483f. Pickleweed (kuhava)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanako)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	+	+	.
*483i. Saltbrush (söni)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	*+	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	.
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483kk. Rabbit brush (mogodöhupi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	–	+	.	.	+	.
*483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihovi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483p. Wild tobacco (paivomo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	.	.
*483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483t. Spike rush (pasasivö)	.	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	.	.
*483v. Sagebrush (sawava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483w. Saltbrush (wasiu)	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483x. wasai	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483y. commöcigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*483z. hiwovi	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*484. Jointfir (tusdupi)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	.	.
*484a. waingava	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	–	.	.	.	.	.
*484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	*–	+	+	+	+	.
484e. yapö	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484f. tasgagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	–	–	.
*484g. tüvaa	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	.	.
484h. tövasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	.
484i. Indian potatoes (camas?) (saga or höga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsö)	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
262
222
251
252

N
W
A
[261]

N
W
A
137
222
262

N
W
A
[276]

N
W
A
222

[p. 375]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogonum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünö seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[253] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawis was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[F.428(8)]

.824 [285] sebI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to se in composition; for example se-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

● [261] sikupi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] [262] [226] taEpi. greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (chotetoma) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-al-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, toima, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wokwokobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

five or six miles northeast of Fort Bidwell, was known as Toha'-kidü- 103
panüin (white-groundhog-lake) because a white groundhog was once 133
seen there. Pindy knew no name for Goose lake, but Joshua said
that it was called Paba'-panüin, big lake.

Big valley, west of Warner valley, was called Guyü, the name of a food plant gathered there. Sugar hill, Toga'-pokwad (dark point or peak) gave its name to near-by Fandango valley. Fandango pass was called Padu'a'-agum from padu″a^{a}, grizzly bear.

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEASONAL PURSUITS AND WANDERINGS

For food these Paiute, like the bulk of Great Basin tribes, were 221
entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering, and even proto-agriculture in the form of wild crop irrigation[18] was unknown. From an economic point of view, Paiute habitat seems to have been peculiarly uninviting, and only through literally unceasing toil could it be made to yield a livelihood. Whereas peoples dependent upon one staple, such as acorns, camas, or mescal, normally enjoy a season of plenty, often followed, to be sure, by one of privation, the Gidü'tikad[8] had no one product upon which they could rely. It follows, therefore, that their food gathering activities were extensive and continuous
rather than concentrated and seasonal. Starvation was frequent, 221
especially in late winter when the stores of cached food had been 262 ●
exhausted.

The geography of the Surprise region has been covered by Russell, 133
but it may be well to call attention to a few general features. A large 137
part of the valley floor is occupied by the playa beds of three lakes, now dry most of the time, but well filled within the memory of informants and early settlers. The remainder of the valley is said to have been meadowland in aboriginal times, but nowadays, owing to the introduction of sheep and to subsequent overgrazing, the meadow has been almost completely replaced by sagebrush, excepting, of course, land actually under cultivation. This means that the pre-white environmental conditions were definitely more favorable for the support of a non-agricultural population. In fact, it is difficult to see how a hunting and gathering people could possibly maintain themselves under present conditions.

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[18] Which Steward, 149, reports for the Eastern Mono.

222 (hu· 'adada·^{a})[44] were never eaten but an unidentified insect similar to the grasshopper was considered edible. Ants (a˙ 'ni) were gathered early in the morning when they were bunched on the top of the hill. Ant eggs (a˙ 'ninoho) were gathered. "Worms" or larvae of some sort, probably caterpillars[45] (called biū̃ 'gū̃). were gathered early in the morning. They did not come every year and nowadays are never found in this vicinity. My interpreter saw some this summer near Gerlach, Nevada.

262 224 Animals not eaten. -- Coyote (iza''^{a}) was hunted with the bow but was not taken in a deadfall. Gidū ´tikad^{u} claim not to have eaten the flesh because it tasted badly, but they made use of the pelt. Wolf (i˙ ''shaʃ is said by Minnie to have an unpleasant odor. With exceptions of Piudy, all informants agreed that it was never eaten. He claimed that is was hunted with the bow and that the flesh was roasted on the coals.

Informants also denied eating fox (wañi·^{i}), dog (soko´puku),[46] lizard (kwida´mugus; kwida,´ excrement), frog (waha´tsa), snake (dogo`kw^{a}), and skunk (poñi´tc^{u}). They stated that the Achomawi ate coyotes and that tribes to the east ate snakes and dogs. Several declared skunks inedible, but as I obtained an account of its preparation, I presume it was eaten by some; the Burns Paiute are said to have eaten it. Mice (puña´ z^{i}) were declared too small to eat. Magpies (kwida`kagai^{i}; kwida,´ excrement; kagai^{i} from kai, kai, kai, the bird's call) and eagles (kwiña´ ·^{a}) were not eaten.

252 Preparation of animal foods.-- Meat was prepared by stone boiling or by roasting in the pit oven (dū´avida) or on the coals. It was sometimes pounded or given other sorts of special treatment to be noted below.

Deer flesh was usually boiled in a willow basket. The meat was added when the water was simmering and it was "boiled rare, not like white people boil meat." The Gidū´tikad^{u} did not cook food in a paunch or hide sack, but when a person was traveling in winter and no water was available, he dug a hole and lined it with a deer hide. He then heaped snow on the skin and added hot stones. Such melted snow was called pa'sa.´

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[44] This term is said to be onomatopoeic.

[45] They are described as black with yellow stripes and as about four inches in length.

[46] Two informants had heard of eating dogs in time of great scarcity, but the others vehemently denied it. One gets the impression that dogs were much too scarce to have been of any dietary significance.

251 fire. Here it was allowed to smoke until red when it was removed and turned, afterward being replaced on the rack for further drying.

Dried meat was pounded with tallow, stored in tule bags, and buried beneath rocks and earth. It could be eaten without additional cooking, but was usually roasted on the coals or boiled. In any event, it was softened by pounding. Jackrabbits were dried, but not so cottontails, probably because the latter were not caught in any quantity. Birds of all kinds, particularly sage hens and mud hens, were dried and boiled. Swans were also dried but did not keep well.

● 262
252 *Special dishes.*—Eggs (noho) of various sorts were gathered, principally those of mud hens which were formerly plentiful in Warner valley and near Paisley. Goose, meadowlark (pa˙tsi'donᵋ), and blackbird eggs, as well as those of a large crane, were utilised. The eggs of a bird[48] frequenting the Warner valley lakes were also eaten, but never those of the magpie. Eggs were cooked beneath the ashes or boiled, the latter possibly due to white influence.

Deer guts (asi')[49] were dried, boiled, and eaten. The fat from deer buttocks was dried and eaten raw with any kind of uncooked dried meat.

"Lard" (dūza') was made from marrow. Bones were broken over a cavity in a rock, pounded, and water and hot stones added. After the mixture had cooled, the grease which had risen to the top was skimmed off with the hand and squeezed into a container. Fat which had been pounded, heated, and made into rolls was called yu'hu-so'ho (fat-pound). It is said to have kept well.

251 Meat was not mixed with berries but was sometimes pounded with tu'nu'yu roots, dried, and stored in a skin bag. Joshua described a sort of pemmican of deer meat, bone, and fat. The ingredients were pounded and shaped into rolls,[50] eight or ten at a time, and then stored for winter use. Rabbit backbones and adhering flesh were pounded and fat added. This kept well and might be eaten without further preparation or made into soup. Mashed meat (soho'-tuku'; pound-meat) and tallow were cooked with dried kuyi roots and the mixture eaten immediately.

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[48] "This bird was called oha'itᵋ; it was about the size of a duck and was red around the eyes. The body was reddish brown" (DB).

[49] Asi' is also the word for umbilical cord.

[50] "Just like head cheese" (JB).

252
415
A standard procedure was followed in preparing seeds of all sorts. They were placed in a fan-shaped willow tray and parched with coals from a sagebrush fire. The hulls were then winnowed from the same tray, either by working them to one side with a rotary motion or by pouring and allowing the chaff to blow off. The remaining seeds were ground on the metate and the meal thus produced was ready for immediate use or for storage. In the latter case, it was placed in a buckskin bag and buried. Sometimes seeds were stored as gathered and were not parched or ground until needed. Seed meal was mixed with water and boiled in a willow basket by the addition of hot stones. These stones were handled by means of two sticks "of any kind," a flat stake some two inches in width, or by a willow bent into a loop. Boiling food had to be stirred constantly lest the stones burn the basket.

264
415
Seed gruel was served in individual willow bowls and was either drunk or scooped up with the first and second fingers. Young boys "who wanted more mush" used three fingers. The Gidü'tikad[8] did not manufacture horn spoons but used instead a basketry spoon, a piece of bark, a split stick, or a rabbit or deer scapula. Most persons ate with their fingers, but men used spoons more often than women.

262
137
Edible seeds included wüdü', sugü',[59] and magu'g^{e}, which are unidentified, and also the following: atsa' (*Sisymbrium sophia* L.) (?)[60]; gu'ha' (*Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.); wa''da (*Suaeda depressa* var. *erecta* Wats.); wa''ta' (*Chenopodium album* L.); üyü'p (*Chenopodium nevadense* Standley); a'gü' (*Wyethia mollis* Gray); pa^{ia} (*Helianthus annuus* L.) (?).[61]

A few observations may be made on the seeds listed above. Atsa' (red, so-called from its color) was mixed with snow, making a "sort of ice cream."[62] In the old days the principal gathering grounds of the ubiquitous a'gü' were in Goose Lake valley. Plate 17*c* shows a field of it in that region, along the western foot of the Warners. Stems as well as seeds of a'gü' were edible; they were pulled and eaten raw.

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[59] One informant thought this was a root, saying it was "like epos but grew only in the mountains."

[60] Which is intrusive in northeastern California. Mr. Howell tells me that two superficially similar species are *S. incisum* Engelm., and *S. pinnatum* Greene, both native to the region. I have evidently collected the wrong species, and atsa' is undoubtedly one of the two indigenous ones here suggested. *S. incisum* is used by the Klamath (Spier, 166).

[61] Which botanists consider native to the Middle West.

[62] Chamberlin, 240, notes that the Gosiute mixed ground seeds of a *Sisymbrium* with snow to make a "kind of confection."

272 and chokecherry, either separately or mixed. Berry beverages have been mentioned above.

824 A "chewing gum" was derived from sigu'p^{i} (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus* var. *consimilis* Hall). The root at surface level was chewed until gummy, and as one informant put it, "The stuff is just like rubber. It has no taste, but it sounds good when you chew it." Pine pitch was also chewed, but "it wore out quickly."

● 262 Moss was not considered edible, although Mettie Petty had heard that the Warm Springs Indians ate it. Wild iris and wild parsnip (ha'kinop^{a}) were known as poisonous.

HOUSES

342 The winter house was a conical mat-covered lodge said to have replaced an earlier dome-shaped structure. Informants claim that the conical form (ka'ni) came to them from the north, "from Idaho, from the Bannock,"[70] out beyond the memory of any person now living.[71] Some lodges were large enough to accommodate eight or nine people and of sufficient height to enable a man to stand upright within. The framework consisted of a series of willows spaced about an unexcavated circle some twelve feet in diameter and brought together at the top. The poles did not project beyond their point of intersection, and when Billy Steve was shown the Wind River lodge figured by Lowie,[72] he remarked, "The grass is all right, but those poles ought to be cut off." Transverse willows were lashed about the frame, and mats of rye grass or tule applied according to availability.

Houses in Surprise were usually grass-covered; those near Adel, tule-covered. With the latter tules four or five feet in height were pierced with a bone awl (more recently a greasewood needle and nowadays a sacking needle) and twine run through. Six rows of such threading can be seen on the tules which Minnie Anderson prepared for a woodshed (pl. 19*a*). As the plate shows, the lower edge of the mat was sometimes finished with a row of simple twine.[73]

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[70] P, DB. The latter volunteered the additional information that the Bannock lodge was covered with buffalo hide.

[71] Informants appear to be mistaken about the antiquity of the conical lodge. Mr. E. W. Gifford has brought to my attention a photograph (in the University Museum files, 13–797) of a domed, brush-covered lodge near Cedarville. The photo is on the back of a postal card, mailed the summer of 1910, although the card may actually date some years earlier. The conical lodge may be classed as one of the several Plains traits which filtered in from the north during the last half of the nineteenth century.

[72] SE, figure 8*b*.

[73] Cf. Klamath tule mat figured by Barrett, Klamath, pl. 24.

The Gidū'tikadᵃ share the Pyramid Lake and Ute belief[259] that the horned toad can kill a rattlesnake. According to Joshua: 825

> The horned toad looks like a doctor. Many people have seen him kill a rattlesnake. The rattlesnake was ready to strike. The horned toad came alongside from behind, and got under him and cut him in two with his horn. The snake could not turn quickly enough.

No danger was attached to eating deer left by a mountain lion or rabbits left by a coyote. "It's all right; there is no harm." [262]

A neat example of contagious magic is to be seen in the following: 789

> The Indians used to have horse races. When a mare was to have a colt, and they wanted it to be a good racer, they killed an antelope because it is a fast runner, and rubbed the water (?) from it on the belly of the horse.

Certain beliefs concerning hair clippings have already been mentioned.[260] Minnie Anderson thought gray hair would result from burning hair combings. If one slept with his head to the fire, his front hair would turn white.

Children threw deciduous teeth toward the moon with shut eyes to make the second teeth come quickly.

As Lowie has indicated,[261] the Paviotso pattern number is five. 801

WEATHER CONTROL

Weather control consisted principally in means and devices to make the snow melt. Several accounts follow: 789

> The mother of Tadagai[262] could make the snow melt. She cried like a stallion, took a firebrand of sagebrush, and pointed it toward the south, saying, "Come on, rain; come on, rain!" She did not dance. The wind blew, the rain came, and the snow began to melt (P).
>
> You must not boil cottontail because it brings snow; you must fry or roast it. Once some old men were going to boil cottontail and they told me to stand outside. In my hand I had a bullroarer made from a dried juniper limb. It was about two inches wide and six inches long. It was not notched. Two or three black marks ran crosswise on the face. A stick, like a handle, was tied to the end of its thong.
>
> I blew the water, in which the cottontail was boiling, south, saying, "Come, rain and wind." It was winter, a long time ago, before any white men were here; I was a small boy, born in the middle of summer when it was hot. That is why they had me do this (to counteract their boiling cottontail).
>
> There is no way to keep snow from coming. Porcupine brings snow.[263] You roast the meat and when you have eaten it, you mash the bones. Then it will snow (P).

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[259] Lowie, SE, 298. [260] P. 189. [261] SE, 295.

[262] "Tadagaiᵃ means one dollar; I don't know how she got such a name" (P).

[263] Cf. Kelly, tales no. 15a, 15b.

ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans 171
did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on [241]
vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute [262]
south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.[1]
His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception [224]
of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of
large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not
disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the
tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one 000
of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is
thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

> The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.
>
> The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appalas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.
>
> As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.[2]

HUNTING AND FISHING.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hüwa, a Tö'+intesà+u seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

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[1] Chamberlin, 335.
[2] De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

As would be expected from their location, the Ute shared the traits of the Plains as well as the Plateau Indians in their economic activities. They hunted buffalo and elk as well as deer and rabbits. The practice of eagle-catching in pits by the Uintah may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection as a typical Plains feature. Large game was killed in the late fall or winter. Deer were driven to a deep pit between the converging arms of a sagebrush enclosure; this was done near the site of Fort Duchesne. Buffalo (*qutc*) were pursued on fast horses and the kill divided into small pieces. Rabbits were hunted communally; the Uintah used nets, made from bark fiber, but the White River band (according to Little Jim) did not. Sometimes jack-rabbits were hunted on horseback. If the rabbits were in the thick brush the Ute would set fire to the brush and kill the rabbits, which then ran out of their hiding-place.

The Shoshoni likewise display a mingling of Plains and Plateau traits. In the winter buffalo were pursued on snowshoes (*dzink*^{u}) of large oval shape made by the men; the animals were run into deep snow from which they could not extricate themselves. Before the people had horses they would surround a herd and close in on them; the buffalo very rarely attempted to break through, but merely would go round and round within the circle. When a man crawled up to a herd alone, he hardly ever got more than one animal. After horses were obtained the surround was no longer necessary. My informant never heard of running buffalo down a cutbank. Mountain-sheep were pursued with, say, four dogs, which chased the animals till they were exhausted and brought to bay on a rock. In pursuing antelope a hunter covered himself with an antelope head with the horns; when he caught sight of his quarry he imitated a grazing antelope and thus sneaked up to the animals till he was able to shoot one or two.

The Wind River Shoshoni deny having eaten roasted ants, but they did not scorn small game. Ground-hogs were driven out of their holes with a very sharp barbed stick. A trap was used for a species of squirrel, so that the animal nibbling at the bait would pull down a big rock on itself. Rabbits would sometimes run into a rotten log. Then the hunter plugged up the hole with sagebrush and started a fire, fanning the smoke into the log. After a while the victim attempted to get out, but was prevented by the plug. When it stopped squealing, the hole was uncovered and the dead rabbit was pulled out. Hunters also hung snares of tough bark fiber from trees and scared the rabbits into the nooses.

While I find no reference in either my notes or the earlier writers to the eating of fish by the Paiute, other Shoshoneans made extensive use of this article of diet.

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000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries. *qwü'ts*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

•262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[415] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
[251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs: *t'üsá*, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qȯgí*, wild carrot; *múə*, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ü''üts*, little onions; *ási*; *a'qȯ'*; *kusíək'*; *qȯγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+ј*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*; *wára*; *tubûs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement. The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tüpá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.

[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

252 (*wiowán*') a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown
412 out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

276
[070] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

[824] The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa*'^{pu}. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*'^{a}. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsiabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá·γodp'*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

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DOGS.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *náskugariñgen.* 000

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[1] *Cf.* Lowie, 212–214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 345.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PAVIOTSO.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving. 262

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:— 538

> Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.[1]

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them. 356

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame. 854

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache. 757

WIND RIVER.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing. 000

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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[1] Mooney, 770 f.

411 arrow on the *right* hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 [411] For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[014] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

AGRICULTURE.

241 222 [412] They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

FOODS.

●262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region[1]. But

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[136] [316] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boil- 252
ing mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [776]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

262 Contrary to what might be expected in such a desert region, fish and waterfowl were an extremely important dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless, because of the inhospitable environment the available food was so often inadequate that the Indians learned to eat nearly everything which could support life.
221 Seasonal migrations in search of food took Indians of nearly every band into the areas recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

114 In the two and a half months available for this study* it was impossible to visit all the bands still represented by living Indians. Of the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element lists were obtained from eleven.

124 Since it was impossible to follow the conventional methods of gathering ethnographic data, that is, by indirect questions which force informants to take the initiative in all descriptions, some mention of the methods employed should be made here. At the start of the inquiry of each complex, such as deer hunting or house building, a general question would be posed and the informant was allowed to offer what information he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary to ask about particular details, or to inquire whether something were done this way or that. With the first informant Northern Paiute names for various items and concepts were recorded; subsequently, with the remaining Indians,
124
115 the native name was used in questioning. To supplement the name, descriptions and pantomimes were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance was obtained from several hundred photographs of material culture and a number of actual specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games, and the like. Informants usually identified known types of material illustrated; consequently, blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage. The Indians seemed to appreciate seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested particular delight upon seeing representations of their own types. Thus the pictures had the double value of establishing friendly relations between the investigator and the Indians and provided a means of exact identification of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

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*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[p. 361 (B)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
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226
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	Ts	K1	K2	Ka	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
266. In weir	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
273. Spear	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
274. 1 prong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
275. 2 prongs	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
278. Torch or fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	.	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	+
280a. Angle	-	-	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	.	-	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-
281a. Of bone and wood	.	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
282. 1 barb at angle	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
285. Pole	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
287. Grasshopper	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
288. Salmon egg	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
288a. Minnow	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-
290a. Bait basket	.	.	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-
291. Fly hook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
293. Poison (to'za used) placed in stream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
294. Stream dammed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
295. Creek diverted	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Animals Eaten

	Ts	K1	K2	Ka	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
297. Dog (sorobuku) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297a. Mink (pai'una) eaten	.	.	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
297b. Mole (teödzi' kwüsöva) eaten	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297c. Porcupine (tsa'kwuda or mühü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kamü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakamü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavüü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
297h. Kangaroo rat (kotsi) eaten	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
297j. Muskrat (pamusö) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (töka'wa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikwü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (köbö or küpa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (woda'a) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavisi) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297q. Skunk (ponI) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
297r. Bat (biya'hana) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297s. Elk (patu'huia) eaten	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
297t. Raccoon (patakai) eaten	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AX
297u. Bobcat (wildcat) (tuhu) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297v. Mt. lion (hagwidühu) eaten	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
297w. Fox (wayi'i) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
297x. Badger (huna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297y. Wolf (isa) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
297z. Coyote (idtsa'a) eaten	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•297aa. Buffalo (pagutsö) eaten	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	•+	+	+	+	•+	−
•298. Grizzly bear (padua'a) eaten	+	−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
298a. Beaver (kohi) eaten	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
298b. Mt. sheep (koep) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298c. Antelope (töna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298d. Deer (male) (töhö'iya) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298g. Lizard, large only, eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−
•298h. All lizards eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•298m. Frog eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Birds Eaten or Used														
•299. Dove (ihovi) eaten	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
299b. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
301. Blackbird (pako'roya) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
302. Owl, screech (pahö), eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
302a. Owl, horned (muhu'), eaten	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
302b. Owl feathers used	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
303. Kingfisher (taeda'ungit) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	.	.	−
304. Woodpecker (adza'vaya) eaten	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
305. Magpie (kuida'kakai) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
306. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•308. Raven (ada) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
•309. Crow (wisda) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
310. Meadowlark (patsidoño) eaten	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
311. Robin (sagu) eaten	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
312. Bluebird (piduyu) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
•313. Hawk (saikaso'o) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
314. Feathers used	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
315. Mocking bird (tora sagu) eaten	−	.	.	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
316. Quail, mountain (tucta), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
317. Quail, valley (sikigi), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
318. Helldiver (grebe) (papuku) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
319. Loon (patsikaye) eaten	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	−	−	.	+	+	−
320. Sea gull (kuna'etö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
321. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
322. Pelican (panosa) eaten	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
323. Eggs used	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
324. Duck (püha) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
325. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
326. Geese (nag'utö) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
327. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
328. Young	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
329. Heron (wasa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−	+	−
330. Eggs used	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	+	−
•331. Bittern (shitepoke) (tavavuni'kadik) eaten	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	+	+	−	−	−	−
332. Crane (kordödö) eaten	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
332a. Eggs used	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
333. Mud hen (coot) (saiya') eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
333a. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
334. Avocet (pakurikurit) eaten	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	−	+	+	.	+	+	.
335. Snipe (sahito) eaten	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	.	+	+	−
336. Killdeer (padö'tsingi) eaten	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
336a. Ruffed grouse (huhüa) eaten	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
336b. Prairie chicken (pakoko) eaten	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
336c. Sage hen (hudzi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piagö) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (mota) eaten	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (küa) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (watata'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	–	+	–	–	–	+	–		+	+	–			–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

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N W A 224

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WE	Ki	AE
398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

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Gathering

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WE	Ki	AE
410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
413. Grinding in mortar (purana)	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

Miscellaneous Plants

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WE	Ki	AE
433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mutas)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
436. Needles burnt off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	•+
443a. Hooked pole (tsama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
451a. Piled on ground, covered					+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
462. Nuts ground on metate (mata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

N
W
A
[462]

● N
W
A
[N23
262] ●

[p.374]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	*–	*–	–	*–	–	+	–	+	–
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	*+	–	–	+	–
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	–
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
***Other Plants and Seeds Used**														
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483a. Sunflower (aköpö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483b. Sunflower (paoö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483d. Sunflower (kusiako)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483e. Sunflower (kusipaoö)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.
*483f. Pickleweed (kuhava)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (samakö)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	+	.
*483i. Saltbrush (sönö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	*+	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	.
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483kk. Rabbit brush (mogodömapi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	–	+	.	.	+	.
*483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483p. Wild tobacco (paivamo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pamia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	.	.
*483r. Bulrush or tule (saivö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483t. Spike rush (pomosivö)	.	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	.	.
*483v. Sagebrush (samava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483w. Saltbrush (muaka)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483x. maoai	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483y. oommasigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*483z. hisavi	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*484. Jointfir (tundupi)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	.	.
*484a. saiagava	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	–	.	.	.	.	.
*484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*484c. mata	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	.
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	*–	+	+	+	+	.
484e. yapö	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484f. toupagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	–	–	.
*484g. tüvaa	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	+	.	.
484h. tövasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	.
484i. Indian potatoes (camas?) (suga or büga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsö)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
262
222
251
252

N
W
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[261]

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137
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[276]

N
W
A
222

[p. 375]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

N
226 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens
227 Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. K1, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N 262 825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

A [262] A [787] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü'iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N [832] 297k. K1: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N [501 777 832] 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N [136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. K1: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu´tsᵘ) hunted near Eagleville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W [24] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 426(a)]

Birds Eaten or Used

262 825 [114] 299. Ts: The bird list was obtained by showing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and recording the Paiute names for birds he recognised. Both English and Paiute names were used in questioning subsequent informants. "Red Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (1931, Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax sinuatis.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

222 337. Ts: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piüga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the/Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262 825 114 222 338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with saying "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred in Walker lake, ... Pyramid lake, and Soda lake, near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food," as well as at Mono Lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Küpa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these Lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. Kl: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). Tc: Some old-timers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

[p.426 ([illegible])]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DW said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: W [222 825] In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said miju.

A [222 251] 356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262] 360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

W [262] 361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

365, 366. Wd: - (SC).

W [262] 367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262 369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[p. 427 (A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
796 Next I went to the creek alone and took a bath.
262 After the ceremony my mother and father and I
ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick."
The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the
birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described
by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only
heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat
his own game until after a special ceremony
which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5
deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother
chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage
and then sucked the boy's joints." He was sup-
A posed never to get tired after that. AE: Game
killed by youth was taboo until after a shoot-
[796 ing ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung
262] up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at.
As soon as he hit the target, but not before,
was the taboo lifted.

373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: - (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in
[783] water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from
dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: - (LP).

N
401. To: - (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd:
796 Had offering ceremonies similar to this one de-
782 scribed by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the
last morning of the big 5-day spring round
dance. Just before dawn a half circle was
formed at the west side of the dance place by
basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each
cup contained but one type of food, such as
seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts,
and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head
man took each cup separately, danced around the
circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all di-
A rections, and prayed for a good season for all
[782] things. AE: See note 25 AE.

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

N
410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade
262 or expedition from California, not important
439 in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + in-
sisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

N
413. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare
415 acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not
make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians,
N or maybe God, made them."

262 434. The use of cactus was denied only in

[p.427(B)]

N
262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere is it common.

A
[222] 443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to trade. I think the distance would prohibit such a thing before the horse was introduced. AE: Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good, were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

N
[415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N
222
423 467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although among several of the bands there was said to have been family ownership of plots, among none of these was it true ownership. One family might claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

N
252
262 468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N
252
222
262 471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as described by Steward, 245. Tö: The seeds of the tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important. Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moccasins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Still-
N
[439] water (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Humboldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

137
222 Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

● 262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogomum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[p.428(8)]

N 177 222 262 [278] Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DW, a Pakwi, called the same plant suŋu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commõsigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DW: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavõ, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [262] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N [249] 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagõ knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] N [764] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101
131 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
621 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

648 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under 131 Tcháktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted [161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as re- [511] gards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... [262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser- [161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when [166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

648 For several years after they settled on the Reservation, 726 hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345). 131 101

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246). [231] [411]

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140). [648] [262] [291] [231] [411]

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to 648 721 [181] [177]

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at
Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and
his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house
(Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him
(Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man
and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus
it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers
and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes
families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close
by, and sometimes unrelated families.

● 262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies
ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved
over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When
there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers
and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in
the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several
men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by
themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence.
This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with
other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and
the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative
enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits,
they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food.
Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals
to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered
at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food
supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if
many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season
at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

PLATE 4

342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. [222 263] Such a temporary shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

[415] Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

[415 531 252] *Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi.* Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made watertight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117–22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

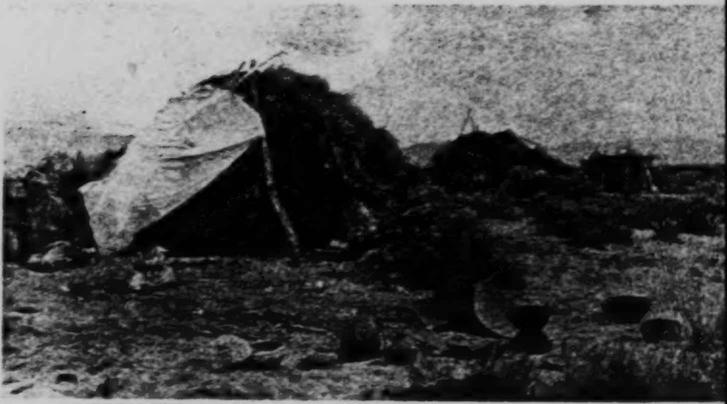
Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 222 251 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

PLATE 5

342
415



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137
● 262
492

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and 226 commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 825 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.*

7. tana-agai.—"Spring trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chamistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for [731] the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large [251] numbers and tons of them are dried for later use.

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to 237 constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches 301 said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the [226] Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, [262] the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and [439] would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women [756] wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787] The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua's. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may [192] be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivalvis* are also called potE.

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of 824 plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[48] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar.

pamahapo, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wûp.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis!*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, sáwapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to [291] burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [372]

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[48] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–406, 1911. [113]

824 [285] sehI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to se in composition; for example se-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sikopi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

● [262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] [262] [226] taEpi, greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are pealed and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (chotetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, taima, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwekobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

Gathering seeds.—By October various seeds were ripe. The seeds 222
of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, were especially mentioned, also the seeds from the cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia.* The fine down to which the cat-tail seeds are attached is spread upon the hard ground of a playa to the depth of 1 or 2 inches and over a space of 5 to 10 feet in diameter. It is then burned. More of the down is gradually added and continually stirred with sticks in order that it may be fully consumed. At the end of a hard day's labor there may be a sufficient quantity of seed upon the ground to fill several sacks. The method of removing the nut-like shell of these and other minute seeds is explained in discussing the various implements. It was a common thing to make porridge of several seed meals mixed. [262] ●

The one-leaf piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, a tree 8 to 25, or rarely 45, feet in height, is found on the range east of Carson sink at an elevation of over 1000 or 1500 feet above the valley. It formed so important [423]
a source of food that different bands of Northern Paiute held proprietary rights to certain tracts. [621] Winnemucca claimed the particular mountain on which is located the mythical "Weasel trail," described later (p. 160; no. 1, pl. 68). Late in autumn the nuts were gathered and secreted in piles until opportunity presented itself for transportation.

Basketry.—The typical Northern Paiute hulling basket (tema) is 285
a flat triangular tray, while other tribes, as well as the cave people, 252
had circular hulling trays. A layer of seeds is placed upon such a basket, and pressure applied with a circular motion with a flat stone. This cracks the nut-like seed coverings, after which the kernel and shells are separated by winnowing. A hulling basket may be of coiled (pl. 30a)$\frac{1}{A}$ or other weave, but it must be a tight weave, as it is used to hull small seeds. Tema baskets are also used in roasting seeds, either before or after hulling, by placing them on the basket with coals and shaking. For the hulling of pine nuts and the larger seeds a coarser basket called yata may be used.

A flat wicker tema basket, triangular in shape, 24 by 30 inches in 285
size, was found several miles north of Lovelock cave, at the base of a cliff, at an elevation of some 300 feet above the level of the plain. It is undoubtedly a Northern Paiute specimen left on the spot in recent decades. It is made of willow, there being 32 warp rods and 40 courses of woof to 10 centimeters. The woof is single, unlike that in baskets found in the cave, and passes over two warps at a time, giving the basket a superficial appearance of being of diagonal twined weave.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See category 116, End Plate 30—Analyst]

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida. [193] Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described 825 the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 773 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipô or pab[illegible]sipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

N W 171 177 795* [346]

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[illegible] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

N W [262] ●

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

N W 171 177 795* 824 [276]

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[illegible] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

N W 177 795* 796

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[illegible]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

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[illegible] La Barre, 61.

[illegible] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[illegible] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

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The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

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As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[illegible]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[illegible] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

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At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[illegible] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[illegible] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

Wadàtkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
[137] (i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gathering
[137] forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territoy.

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39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern extension of Pinaktud (Item 37 above). 133 103

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt. [224]

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú nuhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north end of the lake. [137] [361]

44. Wada banú nuhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm. [137] [101]

45. Kukwa^{P}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E. [789]

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering. [262]

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey [136]

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22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
735 enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However, just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

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476 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost their food supply through no fault of their own, or those people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and children) were given more consideration than those whose hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133]
[262] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with which they were familiar and from which they could gather quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it was not always possible for the author to make a full

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identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^{a} (a plant said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion") and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they occurred. The tops of padus^{a}, which had a white blossom and looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this plant to grow was under willows along streams. [226] [251] [262]

It was not until summer, however, that the products of the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months. The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds, however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly. Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald Mountain. [252]

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^{w}). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [101] [251] [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

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222 [251] up when they were needed. Usually when they were dug up they were easier to crack as they had swollen.

Both "Sour-dock" and "Pig Weed" were eaten as greens. An aquatic plant called masaidup (possibly watercress) was also eaten fresh.

227 Bone fish hooks were used and were called tútam. Kitty Joaquin could not recall what they looked like but said that "some old men still make them for use in Pyramid Lake". It seems probable that she had reference to bone gorge hooks.

An "A" frame type dip net was used for catching fish from a tule balsa on Honey Lake and its sloughs.

The informants did not say that they used conical fish traps but they had seen ones of willow used by a few Paiute people around Pyramid Lake. Fisherman were called hakaigiad.

226 Both Long Valley Creek and the sloughs in the delta of Susan River were considered to be good places to fish. Types of fish caught include a sucker (ak'wugh^o), a small "trout" (pakwi), large trout (agai), and catfish (not native), (musungíb pakwi, "whisker trout").

262 [223] Birds eaten by the Wadátkuht include the small blue heron (wasá), the white swan (wohít), the Canadian honker (nagút), ducks (pöhü), avocets (kutí kuti) and blackbirds (pakoduhpa). Pelican, duck and geese eggs were gathered in the swampy region near the mouth of the Susan River.

Small mammals eaten by the Wadátkuht include the porcupine (möhü or tsagúd), Golden-mantled squirrel (tabá), chipmunk (wóda'), wild cat (tuhu), badger (huna), and marmot (kidü). Several types of rabbits, especially the jackrabbit, were of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht.

224 Rabbit drives were usually made in the fall and winter. A long net held up by a series of sticks was used for this purpose. A number of people would drive the rabbits into the net while several mem watched the net. When a rabbit hit the net he became enmeshed because the net fell on him. The men tending the net killed the rabbits and hung them by their heads from a belt around their waists.

Rabbits were attracted to the hunter who made a "kissing" sound with his lips. This sound was similar to that made by

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224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the
informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Toka
kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud),
the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of
Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at
Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at
the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants
did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and
butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any
case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide.
The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped
from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was
taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the
sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were
eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being
roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done
with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove
the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better
meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
[237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair
from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
[192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the
Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

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281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be
263 obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to
have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht
territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground
439 on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also
traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black
● 262 root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith
Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunui^{yu}, was traded from the
people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht
call these Pit River people Tunui^{yu}tkuht.

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534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö̆' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

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more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs 231
Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. [177]

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though [262] dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog [825] rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone.

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the [552] name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Ki maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English.

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in 500 Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people.

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered 843 bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated.

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to 845 have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults.

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across 826 the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew [789] what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?).

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were 854 likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder 826 of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was

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754 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two
of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors,
755 and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at
home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed
Gladys got well.

754 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as
follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was
[841] detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not
[262] accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was
due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed
[787] with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to
make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on
754 the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the
woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a
783 curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might
die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip,
haki^{nukpa}, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and
parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an
ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time
and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen
into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin
did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law
turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor
and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified
his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and
pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'^{yu}
Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

The following account describes what might happen to a
754 sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two
children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai,
683 Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty
about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's
father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was
taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am
going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the
man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it
upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'ka[illegible]
house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret
Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled
the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and
another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

One informant spoke jestingly of kuyi (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) as 251
"Indian Limburger."[67] She said that the tops were broken off and 252
the roots left overnight in the pit oven, in this instance with no fire on top. In the morning when the mess was uncovered, it was "black as coal" and smelled bad but was sweet to the taste. An unidentified root called guyü is probably the same thing. It was gathered chiefly in Big valley (which derived its native name from it) and at Twenty Mile, between Warner and Surprise valleys.

The roots of bikwa'ida (*Balsamorhiza terebinthacea* Nutt.) were eaten raw, either fresh or dried. Sometimes they were roasted in the ground and pounded. Ko'tsiü', another sunflower (*Cirsium acaulescens* Sch.), furnished roots which were eaten raw, or if plentiful, were roasted in the earth oven. The roots of yet another composita, kwanü'pic (*Scorzonella* sp.), were similarly cooked.

Unidentified roots include iza''ᵃbui (coyote's eyes),[68] which is said to grow extensively near Paisley and sporadically in Warner valley. It was cooked in the ashes and had a sweet flavor. Tsu'ga is a root which grows only in Oregon. Tsa'na-tsu'ga (sweet tsu'ga) is a root which used to grow in the high country east of Surprise and on the hills of Bidwell canyon. It was cooked in the ground and sometimes dried.

Miscellaneous.—The leaves of tübu'hi (*Crepis occidentalis* Nutt.) were eaten raw; the stem and root were not used. The peeled stems of young iza''ᵃkwasi' (coyote's tail) (*Cirsium occidentale* var. *candidissimum* Macbr.) were eaten raw. Roots of young tule and cat-tail were gathered, broken open, and the white meat eaten uncooked. It was not dried. Haws of the wild rose (*Rosa pisocarpa* Gray) (tsia'bⁱ) were pounded with deer tallow and eaten.

Salt was not known to the Gidü'tikadᵃ before the coming of the 263
whites. They had a sugar substitute in honey-dew which was deposited on leaves by a "little black bug," doubtless aphis. The syrup was gathered and used without any preparation. Sugar was not secured from cottonwood or from cat-tail.[69]

Fermented beverages and intoxicants were unknown. A tea was [278
produced by pouring hot water on the dried leaves of a species of 272
Mentha, possibly *M. arvensis* L., and by boiling the stalks of wild rose

---

[67] Fremont (160) notes that the "Snakes" near Fort Hall ate the roots of *Valeriana edulis* which they called kooyah.

[68] Bui is the term for berry, root, and eye.

[69] The Pyramid Lake Paiute are said to make a candy-like substance from cat-tail pollen.—Loud and Harrington, 158.

Wadátkuht

222 [251] Seeds of the sunflower were parched oftentimes before being stored away. Parching, called sagá, is differentiated from heating seeds somewhat like popcorn, an action termed kutsí kwu'^{t}. Flour from these seeds was considered to be more a dessert than a staple. An important place for gathering sunflower seeds, particularly for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, was at Mud Flat (Tubisha nõna).

Chokecherries, called ta'shabui ("deep-red chokecherry"), were picked before going to gather pine nuts. The chokecherries were prepared by being pitted in a sieve. This was [252] done by rubbing the flesh of the chokecherries through the interstices of the basket leaving the pits in the basket. This action was called tudá kwid^{a}. The mashed chokecherries were made into patties and dried for winter use. When the patties were soaked in water "they become fresh, they taste good". A favorite place for obtaining chokecherries was along Parker Creek near the village of Kasawihnaid.

Elderberries, called hubú, were gathered at the village of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, or at least in this vicinity, when they became ripe in the late summer or early fall. The berries [251] were gathered by picking the complete stem, or bunch, then drying them that way. An energetic person might pick the berries from the stem.

Late in the summer níshu (apparently Mormon crickets) and kúa (locusts), when they occurred in great numbers, were gathered for food. Good places to collect níshu were Secret Valley and in the vicinity of Doyle. They were collected by being scraped into a container with the hands, or by being picked from sagebrush where they would be clustered in great numbers. The gathering had to be done early in the morning before the insects became warm and active. After they had been gathered a pit would be dug into the ground and a fire [252] built in the pit. When the fire was reduced to a quantity of hot coals the insects were dumped into the pit and immediately covered with earth. From time to time they were [251] sampled to see if they were done. When cooked the insects uncovered and removed from the pit and laid in the sun to get perfectly dry. After drying they were sacked for future use. Before they were eaten, however, their heads and legs were [252] pulled off and discarded. The body was ground into a flour with a mano and metate and eaten dry, or made into a soup which had a flavor somewhat like that of dried deer meat. (Deer meat also could be ground into a flour coarser than [263] acorn flour and made into soup.) Flour made from níshu could be salted to taste when eaten.

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 ● 263 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. 439 262 The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

252
415 A standard procedure was followed in preparing seeds of all sorts. They were placed in a fan-shaped willow tray and parched with coals from a sagebrush fire. The hulls were then winnowed from the same tray, either by working them to one side with a rotary motion or by pouring and allowing the chaff to blow off. The remaining seeds were ground on the metate and the meal thus produced was ready for immediate use or for storage. In the latter case, it was placed in a buckskin bag and buried. Sometimes seeds were stored as gathered and were not parched or ground until needed. Seed meal was mixed with water and boiled in a willow basket by the addition of hot stones. These stones were handled by means of two sticks "of any kind," a flat stake some two inches in width, or by a willow bent into a loop. Boiling food had to be stirred constantly lest the stones burn the basket.

264
415 Seed gruel was served in individual willow bowls and was either drunk or scooped up with the first and second fingers. Young boys "who wanted more mush" used three fingers. The Gidü'tikad^{a} did not manufacture horn spoons but used instead a basketry spoon, a piece of bark, a split stick, or a rabbit or deer scapula. Most persons ate with their fingers, but men used spoons more often than women.

262
137 Edible seeds included wüdü', sugü',[59] and magu'g^{a}, which are unidentified, and also the following: atsa' (*Sisymbrium sophia* L.) (?)[60]; gu'ha' (*Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.); wa"da (*Suaeda depressa* var. *erecta* Wats.); wa"ts' (*Chenopodium album* L.); üyü'p (*Chenopodium nevadense* Standley); a'gü' (*Wyethia mollis* Gray); pa^{hü} (*Helianthus annuus* L.) (?).[61]

A few observations may be made on the seeds listed above. Atsa' (red, so-called from its color) was mixed with snow, making a "sort of ice cream."[62] In the old days the principal gathering grounds of the ubiquitous a'gü' were in Goose Lake valley. Plate 17*c* shows a field of it in that region, along the western foot of the Warners. Stems as well as seeds of a'gü' were edible; they were pulled and eaten raw.

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[59] One informant thought this was a root, saying it was "like epos but grew only in the mountains."

[60] Which is intrusive in northeastern California. Mr. Howell tells me that two superficially similar species are *S. incisum* Engelm., and *S. pinnatum* Greene, both native to the region. I have evidently collected the wrong species, and atsa' is undoubtedly one of the two indigenous ones here suggested. *S. incisum* is used by the Klamath (Spier, 166).

[61] Which botanists consider native to the Middle West.

[62] Chamberlin, 340, notes that the Gosiute mixed ground seeds of a *Sisymbrium* with snow to make a "kind of confection."

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were 342
wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'i-nobi (saib^a, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74]

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'waha'b^a, rye grass). The grass, four or five feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at 462
the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264 ●
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the follow- 342
ing winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place.
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went 417
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dū'a-nobi; dū'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18*c*, is frequently seen at the present time.
It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm
weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

● 264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi'^{i}) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidū'tikad^{a} at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Pindy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'^{ə}ka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Pindy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

755 **he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.**

When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well. [774]

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

[264] About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

756 755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

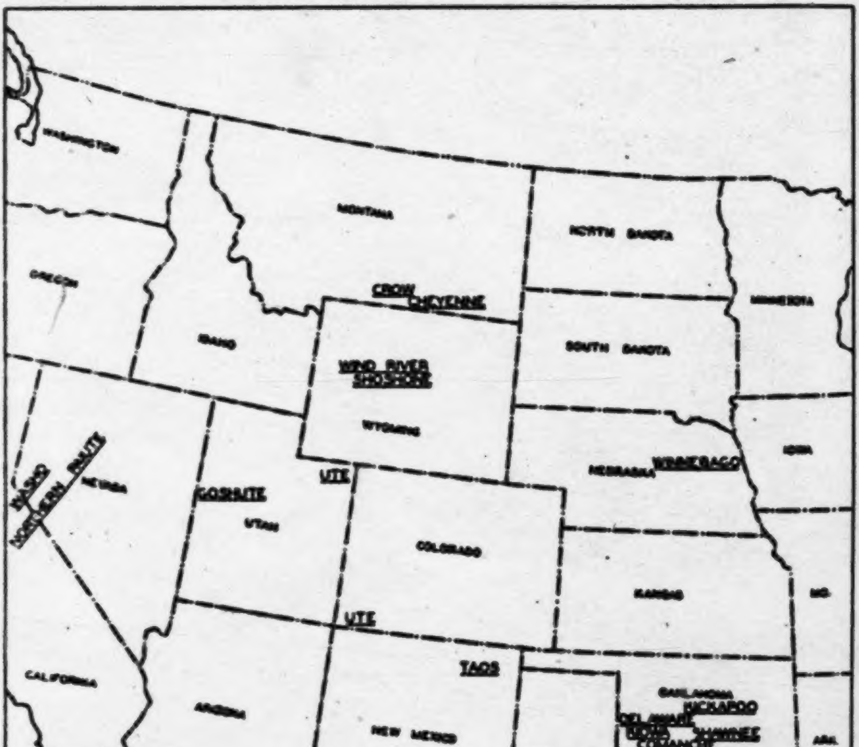
Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that. [775]

752 755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

W with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their
795 places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who
796 missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal
276 smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

N
W
Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about
● [264] noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all
[574] congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

N
W
102
131


WASHINGTON
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
OREGON
CROW
CHEYENNE
IDAHO
SOUTH DAKOTA
WIND RIVER SHOSHONE
WYOMING
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
NEVADA
IOWA
NEBRASKA
WINNEBAGO
UTE
GOSHIUTE
UTAH
COLORADO
KANSAS
MO.
UTE
TAOS
CALIFORNIA
OKLAHOMA
KICKAPOO
ARIZONA
DELAWARE
KIOWA
SHAWNEE
NEW MEXICO
COMANCHE
KIOWA-APACHE
ARK.
TEXAS
LA.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
171
*795
796
[244]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ah 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
735 that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

Wadátkuht

224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Toka
kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud),
the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide. The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped
from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were
eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done
with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove
the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better
meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
[237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair
from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
[192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the
Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N W A 251 252

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
558. Feet dried	+	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+
*562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
563. In basket	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
566. Pair forked sticks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
*568. Boiling in pot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−
*HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	−	−
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	−	−
Sun Shade														
*582. Brush or tree only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	•−	−
584. Posts: 6-8	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
584a. Any number	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
586. Side walls: 1	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
586a. More than 1	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
588. For summer use	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
589. For winter use	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•−	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
594a. 8-10	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
595a. 14-20	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
598. Layers of grass (waiava)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
600. Mat	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	+	•+	•−	+	−	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+
606a. Opposite wind	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−

N 266

N X 342

[p.377]

N 317 to Alkali Lake near Topaz, California, to get salt. They did not claim this lake, but obtained salt there without payment. No one seems to have owned the lake, although it might have been Washo, MW said. Pa: Salt obtained at Rhodes Salt Marsh south of Mina (Steward, 325). DV said Osavidökadö ("salt eaters") have been considered a separate band only since the building of the railroad through that country; before the railroad the country was used only as a place to get salt. At: Free salt not known before white people. Salt-brush, Atriplex, and sünü seeds were salty and that is all they used.

530. Sa: + (SL).

533, 534. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

538. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

539. Tg, Wd: "To dry meat faster a sort of sweat house was built and a fire was made inside" (DS). This was primarily only to dry faster; the smoking was incidental.

540. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [252] 542, 543. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

546. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

558. Sa, Pa, At: Feet dried with cords and skin were used in case of famine.

561. At: Earth oven used only for crickets.

562. Cooking in the thorax filled with water which was brought to a boil by means of hot stones is described by Kelly, 92.

568. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

N 266 577. K2: Once during a hard winter a Kuyuidökadö killed his daughter-in-law and ate her. The rest of the tribe disapproved and chased him away. Kü: "Not so many years ago, just before the white people came, a family lived high in the mountains during a hard winter. The mother couldn't get enough food, so one day the eldest son killed her, cooked her, and offered some of the meat to his younger brother. The younger one refused and the elder brother threatened to eat him next. The boy escaped, ran to Lovelock (saituka tuwiwarai), told his story. The Indians tried to kill the elder brother but he hid, then ran away" (GN). At: "In hard winters when food was gone those Indians who appeared weak, like they would die, were killed and eaten by the stronger ones" (PS).

HOUSES

N 342 Speaking of a Walker Lake lodge pictured in Mooney, Lowie (p. 221) says, "while round in ground plan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like." Informants were unable to give accurate descriptions of houses. When I showed them pictures of dome-shaped houses of the Pomo tule type, informants said that type had been used formerly, but upon seeing plate 3,c, Steward, a conical house, most of them said that type was also used. It is impossible to ascertain if house

[p. 429 (a)]

Seeds were sometimes mixed with berries but never with meat. 252
Informants had not heard of eating sage seeds. They considered cat-tail (toib^{a}) seeds edible, although the root was a more important food. Cat-tail stalks were spread on the ground, fired, and the seeds gathered. These were shelled by being worked lightly on the metate and after this were prepared like other seeds.

Identified grass seeds include the following: waha'b^{a} (*Hordeum* 137
nodosum L.); sopi'b^{a} (*Poa nevadensis* Vasey)[63]; mono'p^{a} (*Sitanion histrix* J. G. Smith), foxtail; waiya' (*Elymus condensatus* Pres.), rye-grass; ——— (*Alopecurus aequalis* Sobol); so'pi' (*Glyceria borealis* (Nash) Batchelder).

Pine-nuts (tü'ba) were of minor importance to the Gidü'tikad^{a}. 222
Aside from a few nut-bearing piñons near Bidwell mountain, they 252
are quite lacking in the whole territory. Informants knew them from 415
Pyramid lake and several described methods of preparing them. Minnie Anderson said that the cones were beaten from the trees with long sticks and dumped into an earth oven. They were roasted for an hour or so, after which they were removed, picked, and the nuts spread to dry. The latter were then shelled on the metate and winnowed. They were further dried, then ground on the metate, and made into gruel. As the gruel cooked, it was stirred with a willow twig, one end of which was looped back and tied with the outer bark of the twig. Nannie Ochiho gave substantially the same procedure except that the nuts were ground unshelled. According to Joshua they were successively parched, shelled, winnowed, ground, and made into mush.

Fruits and berries.—Chokecherries (*Prunus demissa* Dietr.) (do"-icabui) were eaten fresh or dried. Preliminary to drying they were broken lightly with a stone, molded into cakes, and placed in the shade to harden. Such dried cakes were ground to powder on the metate and then boiled. Nowadays dried cherries are mixed with water and flour, possibly with seed meal in the old days. Chokecherries and wa"da seeds were sometimes combined. A beverage was [272] ●
made by pouring hot water on the fruits and a tea was made from chokecherry stems.

Wild plums (tuyu) were gathered in an open-twine burden basket. They were pitted but not crushed and dried in the sun. The dried fruits were "pretty strong" before sugar was available. Wild plums are quite plentiful in the Warners and are still gathered in late summer.

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[63] And probably *Poa gracillima* Vasey as well, for which I have no native term.

251
252
Black haw (*Crataegus douglasii* Lindl.) (kwinü'pe) is a berry which was formerly, but is no longer eaten. It was used either fresh or dried. Service berry (*Amelanchier venulosa* Greene) (ti'gabui) was eaten fresh or dried, boiled or uncooked. Such berries were always kept overnight; otherwise they would give one a stomachache. They were crushed before being dried. Daisy said that ground a'gü' seeds were mixed with mashed fresh berries (particularly ti'gabui), or with dried berries which had been soaked, and the compound eaten without further preparation. It was called düma'iyu (mixture of any sort) or tütza'kiü (also mixture, but applying only to fruits and the like).

Mogu'tsiabui (gooseberry; mogu', thorn), boko'pe (wild currant), and atsa'pui (*Ribes cereum* Dougl.) were eaten fresh and uncooked. Before gathering atsa'pui, a person had always to throw a handful of dust on the bush, otherwise he would surely have a headache. Dust was also thrown on a berry bush to prevent birds from eating the fruits.

Buffalo berry (*Shepherdia argentea* Nutt.) (wi'"yüpui) called for special preparation. One might eat the berries fresh, but if a person were going to dry them, he covered them with rye grass to which he set fire. While the grass was burning he stirred the whole well in order to cook the berries. After this preliminary cooking, the fruits were dried. Dried buffalo berries had to be "washed hard" to remove the accumulated charcoal. Afterward they were boiled, drained, and crushed. My informant said that nowadays buffalo berries are mixed with flour and sugar and made into a pudding.

Elderberries (*Sambucus glauca* Nutt.) (hubu') were eaten fresh or dried; they were not cooked before being dried.

● 272 The Gidü'tikad[8] used to manufacture a beverage from juniper berries (wa'"pui). The fruits were picked, broken in the hands, and water added. After a thorough stirring, the pitch rose to the top and was skimmed off with a blade of grass. The beverage was served in individual willow bowls and drunk immediately. Sometimes it was mixed with pounded deer liver to make a "gravy." Juniper berries were never kept any length of time.

222
252
Roots.—From early spring well into summer root gathering was an economic activity of great importance. Women went each day to dig ya'pa', tu'nu'"yu, mu'"a', hu'"nibui, pa'si'go'*, and other roots. These they prepared by boiling or by pit-roasting,[44] or sometimes preserved

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[44] Spier (Havasupai, 119) is probably mistaken in thinking pit-roasting absent in the Basin. Although Lowie does not mention it in Shoshonean Ethnography, he does report it for the Northern Shoshone (188); for the Gosiute, Chamberlin (337, 339) speaks of it as "the usual method of cooking" certain roots; and among these Paviotso, it is a standard method of food preparation.

One informant spoke jestingly of kuyi (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) as "Indian Limburger."[67] She said that the tops were broken off and the roots left overnight in the pit oven, in this instance with no fire on top. In the morning when the mess was uncovered, it was "black as coal" and smelled bad but was sweet to the taste. An unidentified root called guyü is probably the same thing. It was gathered chiefly in Big valley (which derived its native name from it) and at Twenty Mile, between Warner and Surprise valleys. 251 252

The roots of bikwa'ida (*Balsamorhiza terebinthacea* Nutt.) were eaten raw, either fresh or dried. Sometimes they were roasted in the ground and pounded. Ko'tciü', another sunflower (*Cirsium acaulescens* Sch.), furnished roots which were eaten raw, or if plentiful, were roasted in the earth oven. The roots of yet another composita, kwanü'pic (*Scorzonella* sp.), were similarly cooked.

Unidentified roots include iza''ᵃbui (coyote's eyes),[68] which is said to grow extensively near Paisley and sporadically in Warner valley. It was cooked in the ashes and had a sweet flavor. Tsu'ga is a root which grows only in Oregon. Tsa'na-tsu'ga (sweet tsu'ga) is a root which used to grow in the high country east of Surprise and on the hills of Bidwell canyon. It was cooked in the ground and sometimes dried.

Miscellaneous.—The leaves of tübu'hi (*Crepis occidentalis* Nutt.) were eaten raw; the stem and root were not used. The peeled stems of young iza''ᵃkwasi' (coyote's tail) (*Cirsium occidentale* var. *candidissimum* Macbr.) were eaten raw. Roots of young tule and cat-tail were gathered, broken open, and the white meat eaten uncooked. It was not dried. Haws of the wild rose (*Rosa pisocarpa* Gray) (tsia'bⁱ) were pounded with deer tallow and eaten.

Salt was not known to the Gidü'tikad[6] before the coming of the whites. They had a sugar substitute in honey-dew which was deposited on leaves by a "little black bug," doubtless aphis. The syrup was gathered and used without any preparation. Sugar was not secured from cottonwood or from cat-tail.[69] 263

Fermented beverages and intoxicants were unknown. A tea was produced by pouring hot water on the dried leaves of a species of *Mentha*, possibly *M. arvensis* L., and by boiling the stalks of wild rose [278 272

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[67] Fremont (160) notes that the "Snakes" near Fort Hall ate the roots of *Valeriana edulis* which they called kooyah.

[68] Bui is the term for berry, root, and eye.

[69] The Pyramid Lake Paiute are said to make a candy-like substance from cat-tail pollen.—Loud and Harrington, 158.

272 and chokecherry, either separately or mixed. Berry beverages have been mentioned above.

824 A "chewing gum" was derived from sigu'p^{i} (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus* var. *consimilis* Hall). The root at surface level was chewed until gummy, and as one informant put it, "The stuff is just like rubber. It has no taste, but it sounds good when you chew it." Pine pitch was also chewed, but "it wore out quickly."

262 Moss was not considered edible, although Mattie Petty had heard that the Warm Springs Indians ate it. Wild iris and wild parsnip (ha'kinop^{a}) were known as poisonous.

HOUSES

342 The winter house was a conical mat-covered lodge said to have replaced an earlier dome-shaped structure. Informants claim that the conical form (ka'ni) came to them from the north, "from Idaho, from the Bannock,"[70] out beyond the memory of any person now living.[71] Some lodges were large enough to accommodate eight or nine people and of sufficient height to enable a man to stand upright within. The framework consisted of a series of willows spaced about an unexcavated circle some twelve feet in diameter and brought together at the top. The poles did not project beyond their point of intersection, and when Billy Steve was shown the Wind River lodge figured by Lowie,[72] he remarked, "The grass is all right, but those poles ought to be cut off." Transverse willows were lashed about the frame, and mats of rye grass or tule applied according to availability.

Houses in Surprise were usually grass-covered; those near Adel, tule-covered. With the latter tules four or five feet in height were pierced with a bone awl (more recently a greasewood needle and nowadays a sacking needle) and twine run through. Six rows of such threading can be seen on the tules which Minnie Anderson prepared for a woodshed (pl. 19*a*). As the plate shows, the lower edge of the mat was sometimes finished with a row of simple twine.[73]

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[70] P, DB. The latter volunteered the additional information that the Bannock lodge was covered with buffalo hide.

[71] Informants appear to be mistaken about the antiquity of the conical lodge. Mr. E. W. Gifford has brought to my attention a photograph (in the University Museum files, 13–797) of a domed, brush-covered lodge near Cedarville. The photo is on the back of a postal card, mailed the summer of 1910, although the card may actually date some years earlier. The conical lodge may be classed as one of the several Plains traits which filtered in from the north during the last half of the nineteenth century.

[72] SE, figure 8*b*.

[73] Cf. Klamath tule mat figured by Barrett, Klamath, pl. 24.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a [412]
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *asì* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāī*" seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tūm*^{e}) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *asúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tū'm*^{e} tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tū'm*^{e} together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were
used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up
and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries
were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic'* root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the
[224] vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab^{a} (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

● 272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'^{a} (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this
[177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

The most important single food plant product in the
[137] Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} and Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o}. Acorns often could be gathered in large enough quantities some years to last for two or
[251] three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

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648
657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups." [186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They [464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some 273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[16] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to [511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong [162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

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[16] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can
work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the
category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have
jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons.
In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The
younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning
for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has
changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions,
drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty,
and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire
family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently [165]
many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison
with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell
boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools
are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little
changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days.
Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad
supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people
still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work
for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some
women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the
garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger
people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning
to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have
become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of
the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some
sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have
been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experi- [754]
ence which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been
mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated
that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had
treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she
sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long
illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own
power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness.
Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it mani-
fests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is un- 753
conscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath.
This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged
patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their
company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think
of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the
doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly
if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my
stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her
daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273] ●
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity,
which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and
particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the
most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who
seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired
by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased
husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

N

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the W 178
missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey 771
Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because 795*
no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that [797]
his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed.
"Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult.
Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more N
charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders. W

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking." Don James (W,2) 178
and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their 273
families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while 276
drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. 795*
White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking,
but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most
peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the
Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that
peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former
members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings." Peyotists
do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person;
also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify N
whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use W
rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly [787]
portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey." Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One interred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts
declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, N
"Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit." W

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or 276
at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former 578
members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs 795*
~~were being~~ used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and [786]

None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.) [832]

La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The *fact* that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the *fact* that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

N
W
171

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 25, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

N
W
162
795*
[103]
[171]
[484]

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

N
W
162
795
273
756
157
563

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

gories, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 2.5 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

N
W
162
795+
[273]

TABLE 5

Other Peyotist Communities

(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	(P)	Total
Total population	128	359	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6

Totals of All Peyotist Communities

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

liquor than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed. [563]

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received *from* more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

mens. When not in use, the slab is leaned face downward against the wall of the house. On journeys a small size metate was carried in the burden basket. 324 415

The mano (tusu') is without special character; it is not beveled or rockered in any distinctive manner. Evidently any stone of suitable size was put to use with the metate.

Mortar.—My information concerning the mortar accords with that of Dr. de Angulo.[147] Strangely enough, considering the vast number to be found archaeologically, informants state that "they did not use them much."[148] They did not manufacture mortars, but if they happened upon one they might use it. In the absence of a mortar, any kind of rock served. Sometimes the mortar and pestle were cached "so that when we came around next time we knew where to find them." The pestles[149] are simply elongate stones, shaped through use as much as anything else.

Arrow smoother.—Two grooved stones (pa'a'bi; also poños-tüma'-nak^{a}; poños, arrow) are said to have been used in smoothing arrows. They were unsquared and resembled the Klamath specimen figured by Barrett.[150]

Pipe.—All agree that the old pipe (to'i'c^{a}) was stone with a wooden mouthpiece, but with this, agreement virtually ceases. Informants are about evenly divided between the tubular and the elbow pipe, three claiming that the latter is a "white man's pipe." 324 276

Minnie described a plain tube which was smoked with head tilted back; Pindy reported a tubular pipe which the user leaned back to light, but smoked straight. Billy Steve, when shown plate 22 of Barrett, picked figure 7, a bone mesh measure, as most closely approximating the old form—an undoubted indication of tubular shape. Nannie Ochiho agreed that the elbow pipe was "white man's" but said that the old Paiute pipe was more curved than the simple tube. Joshua agreed with her that the old pipe was intermediate between the straight and the elbow types.

When Tom Anderson was shown a tubular pipe he emphatically declared, "not Paiute," selecting figure 9, plate 22 of Barrett as "a Paiute pipe." Daisy Brown likewise declared for an elbow pipe. Dr. Sam of Beatty, when asked concerning pipes, brought forth one he had made years ago. I understood that his was in the old style manner, but as I was pressed for time, I may not have stressed the point of age sufficiently. The pipe he showed was carved in the shape of a mountain-sheep head, nose pointing downward. The bore entered the head back of the horns, turned elbow-wise, and ran through the neck. The wooden mouthpiece was attached at the butt of the neck. The whole very much resembled a miniature tomahawk pipe.

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[147] P. 321.

[148] "What would we use those for? We have no hard seeds" (P).

[149] "The pestle is called tüta'bin" (JB); "poda'n" (P).

[150] Plate 21, fig 9.

The specimen[151] illustrated on plate 32*b* was obtained from Fat George Townsend. The standing height is 2¼ inches. The perforation at the top is ⅜ of an inch in diameter and that at the mouthpiece, a fraction less than ½ inch. The latter perforation is said always to be the smaller. The elbow bears an angle knob, oval in shape, and notched at the terminals of its long and short diameters. The total length of the stem is 2¼ inches, of which ⅜ of an inch penetrates the pipe. The mouthpiece bore is less than ⅛ inch across. The stem is decorated with a small band of the outer bark.

One of the strongest claimants[152] for the tubular pipe is from Nevada where the straight pipe is known.[153] There remains the evidence of Piudy and Minnie Anderson, both excellent informants and both well advanced in years. With the exception of Dr. Sam, other informants run at least five to ten years younger. It is possible that the straight pipe was replaced by the elbow form in early times, perhaps simultaneously with the advent of the whites. At this time a good many new traits seem to have filtered in. If this were the case, informants of sixty or sixty-five years might know only the later type. It is singular, however, that amateur archaeologists of the region seem not to have found any tubular pipes, but then pipes of any sort are rare enough. Furthermore, it is not inconceivable that these Paviotso shared the elbow pipe with the neighboring Klamath.[154]

The pipe could be made of any soft stone, but the favorite was reddish and was called atsa'-tüpi' (red-stone). The Bannock are credited with a shiny red-stone pipe,[155] doubtless catlinite.

Accounts of pipe manufacture vary. According to Joshua, stone was selected, heated, and chipped, then perforated with a bone awl. Piudy substituted deer horn for the bone awl, and he, as well as other informants, denied the heating. Minnie said that the stone was pecked to the desired shape and the cavity made by scraping with an obsidian knife. She illustrated by working a stick in the palm and then inverting and shaking the hand as though to remove dust and chips. Joshua, Minnie, and Piudy all denied the use of a drill. Nannie Ochiho described a drill made by lashing an arrowpoint to a horn shaft, but as she is considerably younger than the others, the drill may not be aboriginal. According to Minnie, "all the men knew how to make pipes."

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[151] In possession of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell.

[152] BS.

[153] Lowie, SE, 215.

[154] Spier, Klamath, 87; Barrett, Klamath, pl. 22, figs. 8, 9.

[155] JB.

The mouthpiece (na'bitsim^{e}) was made of rose. Minnie reported 276
a hollowed elder stem; Daisy thought this material would be too soft, 324
although it is known to have been used by the Klamath.[156]

Chipped implements.—Chipped implements were largely obsidian. 412
The stuff is scattered plentifully, and informants deny any particular 324
source, saying that pieces were picked up "just anywhere." An enormous deposit occurs at the south end of Cowhead lake.[157] Quantities were evidently transported from here to the camps on the north shore where piles of rejects may be seen, but these may antedate Paviotso occupancy. As the lake recedes, many artifacts are found in the sand, and some excellent specimens, including knives and a bewildering array of points, have been found in the neighborhood.

Knives (wi'hi, applied to anything for cutting) were formerly two sizes. They were used for skinning and butchering and were carried in a sack at the waist together with the fire drill, or else in a buckskin sheath (wi'hi-mago''o; knife-container) attached to the belt. Some knives were hafted. Joshua said that his father's butchering knife had a bone handle a couple of inches long; Piudy said that the handle was of any kind of wood, not bone, and that service wood was strongest. Large blades which appear to be giant spearpoints were probably hafted knives.

Arrowpoints found archaeologically were used if in good condition. Most are notched at the base. Joshua had watched his uncle make arrowpoints. He warmed the stone on the coals then broke it into small pieces. These he worked in from the edge, using a pointed instrument (muka'nu) of deer or mountain-sheep horn. He wore no skin guard; sometimes he cut his hand, but "he was not afraid." Tom Anderson said that his grandfather held a piece of hide in his hand when making arrowpoints.

Scrapers were used in working hides, but I am not certain if they were actually made or if they were merely found archaeologically and put to use.

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[156] Spier, Klamath, 87.

[157] This means that they had ample material within their own territory without contesting the Achomawi right to Sugar hill. Kniffen (map 2) agrees in having Sugar hill indisputably Achomawi. Cf. de Angulo, 315.

SMOKING

Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[230] young boys did not smoke 276
for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non-
ceremonial and was chiefly an evening pastime. Three or four old 517
men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed number of times, and a person could decline on the second round without offending.

The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-
mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'b^a)[231] The 277
local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'b^a were mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowadays koda'b^a and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the blend called düma'iyu, mixture. Koda'b^a is said to be "pretty strong."

Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[232] For earache and 276
deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear 755
the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache. For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. 855
A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." 861
Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall
sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the [826]
other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he is born with the cord around his neck."

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[230] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[231] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[232] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133
● 276
281
285
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343
361
412
415
524
531
854

Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Gedowa, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Garno, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 48½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

4/2 Pg 210 p

● 276

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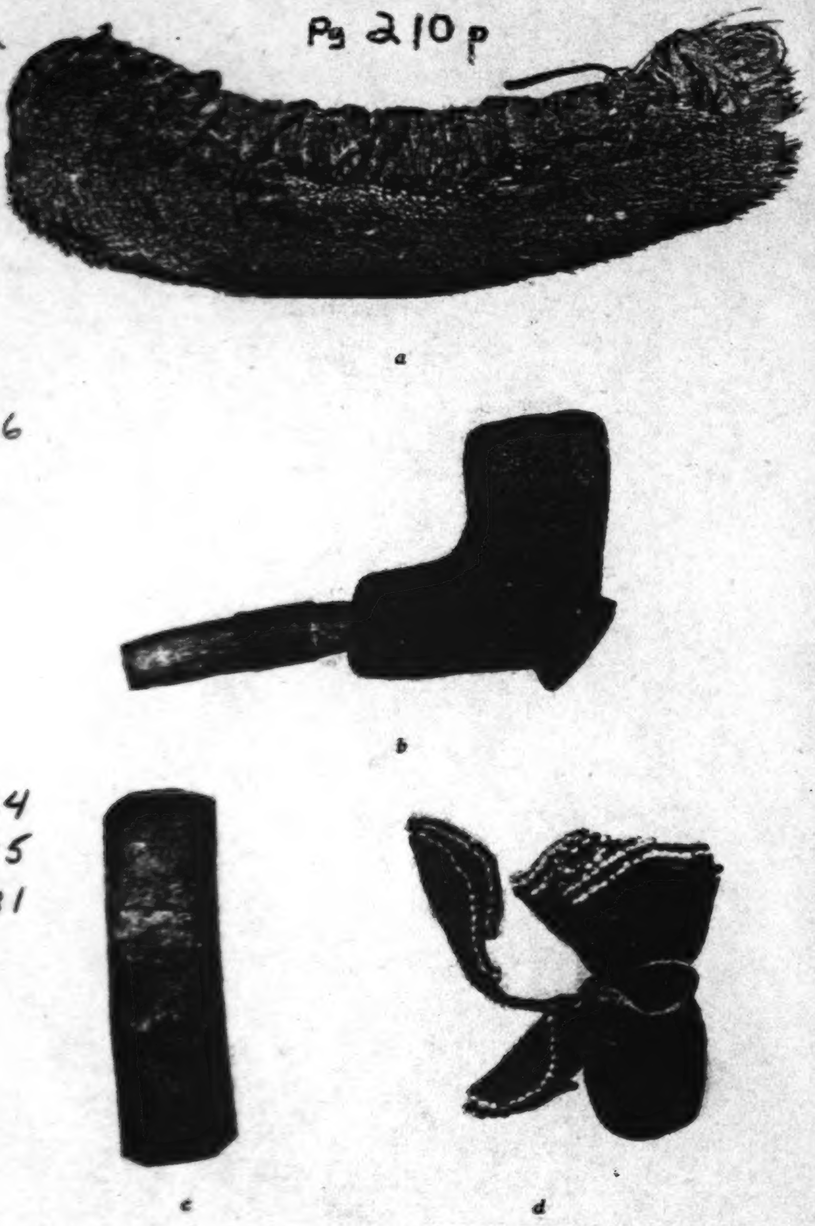
415
531



BRUSH; PIPE; GAME CYLINDER; PAINT BAG

p 210

252 (*wiawdn*") a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown
412 out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

276 It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised
[170] tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa'*^{pu}. It is a weed growing
[824] several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*'^{a}. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsíabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá·γodp*^{i}, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

224

DOGS.

231 Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Sho-
262 shoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.
171 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits,
000 and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212-214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 345.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252
mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 412
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [191]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [191]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [776]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [191]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ah
40. Wand	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
47. Antelope mask	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
48. Round dance	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
49. Stumbling taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
50. Loss of objects taboo	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
53. Messengers to antelope	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
57. Fires to drive	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
58. Shaman in corral	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
59. Shaman "closes gate"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
60. Special archer	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
64. Drive	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
65. Past ambushed hunters	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
66. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
67. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70. Ambush beside spring	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
73. Disguise	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
74. Antelopeskin	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
75. Brush	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77. Drive	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
78. Past hidden hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
79. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
80. With dogs	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
81. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
83. Through V-fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
88. Entire skin used	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
89. Fire to signal hunters	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
91. Magic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-

N W A 224 ●
N A [156 276] ●
N W A [535]
N [231]
N W A [41]

[p.367]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N W A 262 222 251 252

N W A [261]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AI
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	−	+	+	+	+	*−	*−	−	*−	−	+	−	+	−
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	*+	−	−	+	−
472. Boiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
475. Willow-sap sugar	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	−
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
482. Pitch	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

*Other Plants and Seeds Used

N W A 137 222 262

N W A [276]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AI
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483a. Sunflower (akäpö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483b. Sunflower (paoö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483d. Sunflower (kusiaka)	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483e. Sunflower (kusipaoö)	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	+	·
483f. Pickleweed (kuhava)	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	·
483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	+	·
483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanako)	·	+	+	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	·	+	+	·
483i. Saltbrush (söaö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	·	*+	+	·	·	·	+	·	+	−	+	·	+	·
483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
483kk. Rabbit brush (nogodöbupi)	·	+	+	·	·	·	+	·	−	+	·	·	+	·
483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihovi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	·
483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
483p. Wild tobacco (paivamo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
483q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	·	−	+	+	·	·	·
483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	·
483s. Cattail (toe)	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·
483t. Spike rush (pamasivö)	·	+	+	·	+	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	·
483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	·	−	·	·
483v. Sagebrush (samava)	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	·
483w. Saltbrush (waaka)	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
483x. masai	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
483y. oamasigi	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	+	·	·
483z. hiwovi	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
484. Jointfir (tuudupi)	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	·	·	·	·
484a. saiagava	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	−	·	·	·	·	·
484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
484c. uata	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	*·	·	+	·	+	+	·
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	*−	+	+	+	+	·
484e. yapö	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
484f. tsupugi	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	−	−	·
484g. tüvsa	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	·	+	·	·
484h. tövasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	·	·	−	−	·
484i. Indian potatoes (camas?) (saga or höga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
484j. Indian potatoes (aputoö)	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	·

Gathering Implements

N W A 222

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AI
*485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N
524
N
W
A
436

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hn	Ty	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1887. Popgun	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1888. MONEY (kumitua)	-	*-	*+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	-	-	-	-	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1890. Glass	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1891a. With middle finger	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1892. With thumb	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1893. With hand to elbow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+

● N
W
A
● 276

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

Pipe

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hn	Ty	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1902. L-shaped bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	*-	-
1903. Of stone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1904. With stem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
*1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1906a. Bone	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
1907. Cane	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
1908. Elderberry	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1909. Rosewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hn	Ty	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1914. Cane filled with tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
*1916. Chewing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Miscellaneous

N
W
A
[756]
N
A
[788]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hn	Ty	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1921. Smoking any time	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1922. Bedtime	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	+
1927. To spirit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	.	.	.	.	*+	*+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-

*Tobacco (pui'pomo)

N
W
A
249
276

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hn	Ty	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	-	+	+	+	*+
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1933. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	*-	+
1935. Root of tsmp for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
Rattles														
*1944. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1945. Attached to stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1947. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	*-	+	+	-	-	+	-
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
*1953. Sheep-horn rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1956a. Used by dancers	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1958. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witsaviga)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1971. Hoofs in line	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1973. Notched stick (wühunagi)	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*+	*-	-	-	+
1974. Plain, notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1979. Used in "bear dance"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1981. Buzzers (tösä'söhinyu)	+	+	-	-	-	*-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
1982. Deer patella	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bull-roarer														
(See Games)														
*1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	*+	*-	-	-	+	-	+	*+	*+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1992. 6-12	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
249
276
324

N
W
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584

W
[756]

N
[756]

N
A
[756]

[p. 403]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo ; NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	KY
2579. To spirit (sunpipö)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2580. To night	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2581. Offerings of: food	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2581a. At spring dance	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2582. Game	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2583. Seeds	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2584. Tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2585. Shell beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2586. Offerings: at meals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2589. When hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 776 782

Guardian Spirits

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	KY
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 787

Nonshamanistic Curing

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	KY
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2595. Blood-letting	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2596. Sweating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 757

Destiny of Soul

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	KY
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−

Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	KY
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2601. Shortly before death	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
2603. Ghost audible	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
2604. Ghost feared	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
2609a. Specularite (yadüpi) sprinkled to nullify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−

N W 775 763

N W A 787

"Muipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	KY
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−

N 276

DANCES

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	KY
2614. Circle Dance (nügava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−

N W A 535

N W [789]

[p.415]

N 224 luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to [787] kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai W dŏpi ("clay rock"). Wa: Hunters painted them- [30] selves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [136] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi′, female, or in general, töna′.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N [263] 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi′dögöpᵒ, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls N of sagebrush hung down between bushes. A: Rope [263 224] of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304), Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N [796] 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N ● [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[P. 422 (c)]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogonum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabimum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

● [276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[p.428(2)]

N 436 177 489 W [439] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N ● 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz. W [135]

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 172] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa$^{op^u}$.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes). W [534]

N [172 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

N [178 759] 1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

[p.439(A)]

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [841] 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 ● 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DV described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

N [525 777]

N 782

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-nûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 ([illegible])]

The patient is always laid with

his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snake- [823]
bite.

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise. "It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing, and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter, what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754
in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578
It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689]
around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828]
the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579]
drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684
population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276]
was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from 756
any other bird. 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

/ The shaman's pipe (tɔ̄ıc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden 756
stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of 778
the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, 276
few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for [178]
social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ̄ıc).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence [841]
of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions. /

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in 756
their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as 778
bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of 534
eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

755 After singing for a time, the shaman gets up and walks or hops slowly around the fire in the center of the room. If he employs a dancer, she follows him around the room each time he makes a circuit. He always moves around the room counter-clockwise. In describing this part of the performances, one informant volunteered the remark, "The whirlwind always moves in that direction too." Unfortunately, I neglected to question others on this point.

755 276 When the shaman sits down, he takes up his pipe, already filled by the interpreter, takes several puffs, and then passes it around among the spectators, always in a counter-clockwise direction. Everyone must take one or two whiffs of smoke, the number varying according to the shaman's instructions. The singing continues while the shaman smokes and during the time the pipe is being passed around. If anyone refuses to smoke, the shaman stops the performance until that person can be made to conform to his request. Otherwise the curing will not be successful, and the shaman will suffer from the annoyance of his power. The pipe is usually circulated among the spectators at intervals ranging from half an hour to an hour as long as the curing rite continues, customarily until morning.

755 [774] The nature of the disease determines to some extent the general plan of procedure. If the patient is unconscious and appears to be dead, it is obvious that he is suffering from soul loss. It is then imperative for the shaman to go into a trance (yáika)[16] as quickly as possible in order to find and return the soul before it has strayed too far. On the other hand, when disease results from other causes, the shaman may go into a trance in order to diagnose the illness and to confer with his power on the treatment. Whether or not the shaman goes into a trance for the latter purposes is said to be dependent upon the strength of his power.

755 787 The procedure for entering a trance varies considerably from one practitioner to another, but the following statement will serve to give an outline of generally accepted forms of practice. The shaman who goes into a trance first details five men to catch him as he staggers about the fire singing. They lower him to the ground

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[16] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, gives the term *mugwamanaq*^{i} for this shamanistic trance. My informants were not familiar with this word.

WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY

OMER C. STEWART

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE PEYOTE PLANT

N W 137 276 PEYOTE (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

N W 276 Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{13}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_3N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychninelike and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

N W 175 276 The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

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[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140.

[2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

N W 175 ●276 short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

N W 177 276 *795 Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

N W 171 177 276 *795 The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[7] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

IDEOLOGY OF PEYOTISM

N W 182 276 *795 In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

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[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[4] Beals, 1932, 216.

[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

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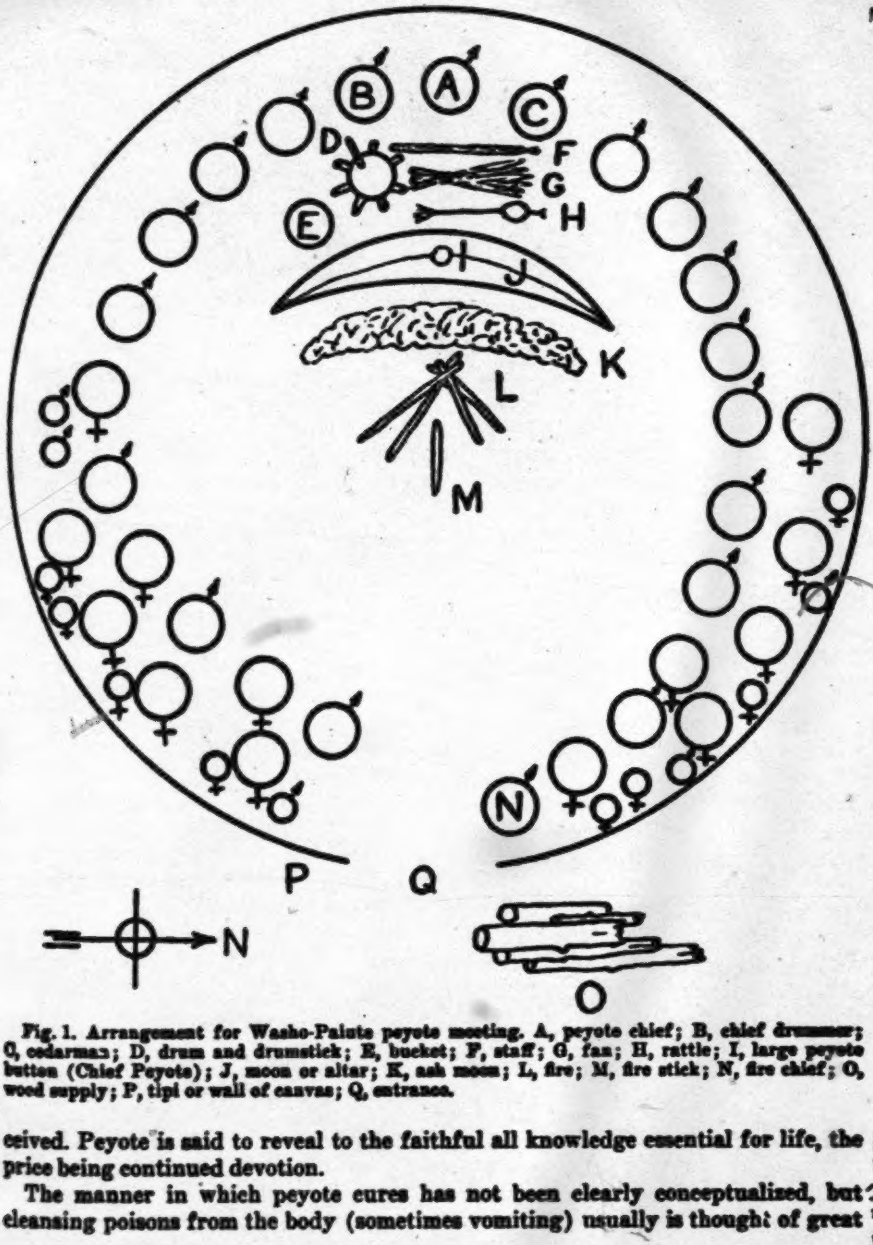

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

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Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

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The Peyote Ceremony

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Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

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The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

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The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

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LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

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The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[*]

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The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[*] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

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A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

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FIELD METHODS

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Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[*] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[*] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

CONVERTS AMONG WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

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About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realised that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

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Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doc (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doc there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doc's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doc was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[illegible] The In-

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[illegible] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always W
places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the 171
moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their 177
way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, 795*
which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall
of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben [346]
admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings.
It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among
the Cheyenne,[*] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of
doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant,
for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures. N

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal W
for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and [262]
Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is
given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on
his way to Nevada. N

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged W
for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. 171
A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and 177
leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached 795*
to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported 824
practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[*] The
local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. [276]
Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this
feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright,
peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings,
both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing
peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw
cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains. N

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as W
typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the 177
cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual 795*
horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone 796
has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after mid
night (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff
and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also
limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming,
then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives
four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to
the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although
the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand,
since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo
and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with
the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water
from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the
body with the drumstick is also unusual.[*]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

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[*] La Barre, 61.

[*] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[*] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

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The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

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The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

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In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[38] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

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[38] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[48]

[761] [743] [648] [826] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote. N W

• 771 787 *795 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[49] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[50] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[51] N W

171 276 ● *795 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[52] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[53]

N W 178 771 *795 Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[54] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns N W [797]

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[48] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[49] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[50] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[51] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 68) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[52] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[53] La Barre, 72.

[54] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,[illegible] thereby angering the W 178
missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians. 771
Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey 795*
Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because
no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that [797]
his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed.
"Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult.
Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more N
charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders. W

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[illegible] Don James (W,2) 178
and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their 273
families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while
drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. 276
White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, 795*
but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most
peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the
Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that
peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former
members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[illegible] Peyotists
do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person;
also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify N
whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use W
rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly [787]
portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[illegible] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts
declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, N
"Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit." W

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or 276
at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former 578
members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs 795*
were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and [786]

[illegible] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.) [832]

[illegible] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the *former* cures addiction to the *latter*." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[illegible] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[illegible] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The *fact* that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the *fact* that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote. The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

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Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

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The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

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Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

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Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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From Bromberg's (1939, 4–12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

N W 177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural
disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration
and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise
the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into
these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
755 curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
171 singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used;
curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
801 visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoy-
756 ance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
276 peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
787 common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical con-
W clusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyot-
755 ism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
534 aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
● 276 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, raw-
533 hide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute cere-
801 monial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the
sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL N

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather W
permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[illegible] 795*
otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist,
clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point 796
east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates
the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest. N

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest dis- W
tances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before [783]
attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[illegible]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping [534]
eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after [515]
seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the
cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually deter- N
mined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals W
in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in
its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the 795*
accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire 796
floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at
dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting. 276 ●

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large [783]
specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[illegible] Next he directs clockwise round [824]
the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[illegible] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[illegible] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[illegible] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

*795 some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clock-
796 wise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgive-
ness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning
276 them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be
[782] concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle,
[237] and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching
to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded
band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through
N it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with
W small feathers or dyed horsehair.[59] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string
[124] buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia*
(Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves
on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief
N drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

W Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any
[523] peyote song they wish.[60] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the
chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His
chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting
the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire,
including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing,
accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested,
frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[61] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting
for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the
vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With
N a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some,
W eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

[783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification,
everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather
fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned
to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to
N twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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W [59] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One
[534] Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[60] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[61] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

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The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

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As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[illegible]

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Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[illegible] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

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At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[illegible] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[illegible] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

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with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

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Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

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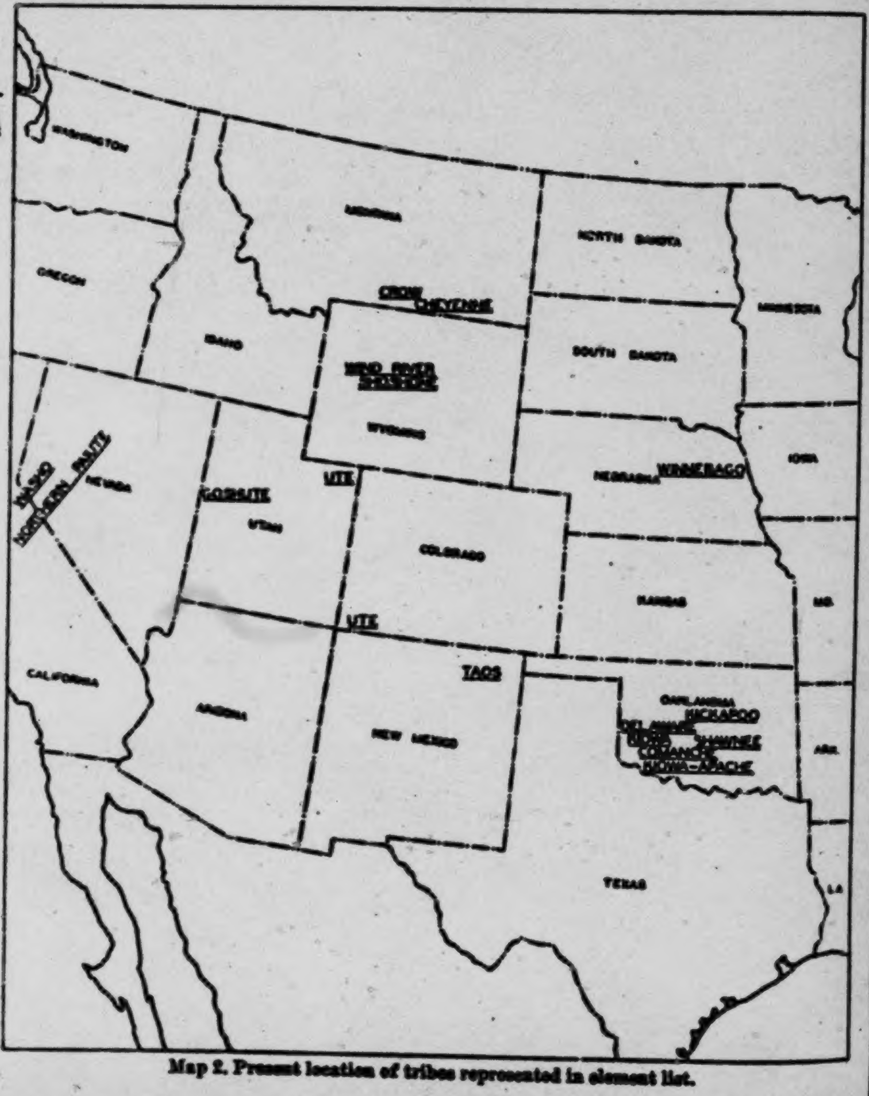
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
CROW
CHEYENNE
SOUTH DAKOTA
WIND RIVER SHOSHONE
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
WINNEBAGO
IOWA
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
NEVADA
GOSIUTE
UTE
UTAH
COLORADO
KANSAS
MO.
UTE
TAOS
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
KICKAPOO
DELAWARE
SHAWNEE
COMANCHE
KIOWA-APACHE
ARK.
TEXAS
LA.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 Washo NT20

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Peyote Element Distribution List—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ah 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	Occurrence																
	U T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 2	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WRS	Uin	Gos	W-P	Taos
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

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Element	Occurrence																
	H T	E-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ah 8	Da 1	Da 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WR8	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tass
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Klo	Coos	Kla	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Uin	Gos	W-P	Taos
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	–	+		+	+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	–		+			–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•(+)	–	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•–	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	–	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	–		–	–	–		–	(+)	+	–	•+	–	–	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(–)	–		•+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	•–	+	–	+	+		–	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(–)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

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Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	*+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	*+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		*−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	*+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	*+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	*+	+	*+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	*	+	
265a. (See note)															*		

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168. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 161). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). N W 171 795* 796

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon). N

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S. W [276] ●

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget). [782]

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 __Fire__. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 __Tobacco__. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] __Horses__. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

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Y
276 flat disclike cake (ta ́kan), a round ball (unawa ́ra po ́nen co ́'og), and little cylinders (pulči ́na).

The little cylinder, hereafter referred to as pulčina, had a perforation at one end so it could be worn on a string about the neck. According to B.O., if a man were cold when out hunting or traveling, a bite of pulčina would warm him. But B.O. laughed at the use of pulčina as a "ghost-scarer" by the Wukchumni.

Tobacco was smoked by both sexes, though only men carried pipes in their ear lobes. The favorite pipe was a cane tube (si ́kɨl, Michahai; ha ́ob¹, Waksachi) about three to four inches long. The best cane was got at Pasiwana (John Crow's hollow, no. 28 on Local Map E). One end of the tube was stuffed with a bit of oak-fungus tender, then filled through the other end with bits of tobacco shaved off a cake. The end with the tinder was then lighted with a twig burned to live charcoal. The cane tube itself scorched and burned slightly as the tobacco was consumed, yet would last through at least a dozen occasions, as a few puffs were all that were indulged in when smoking. A wooden pipe (šu ́kmai) of elderwood was about four inches long, somewhat conical, as it was shaped down toward the mouth end. The clay pipe (wi·nab¹) was a crude imitation of the wooden one. Neither S.O. nor B.O. had ever seen or heard of pipes of stone.

Both Michahai and Waksachi ate tobacco mixed with lime to induce vomiting, which was thought to encourage dreams and insure good health. The tobacco and baked freshwater oyster shells (ke ́wi) obtained by trade from Wukchumni and Gawia were pounded in a special small mortar and pestle (pl. 2, d herein). Then a little water was added to form a soupy liquid. The mortar and pestle were passed around among the participants, each person taking a lick or two of the liquid from the pestle.

A second kind of lime [?] (hoso ́sɨl), like rock, was gotten out of the ground in Drum Valley. This "turned to flour" when heated over live coals. The fire fan was used during the process to keep the heat even.

Among the Waksachi, men only took tobacco this way, but Michahai and Chukaimina women indulged in its use. It might be taken any time of the year. Some men and women took it every night: S.O. said he took it often, that is, about once a week. The process was called, pa ́luwi šoga ́ni nɨm naha ́hi (pestle tobacco my eating), according to S.O., who gave tobacco as šo ́gen (Michahai, Chukaimina, Choinimni, and Chukchansi), so ́'og (Waksachi, Wobonuch, Holkuma), and the growing plant as woi ́yan šogen or woi ́nɨčɨn (Michahai). The mortar and pestle were koi ́wɨš and pa ́lwi (Michahai) and koiwɨš and pa ́ha (Waksachi)(S.O. and B.O. respectively).

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276 The Eastern Mono (Yo ́'ots) had tobacco which they smoked in wooden pipes. B.O. said

[P.229 a] Western Mono NS25
Northern Paiute NR13

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwɨ´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nɨč) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'ɨša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ɨniša´n nan wan upuš nɨm (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawanɨč or site´lši tawanɨč." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[230] young boys did not smoke for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non-ceremonial and was chiefly an evening pastime. Three or four old men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed number of times, and a person could decline on the second round without offending.

277 ● The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'b^{a})[231] The local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'b^{a} were mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowadays koda'b^{a} and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the blend called düma'iyu, mixture. Koda'b^{a} is said to be "pretty strong."

276 755 Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[232] For earache and deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache. For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

855 861 [826] Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he is born with the cord around his neck."

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[230] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[231] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[232] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

Arrow poison.—Pindy knew only one kind of arrow poison. It was called watsi' and was used for war and for big game, including deer. It took immediate effect, producing swelling, but not affecting the edibility of the meat. 224 278 411

> Our poison is made from the deer's aiwatsi', black looking stuff on the intestines which looks like the liver[169] but is smaller.[170] Cook it in the ashes and let it dry. It smells bad. Stick the arrowpoint in and let it dry, or rub on the poison with the finger. There is no cure, so you have to be careful, especially if your finger is cut.

Joshua claimed that poisoned arrows were kept apart from others; Pindy, that segregation was unnecessary as the dry poison did not rub off.

Joshua enumerated three kinds of poison (ta'lyüp^{a}) for arrows. A person might prepare poison from the spleen (?); he might let a rattlesnake bite the point; or he might insert the arrow in a root of wild parsnip so that it became coated with the juice. Joshua added that poison was not used much for game but principally when one "wanted to kill a man."

Quiver.—Arrows were carried in a quiver (hu'gu''na) of otter, raccoon, lynx, coyote, or deer skin. It was not made on a framework, but the hide was stretched while wet and allowed to harden in the desired shape. It is significant that a man always made his quiver in spite of the needlework involved. Pindy gave the following directions: 411 237

> Fold the hide lengthwise with the head part down, because that is the small end. Sew up the side and across the bottom (nose). Leave the tail on and let it roll around in the back. Tie one end of the pack string to the fore legs and the other to the hind legs.
>
> This string goes over the right shoulder. Wear the quiver on your back when traveling. Pull it to the left side of your chest to shoot, or, if lefthanded, the other way around.
>
> The quiver can be of untanned deer hide, with the hair on. Cut the hide so the quiver will flare from the bottom; it is straight across the top and slanting on the bottom. You can put fringe on the bottom and the side.

A person carried only one quiver. This contained his bow and upward of ten arrows, although Tom Anderson estimated its capacity at forty. When not in use, the quiver hung inside the house.

Spear.—The spear was apparently unknown in the old days, although Joshua thought otherwise. The spear-thrower was certainly unknown; "They never had anything like that even far back. The old people never even talked about it."

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[169] The interpreter (NH) was positive of this.

[170] Probably the spleen.

752 sucked a wound. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time. He did not have to cut or suck the wound. He told it not to swell. The rattlesnake was his friend; he dreamed about him; and he carried one around his neck all the time. He put Star chewing tobacco on the bite." Daisy also spoke of a "doctor who was like a snake charmer" and who was the only one able to cure snake bite.

755 No one but a shaman attempted to treat nosebleed. Daisy said, "They must have a special doctor for that, but there are none living now. A doctor used mostly horsehair; he told the patient to tie his head with it."

Headache resulted when blood in the head was "too thick," and for relief the forehead between the eyes was slashed and the blood let. This was performed by "somebody who knew how," presumably a shaman, although Nettie de Gamo, who gives this treatment nowadays, is not so regarded. For earache or for deafness, a shaman blew tobacco (pubi'-pa'mo') smoke in the patient's ear to clear the passages.

752 A broken bone was enclosed in two or three flat splints bound on
● 278 with deer hide. The crushed leaves of kusi'agüp^{a} (said to be the same as a'gü', *Wyethia mollis* Gray) were applied as a poultice. The same medicine was used for sprains and to reduce swellings. As an alternative treatment for the latter, one might apply the mashed leaves of bawa'natizua (*Chaenactis douglasii* H. and A.) or of wada'^{a}-kwasi' (squirrel-tail; *Achillea millefolium* var. *lanulosa* Piper). The crushed root of do''sa^{aba} (*Leptotaenia multifida* Nutt.) was a remedy for both sores and swellings. For sores, one might use a poultice of mashed leaves of na'mogu'd (*Penstemon deustus* Dougl.) or a salve of the roots of dotsi'toniga (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.).

Deep cuts were washed with tea of sagebrush leaves. The blue-tailed skink (puhi'-kwida'mugus; green, blue-lizard) was dried, powdered, and sprinkled on deep cuts. Tüba'süp roots were dried, pounded, and spread over bruises. Blisters were opened but were given no other treatment. For burns, tüba'süp or a powder of burned cat-tail pods was helpful. Roots or leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} were chewed and applied to bee stings. Informants had not heard of skunk bite. Sometimes a coyote with rabies would bite a dog and it in turn would bite a person. There was no known cure for such cases; shamans and medicines were ineffectual.

There was no remedy for frost bite.

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Granulated eyelids were scraped with the rough edge of split rye grass. A wash for sore eyes was made by soaking the leaves of wada'^{a}-kwasi' in water.

For toothache, the leaves of wada'^{a}-kwasi' were chewed; or the roots of tüba'süp were roasted, dried, pulverized, and the powder dampened and rubbed on the face.

There is a large series of cold remedies. A mixture of balsam (to″sa^{a}) and tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') was smoked for bad colds, even by children. A potion made from the boiled roots of dotsi'toniga or of the mashed leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} was drunk for a cold. The leaves of nettles (kwiba'nop^{a}) were mashed, boiled, and used as a medicine; also for colds, Susie thought. An infusion from the crushed leaves of rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus viscidiflorus* Nutt.) was effective if one drank it or bathed in it. Crushed leaves of *Artemisia vulgaris ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Hall and Clements, were applied to the chest or other parts of the body as a cold remedy. Leaves of young sage and juniper were boiled, either separately or mixed. The brewed leaves were used as a compress and the tea drunk for colds, coughs, and sore throat. It was especially good for children and infants. For coughs or sore throat, one chewed the leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a}; they tasted badly but they were chewed until the flavor was gone. Seeds of bati'p^{i} (*Paeonia brownii* Dougl.) were soaked for use as a cough medicine. The roots (?) of an unidentified plant called puzu'^{u}, said to grow only near Beatty, were either chewed or else boiled and the liquid drunk as a cough remedy. This medicine had a "pretty strong" taste.

Piudy did not know of a febrifuge, but Daisy thought that a brew of tūba'sūp would be helpful.

A number of remedies for stomach complaints follow. When a person was nauseated and "sick all over" he drank a beverage made from the dried roots of bati'p^{i}. For stomachache, he drank a tea of the boiled leaves of kusi'agūp^{a} or of tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo'); or else chewed the seeds of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a}. White paint was chewed as a remedy for diarrhea; this was especially good for babies and small children.

Badger fat roasted on the coals was eaten for heart trouble. For the same ailment, small, black, malodorous beetles (pipu's), called stink bugs, were sucked. Although they tasted "pretty bad" they were generally beneficial. Perry Parker is said to have cured himself of heart trouble by sucking them.

● 278 755 Rheumatism was a common and a dreaded ailment, but there were a few remedies. Susie Archie knew of persons who had whipped the affected parts with nettles, and after the inflammation subsided, the rheumatism was gone. She had been urged to try this, but could not steel herself to do it. The sweat bath, it was said, helped rheumatism as did also the "hot bed" made of heated stones covered with juniper boughs and blankets.

A drink made of the boiled roots of tüba'süp or of oha'nazagodidi[255] (*Berberis repens* Lindl.) was taken for venereal disease; a drink from the boiled roots of do"sa^{aha}, for tuberculosis.

SOUL, ABODE, OF DEAD, GHOSTS

775 When Nora and Piudy were asked concerning the human soul, they conferred and said, "They name it the same as the breath, soñü'p^{a}." However, when Joshua was questioned, he called the soul mu'gwa, which agrees with the terms recorded by Lowie[256] for several Shoshonean groups. Concerning the two terms, Joshua said:

> When a man dies his mu'gwa leaves and never returns. His soñü'p^{a} breaks up and goes when he dies. If a man is half dead his soñü'p^{a} is still there; his mu'gwa is half gone. The doctor tries to put it back.[257] When the mu'gwa leaves it hovers around. I do not know where it is in the body.

[821] At death the soul goes above; it travels south along the Milky way to the abode of the dead. I was asked at this point if white people also go above, because when the shaman searches for souls of half-dead people "he see only Indians there." The abode of the dead is unnamed; all Paiute go there regardless of moral character and mode of death. It is "like this earth, but there is lots of green grass there; people never grow old; and everything is nice."

A dead man is addressed thus, "Go off. Goodbye (native?). You have a good country there." A dead person sometimes returns looking for his things. There is particular danger of this if the relatives have been careless about burning his property. Charlie Washo said, "About twelve years ago someone died and came back. He came to the door, but I could not see him. I was not afraid though. Perhaps they had not burned his things." Charlie went on to tell of an experience he once had when visiting in Alturas. He was asleep and his blankets were pulled from him. He got up and rearranged them, but the

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[255] Oha', yellow, having reference to the color of the peeled root.

[256] SE, 296; and NS, 226.

[257] By going into a trance and searching for the soul.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

Insect Food

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*337. Caterpillars (piagɨ) eaten	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
*338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
339. Ants eaten	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
340. As food	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
341. As tonic	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (küa) eaten	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
*348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (watata'a) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
354. Gathered in baskets	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
356. Roasted in pit	−	−	−	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
357. Ground on metate	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
358. Stored, buckskin bags	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
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Animal-Food Taboos, etc.

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
360. Raw liver eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	.	+	+	−	.	.	−
362. Deer heart taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
363. To young	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
369a. If trapped	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
376. To father	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
377. To mother	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
379. To all village	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
379a. To anyone	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

N
W
A
262

Miscellaneous Concepts

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
389. 5 nights' continence	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
389a. 1 night's continence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
397. Kept from dogs	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
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224

N
[784]

N
W
A
[783]

[p.373]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ha	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
984. Or 4	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
988a. Meat, decayed	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
989. Liver	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
*990. Gall	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
*991. Decayed blood from heart	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
992. Rattlesnake poison	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
993. Red ants	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
994. Special plant: tavisigup	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
*995. Arrow release, primary	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

N
W
A
411

N
W
A
[278]

Arrow Straightener

	Te	Kl	K2	Ha	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1004. Perforated horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
*1005. Mt.-sheep horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
1006. Antelope horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
*1006a. Several holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1008. 2 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
1009. 3 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1009b. 2 holes	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–

N
W
A
413

Quiver (hugutma)

	Te	Kl	K2	Ha	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "peeling" off	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, resewed	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
*1013. Foxskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Fawnskin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
*1017a. Piece of buckskin	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
415

Miscellaneous Weapons

	Te	Kl	K2	Ha	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1021a. Atlatl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1022. Thrusting spear	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
*1023. Shield (topa)	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

N
W
A
441

[p.385]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogomum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

● [278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[p.428(8)]

Washo NT20
Achumawi NS5

N
137 Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc.
222 My informants insisted this was in pre-white
262 days.
483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt.
● [278] unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert con-
ditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called
the same plant suŋu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri
Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable
food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is
good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata
Eat. commōsigi eaten as greens. Specimen fur-
nished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher,
from a collection made by her Indian students at
Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats.
hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss
Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats.
tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N
484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua
[278] Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one
doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N
484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida
W
Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and
[278 chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat,
226] shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word,
toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages desig-
nates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was
first to mention use of toza as fish poison.
He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus
Presl.), watca wotavō, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L.,
from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W
484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var.
[262] erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten.
Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows
or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably
Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independ-
ence, California, had "Taboose" identified at
the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according
to Frank Essene, Ms.

A
485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of
[222] digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name
of digging stick is pörö.

N
505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).
[249] 509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was in-
creased by burning, pruning, and irrigating
(Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco
grew better in burnt-over places, but they did
not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N
527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near
[342] Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on
Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to
N
have been inhabited during winter months, also
[764] used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had
never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered
"old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N
529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal
[317] use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even men-
tioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

"carry out his orders", while he nuhpu, "doctors". 755

The doctor sucked several times then hummed, tunikihm, while all the other people sang his song loudly. When he stopped his singing to hum, the other people sang on. The humming indicated the approach of the spirit, nosihp. His nosihp talked to him while he hummed. His helper interpreted while he hummed. Meanwhile, the people continued to sing. [776]

The doctor sang different songs, very pretty songs with pretty words. He sang of the mountains, the sun, the moon, and of the springtime. It was a good sign if the patient broke into the doctor's song. [533]

The doctor eventually got up and danced; the women (and sometimes the men) got up and followed behind him. As they went around in a circle the interpreter got up and danced with them. "The dance was like a conga line." Everyone kept in step with the doctor's song. They circled to the left about three times around the patient while singing the doctor's song. The doctor began to stagger and spin in a circle, but before he dropped several men grabbed him and laid him down. At this time he was stiff and unconscious, and while in this condition he spoke. He remained in this state for about one-half hour during which time everyone continued to sing his song. When he came out of his sleep the interpreter helped him sit up. He now talked about his dreams and how he argued with the devils and spirits for the patient's life, and sometimes he told the people that the patient was going to die. [787]

As soon as the doctor awakened the people asked him such questions: Will the patient get well? What is bothering the sick person? The doctor gave instructions to the child's parents (or in the case of an adult patient, to some close relative) on the care of the patient. Usually the close relatives were to go to a spring and wash themselves and pray.

While the doctor was unconscious and the patient lying ill, everyone watched the eagle feather in the can. If it fluttered the patient would get well, if it drooped he would probably die. The feather usually took either course on the fourth night. [787]

Doctoring for a Rattlesnake Bite. The woman who doctored Joaquin when he was bitten by a rattlesnake was Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl", Tsudi's mother. The name of the plant whose 752 [278]

WadatKuht

752 roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the
swelling was pagákinup^a. It was first cooked and then tied to
[278] the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^a to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was
a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to
756 make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed.
She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced
by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand
[825] down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was
caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with
[821] a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in
the Sierra, Kukwa^{P}ta, if one knew the correct words.

821 Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed
(tabatogano^b - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built
a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grand-
father prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was
[789] afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather.
[177] The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given
them by some white people.

789 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about
his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily.
513 Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her
mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the
825 baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

301 "Shells from the ocean" (haliotis), called naka'goabi (naka', ear; goabi, shell), were secured from the Warm Springs Indians. The shell was filed into shape by being rubbed on a stone and was pierced with a bone awl. The shell was attached to the ear with sinew. Daisy Brown asserted that nothing else was ever worn in the ear, but complete reliance on a foreign product seems unlikely, and Joshua is probably correct in his contention that "stuff for earrings could be found on the edges of lakes. It was broken and worked with sand or rubbed on a rock."

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES

SKIN DRESSING

● 281 462 Skin dressing is one of the few old arts which flourishes today. Practically all the work is done by women, although men are acquainted with the process and are said to assist upon occasion. Virtually all the middle-aged women and most of the younger ones are thoroughly versed in the art. There is considerable traffic in buckskin gauntlets, but these are the only articles produced commercially. 292 Buckskin dresses and other kinds of clothing are sometimes made for wear at the fairs, but they are scarce and bring very fancy prices.

The skinning is always done by a man; "women don't know how." 281 According to Piudy, the belly is first slit from mouth to crotch and the insides of the fore and hind legs cut upwards to meet the ventral cut. The hoofs are sometimes left on. A cut is made around the back of the neck, eliminating the face parts altogether.

My most complete account of skin dressing follows:

> To skin[112] a deer, cut up the inside of the legs, starting with the back legs. Then cut up the belly. When you are going to use the hide for gloves, cut from the lower lip to the ear, around the ear, and around the back of the head. Indians cut around the ears and horns and leave them on the head.
>
> Soak the hide in water which covers it. Lean a smooth stick against the house, and put the hide over it, catching it between the pole and the house. Clean the inside of the hide with a draw knife (horse ribs used formerly). Work the knife with both hands, downward, toward you. Then turn the hide and scrape off the hair the same way.
>
> Next put the hide in water and work it to get off the blood. When it is white, tie it to a post or tree and wring it. Then hang it on the clothes line.[113] It is

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[112] Piudy's account should be taken in preference to this, because feminine informants are less familiar with the skinning.

[113] "They didn't peg down a hide; they dried it from the limb of a tree" (P).

now ready to tan any time. When Indians dry a hide for tanning, they always dehair it; white people don't do that.[114]

Soak the skin again (for about a week if not fresh). Put any kind of brains,[115] beef, hog, or sheep in the water and leave for about a half day. If brains are put between white cloth, hung outside, and dried, they can be kept a long time. If fresh brains are used, they are boiled first. Stretch the skin in the water until the brains are absorbed and the water is clear. Then wring it by tying it to a tree or post.

Now start pulling. If the hide is big it may take all day. If you aren't strong enough, you have to stand up. I never saw anyone catch the skin under his heel and pull it over his shoulder. They do it different ways, but usually they sit down, catch one corner under the heel, and pull.

Now smoke the hide. Double it lengthwise and sew up the sides and across the head like a sack. Build a fire[116] with chips of good clean wood. Have the coals in a bucket and hang the hide over it until yellow. We smoke the skin only on the right side. It would be just the same if it were smoked on both sides[117] (NT).

Formerly, an elk rib or possibly a deer rib[118] served for scraping. A deer cannon bone[119] sharpened on one edge with an obsidian knife was also used for dehairing.

I watched Daisy and Nora wring hides (pl. 21*a*, *b*). The skin was folded lengthwise with the hair, or right side, out; and a rope was run through slits along the neck and fastened to a post. The legs were tied together and a stick put through. If the legs had been cut off, it would have been necessary to slit the hide to receive this stick. The skin was wrung dry by twisting the stick and pulling. Piudy said that in former times a stick instead of a rope was run through the slits; it was placed on the far side of a tree crotch and the hide pulled through between the two branches.

Bear and other skins were tanned with the hair on according to the following procedure:

Skin the animal and hang the hide to dry. Then dampen it, hang it from a post, and scrape the flesh side with a stone. Smear on the brains and work them into the skin by scraping (DB).

Occasionally the hide was buried to make it soft. Daisy said that it might be left in the ground from a few hours to a whole day.

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[114] "I shall dehair this old hide that some white people gave me, then work the knife on the other side" (NT).

[115] "In the old days they used marrow from the spinal cord as well as brains" (P).

[116] "Dig a hole about a foot across and a foot and a half deep. Put coals and dry willow in there" (JB).

[117] "Smoke the hide so that when it gets wet it will always be soft" (JB).

[118] "Just one deer rib could be used and that was the largest one" (DB).

[119] Described as the foreleg bone, with one end larger than the other, and as sharp on one side.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133
276
●281
285
291
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854

Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godowa, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly **E-5** **(1930) 1934** **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

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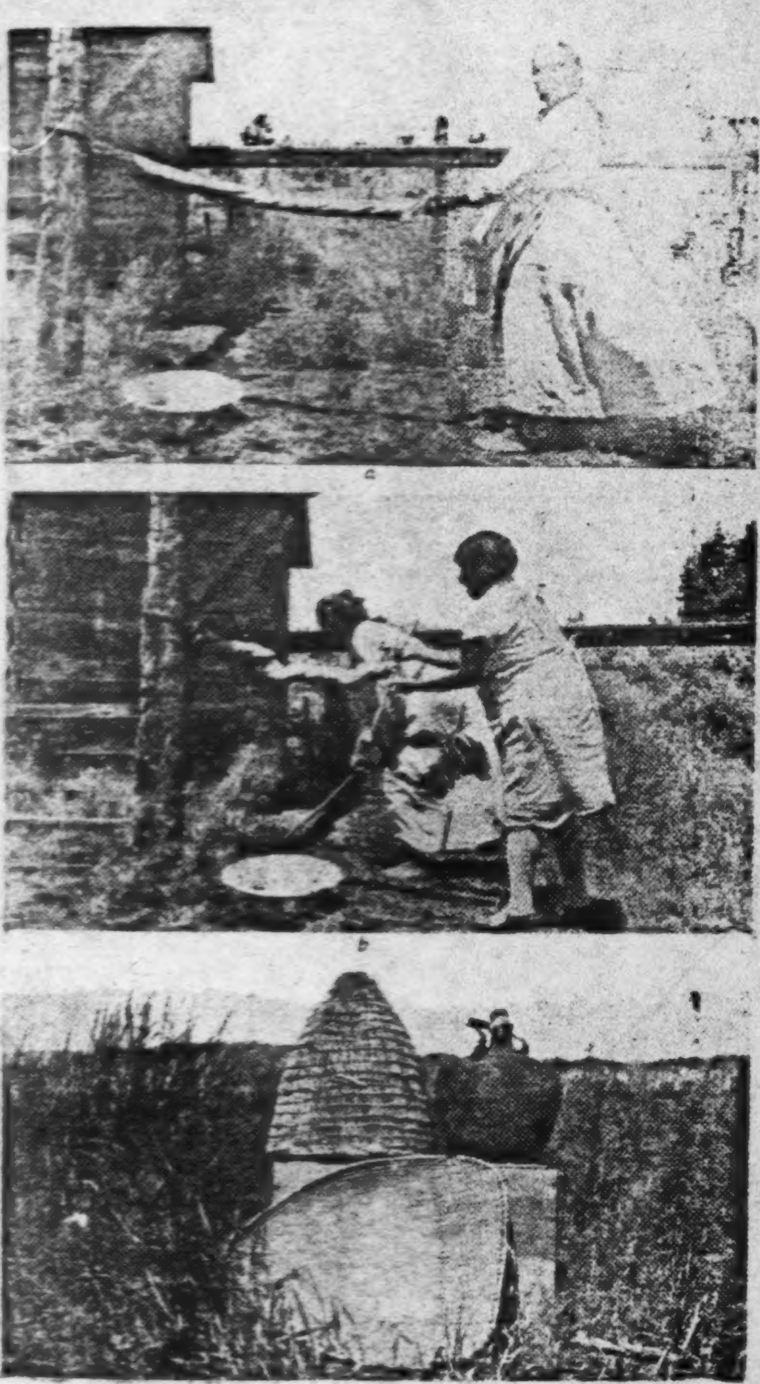

p.210e [illegible] BASKETRY

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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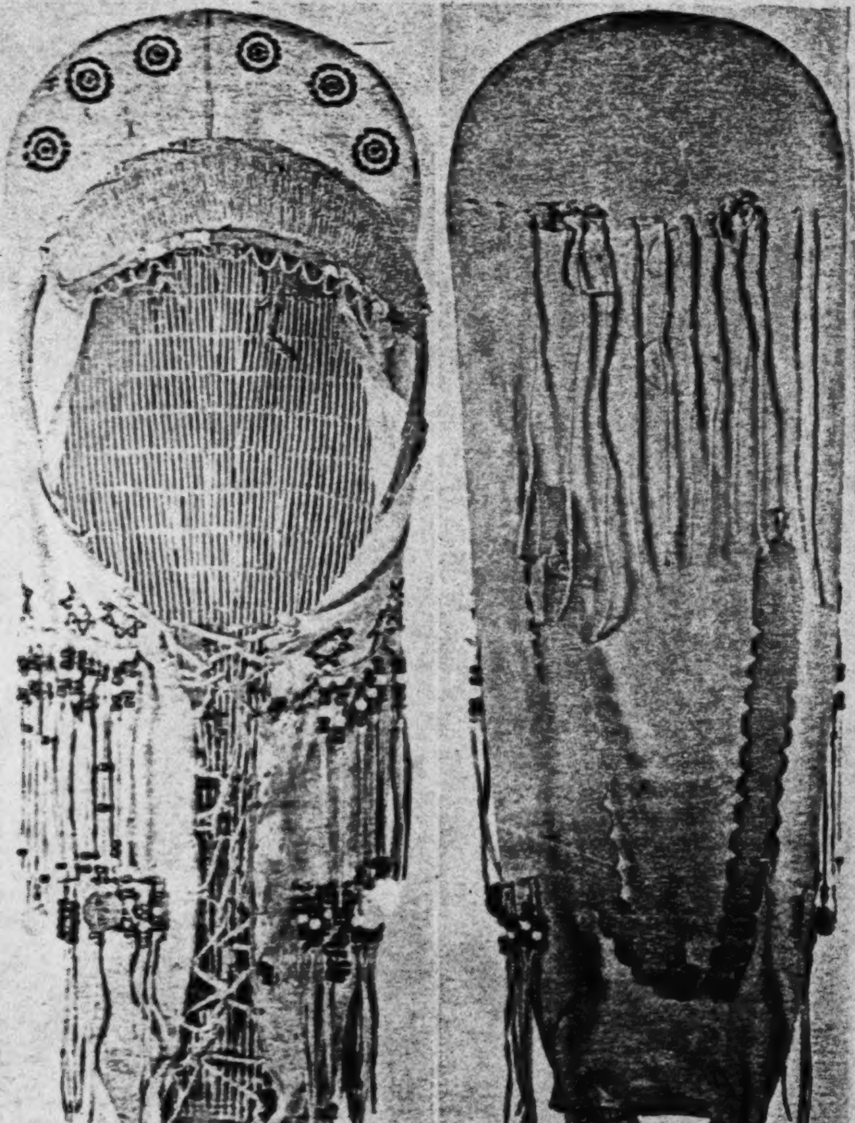

a b

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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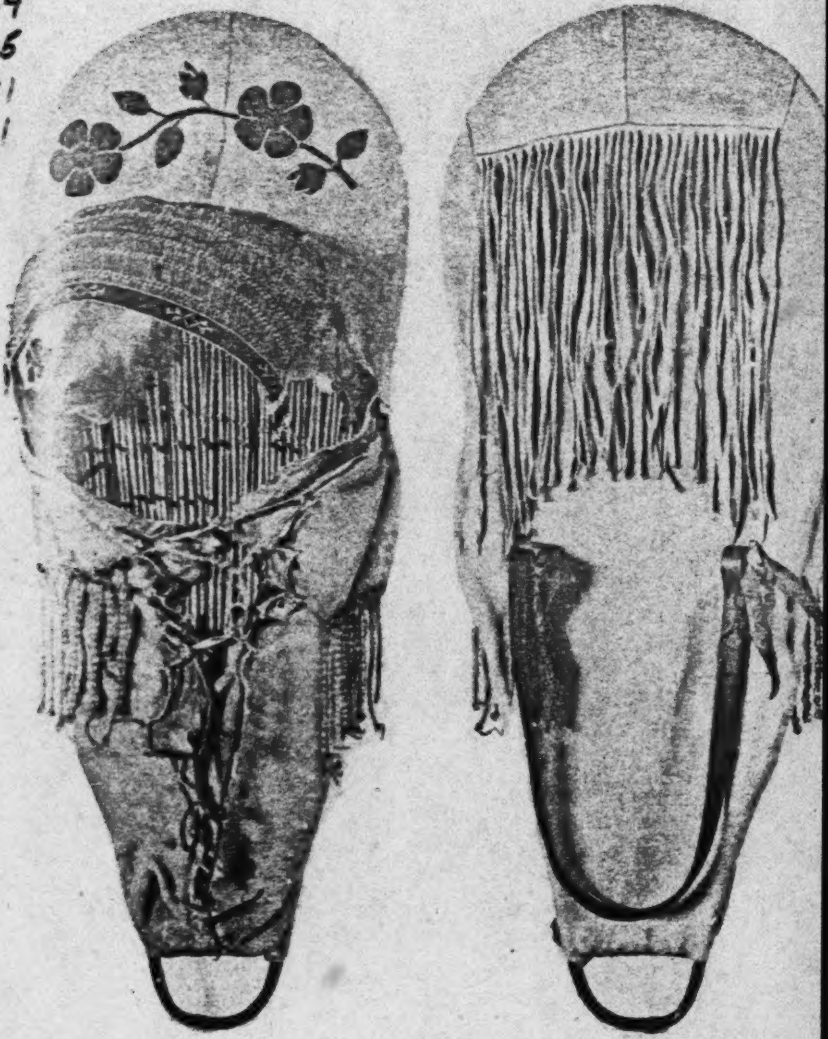

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

p 210 ff.

and stretched so as not to touch the ground. In this position it is 000
sprinkled with brains mixed with water, then soaked in water again, wrung out with a stick, put on a blanket and stretched with hands and feet. When dried it is soft like cloth.

The Shivwits do not smoke skins but the Kanab Paiute do. They dig a hole in the ground and sew the hide together putting up sticks to support it. They make a fire in the pit and allow the smoke to play on the inside, which becomes brownish-yellow. Only one side is smoked.

The Ute (Uintah) also scrape the hair off with a deer shinbone. The hide was then wetted, dried, stretched, and smoothed with a flat stone. On the dry buckskin wetted brains are used. The skin is sewed together and hung from a tripod to be smoked. My informant's tripod was standing in her summer shade and a stick extending from it to the shade formed a meat rack. For the fire the Ute use dried willows. On September 1, 1914 I was able to observe the process of smoking. The pit was rather small and in it a smoldering fire was maintained. The skin was sewed together and suspended from a tripod, being staked down with three small pieces of wood and weighted down with earth. The smoking began at 9.05 A.M. and the skin was taken down, tanned on the inside at 9.38. It was then turned inside out and suspended once more but without the bottom being staked. The second smoking began at 9.42 and ceased at 9.51, but the side tanned then was of much lighter shade than that first exposed to the smoke.

Captain Bob's wife said that in dressing a skin the Ute first of all removed the flesh with a serrate flesher, next scraping off the hair with a knife. Then the hide was soaked and stretched. A beaming tool was used only on the hairy side. Brains were put on and the hide was soaked with them, then stretched, dried and softened with a smooth stone. The beaming tool only was used on deerskins. On tough hides, such as those of the buffalo and nowadays the cow, the adze-shaped scraper is and was substituted. The beaming tool was made of deer bone.

The Paviotso remove the hair with a horse rib, which is also applied 281 •
to the fleshy side. The scraping process is called *pō''hwōna*. After being [237]
scraped, the skin is soaked in cow or deer brains, which process is known as *tōzó'pigin*. Rubbing the skin with the hands is called *tōcáñgo+ì+a* and smoking it *tö'wipuctak* ^{in}.

According to "Bob," the Wind River Shoshoni dressed the hides of 000
all animals in similar fashion. In making robes the hair was left on, for other garments it was removed. First the hide was stretched out on the ground, then with a toothed flesher, *tötzidòə*, the blade of which was once

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*ticoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tūgwū'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

286 281 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

531 287 171 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso made no quillwork of any kind.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the 291 Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves. Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually wore only the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometimes donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest. As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it that way.

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their [302] shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the women a basket-cap (also like the Pits).

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same [171] as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a [281] single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added : one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly Californian mocassin.

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain and snow.

WEAPONS OF HUNTING AND WAR.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of 411 the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different : the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the [171] arrow on the right hand side.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
412

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*885a. Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*887. Scapula	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
888a. Tibia	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
889a. Radius	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
'890. Cactus spine (mava)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
892. Awl case: bark bundle	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
893. Buckskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Drill														
*894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	−	*+	−	−	+	*−	+	−	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	+	−	.	−	−	+	*−	−	−	−	+	−	−
895. Shaft with bone point	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
895a. Unhafted bone point	.	.	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
896. Shaft with horn point	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various														
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLINT FLAKING														
903. Flint (tepie') flaker	+	+	+	+	*.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
909. Flint warmed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*−	−
910. Buckskin hand pad	+	−	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SKIN DRESSING														
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent cooked	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	−	+	+	+	+	+	*−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
927. Hide tied funnel shape	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
929. Juniper-bark smoke	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
930. Wood-chip smoke	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Done by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
932. Done by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
324

N
W
A
281

N
W
A
[462]

[p.383]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
302

Hair Dressing

	Ya	Kl	K2	Kh	Tc	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
1366. Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367. Grass bundle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1368. Rye-grass-root bundle (wai'ava)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1369. Rabbit-brush bundle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1370. Men's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1371. Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1373. Coiled on head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1374. Tied up on head	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1375. Bangs	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1376. Front lock sticks up	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1377. Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379. Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379a. Sea-otter (pasuga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381. Women's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1383. Tucked under basket hat	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1384. Tied back of neck	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1385. Middle hair part	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1386. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387. 1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388. Bangs	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1389. Tied on top of head	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1390. Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1390a. Bone tubes	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Red paint	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1392. Red paint in part	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1393. Marrow	−	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1394. Mud against lice	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
1395. Braids fur wrapped	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396. Washing: with plain water	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1397. With white clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1398. Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400. Depilation: of beard	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401. Of eyebrows	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1402. Of pubic hair	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1403. With stone flake	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	+
1404. With fingernails	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1405a. Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1405b. Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

N
W
A
[515]

Headgear

N
A
[255]

N
W
A
281
291

	Ya	Kl	K2	Kh	Tc	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
1406. Woman's basketry hat	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408a. Men's bark hat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. Men's fur cap	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411. Fawnskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412. Antelopeskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1415. Muskratskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416. Beaverskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416a. Badgerskin	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417. Wildcatskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418. Coyoteskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1420. With quail tufts	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
1421. With other feathers	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. With horns	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1423. Hair net	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N ●
W
A
281 ●
291

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1425. Fur eyeshade, held by string	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*−	+	*+	−
1425a. Badger fur only	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1426. Band around head	+	+	−	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Tanned buckskin	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1428. Cottontail fur	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1429. Other fur	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
Robes and Capes														
*1432. Woven (twined) vegetable fiber	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	*−	+
1433. Woven (twined) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1434. Sewed hides, fur left on	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1435. Deer hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1436. Wildcat hide	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1437. Badger hide	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1438. Ground-hog hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1439. Coyote hide	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1440. Mt.-sheep hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1441. Gloves or mittens	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+
1442. Feather robes	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Shirts and Dresses														
*1444. Women usually wear nothing	−	−	*+	*+	+	*+	+	*+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1445. Women's long gown	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+
1445a. Of deerskins: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1445b. 3	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
1446. Of antelopeskins: 2	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1446a. 3 or more	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
1447. Of mt.-sheep skins: 2	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1447a. 3 or more	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
1448. Knee length	−	−	−	−	+		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1449. Shin length	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1450. Skins front and back	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1451. Inset on sides	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1452. Poncho type	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1453. Sleeves: elbow length	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
1454. Fringed	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1455. Flaps over upper arms	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1456. Sleeveless	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
1457. Decoration: paint	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1458. Tubular-bone beads	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
1459. Glass beads	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1459a. Olivella (tupe) shells		+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1460. Haliotis-shell (puidem) pendants	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1461. Men wear nothing	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	−	−	+	−	+
1462. Men's shirt	+	*+	−	+	+	−	+	*−	+	+	+	+	*+	+
1462a. Of deerskins: 1	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1462b. 2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
1463. Of mt.-sheep skins: 1	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1463a. 2	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
1464. Of antelopeskins: 1	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1464a. 2	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
1465. Skins front and back	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
1466. 1 skin, poncho style	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1467. Shirt tied at neck	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1468. Opening down front, thong for lacing up	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1469. Sleeves: elbow length	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
1471. Fringed	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
1471a. Flaps over upper arm, fringed	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1472. Sleeveless	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

A
[285]

[p.393]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N
A
291
[294]

● N
W
A
291
● 281
294

N
[286]

N
A
[286]

	Ts	K1	K2	Hh	To	Tt	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1473. Decoration: paint	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1474. Bone-bead pendants	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
Skirts														
*1475. 1 skin around waist	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1476. For women	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1477. Of buckskin	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1478. Of mt.-sheep skin	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1479. Of mt.-lion skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1480. Fringed	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
*1481. 2 skins, sewed sides	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1482. For women	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1483. Knee length	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1484. Fringed	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1485. Of deerskin	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1486. Of mt.-sheep skin	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1487. Of antelopeskin	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1488. Small front apron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1489. For women	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1490. For men	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1491. Of skin	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1492. Fringed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1493. Of shredded bark	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	*+
1494. Braids on cord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1495. Worn with back apron	·	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1496. Worn under dress	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1497. Large back apron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1503. Vegetable-fiber skirt	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	*-	-
1504. For women	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1505. Of shredded bark	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1506. Twined bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1507. Grass	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1508. Breechclout (G-string type)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1509. For men	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1510. For women	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1511. Of buckskin	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1512. Fur	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1513. Bark	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1514. Woven vegetable fiber	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1515. Leggings	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
*1516. Leggings: for men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
*1517. For women	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	*-	+
1518. Of skin, sewed	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
1519. Fur	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1520. Tule	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1521. Sage, twined	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
1522. Juniper	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1523. Length: hip to ankle	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1524. Hip to knee	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1525. Knee to ankle	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Footgear														
*1526. Habitually barefoot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
*1527. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1528. Soft upper	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1529. Hard sole	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1530. Badgerskin sole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1531. Sole flat	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

[p.394]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

N ●
W
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291
281 ●
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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1532. Sole molded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1533. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1535. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1536. Tongue added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1536a. Olivella-shell beading	·	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1545. Uppers added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1559. Rabbit hide	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
*1562. Sandal	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	+	-	-	-
1564. Bark	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-
*1564a. Tule and rushes	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1570. Sinew	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
[286]
N
W
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481

GAMES

N
A
524

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1577. Ball Race (mutakpi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1579. And return	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1583c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
1586. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[P. 395]

N 412 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).

W [412] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. KH: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.

883a. KH: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).

890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). KH: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.

906. Tg: DS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.

909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.

N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).

935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).

N [172] [411] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m) AE: Sinew-backed

[P.432(A)]

N 413 [172] 1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).

1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).

1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).

1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).

1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N 415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).

1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.

1017. Ki: - (BA).

1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W [415] 1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).

[172] 1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. W [411] Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. A [411] AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. IM described the tökuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of IM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. N ● [231] The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N 285

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by N [172-177] coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tö: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172] 1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, N [432] pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

[p. 433 (N)]

Washo NT21
Achomawi N55

N 291 1481-1483. Paviotso: "The more prosperous wore skirts reaching to the knees" (Curtis, 69).

1488-1497. Paviotso: "Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind" (Curtis, 69).

A [291 281] 1493. AE: A shredded-bark apron was part of shinny costume, its only use.

1503. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 53). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): fiber skirt used by poor people.

W [291] 1506. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Leggings

1516-1517. Paviotso: Men wore fringed buckskin leggings; women wore no leggings (Lowie, 217).

1517. Ki: + (Kelly, 109).

Footgear

N 291 ● 281 294 1527. "Two-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; additional top or tongue might be added to either type (Loud, pl. 21). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 47).

[172] 1538a. Lovelock Cave: Moccasins beaded with Olivella were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 21).

1539. "One-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; tongue, top, or sole may be added. Wd: + (BJ). Ki: Kelly, 110, figures a moccasin in construction, and remarks it is like Wissler's pattern 8.

1540. Wd: - (SC).

1549. Wd: - (SC).

N [172] 1554a. Small moccasins with hair on found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 22,e).

1555. Ki: Kelly, 109 (pl. 27), describes and pictures bark moccasin. (Figured are John T. Reid specimens.)

1556. Wd: - (BJ).

1560. Kü: + (AL); she said badger hide toughest material for soles, and that hair left inside to keep feet warm.

1561. To: + (BS). Wd: - (SC).

N [172] 1562. Sandal a sole with strings or straps to hold it on the foot. Kü: + (AL). Although many sandals were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, pls. 22, 23), GN insisted that "the Paiute didn't wear shoes like Jesus wore. I've seen pictures of Jesus." Paiutes mostly went barefoot in old days and traveled at night to avoid hot ground, GN said. AL said she saw old Indians wearing sandals of tule, grass, and rush. N [4-8]

[P.436(B)]

Washo ; NT20
Achomawi ; NS5

N
291/
281/
294

1564a. Lovelock Cave: About 80 tule-and-rush sandals were found (Loud, pls. 22, 23, and p. 55). Paviotso: Sandals worn (Lowie, 218; 207, fig. 5).

1565. Wd: - (SC).

N
524
525

GAMES

Ball Race

1577. Paviotso: Called wu'to'goin (Lowie, 262). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

A
[524]

1580a. AE: Willow arch.

1587a. Pa: Footgear determined by racers, but all wore the same.

1591. Pa: Runners raced in relays; in most bands all runners together.

1593. Sa: - (JM).

Football

1595. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: "Men played a football game (watci'muin)" (Lowie, 262).

Shinny

1596. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): nazi''tsaka.

A
[524]

1621. AE: Referee has to see that sticks are carried properly. While running, sticks must be held vertical.

1623. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

Hoop and Pole

1626. Culin describes the Pyramid Lake and Bannock hoop-and-pole games. At Pyramid the pole was 19 inches long, but the Bannock pole was much longer. At Pyramid the hoop was 2 3/4 inches in diameter (Culin, 495, 499). Hoop and pole called paci (DG) or baici (DM) in southern part of area, and nowikonoi (PS) in the northern. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: Called ipai'ciin. "If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored" (Lowie, 262). Wa, AE: Old-time Washo and Achomawi thought to have played hoop-and-pole game, although none of the Indians of these bands interviewed could tell any details of game.

A
W
[524]

1635. Owens Valley: Course 50 feet long (Steward, 287).

1642. Ts: Pole through hoop wins bets and sometimes gets double pay. Sa, Tg, At, Wd, Ki: After one person has his pole through hoop, others get a throw. Those who do not get poles through hoop forfeit their poles and so cannot play until they get new ones. No bets.

1647. When a player threw his pole through hoop, the others were eliminated if they did not also throw their poles through. Ki: Kelly, 171, reports the hoop-and-pole game as it was described

N
436
177 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
439 ute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to
W use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
[439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N
276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field
Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by
some informants that the elbow pipe was aborigi-
nal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe
N on her plate 32,b.

[177 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a re-
cent introduction.

172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men
[276 smoked much in old days.

756 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Moun-
[782] tain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tot-
sikwökwa, or Tai Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and
Old Winnemucca.

N 1928a. To, TU: Shaman did not make offering
[756 of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the
782] pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N
249 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa^{rp}.
824 1931a. AK: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.
1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita,
Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with
Nicotiana.

N
534

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians
[534] when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
(Smith, notes).

N 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).
[172 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only
756] by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a
deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley:
N + (Steward, 278).

[172] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line
along a buckskin string; the string is wound
[281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his
informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on
[179 skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa:
759] Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the
Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that
time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

[p. 431(A)]

layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with rye grass and tule mats. 343 344

CLOTHING

1. *Sagebrush Clothing* (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings. 291

2. *Badger Skin Aprons.* These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin. [281] ●

3. *Women's Skin Dress* (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress. 291 281 [301] [171]

4. *Men's Clothing.*

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried. [301 602]

EAR PIERCING

The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix. 304

BLANKETS

1. Rabbit skin blankets. The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off. 281 [291]

Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders.

2. Other Blankets. Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

SKIN DRESSING

Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers reported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire. [412]

BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

1. Baskets. Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but 415 285 [412]

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

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412

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver. [411]

5. *Special Knife-like Saw.* A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported. 372

WEAPONS

1. *Bow and Arrow.* The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows. 411 [322]

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used. [321]

2. *Round Shields.* Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika. [281]

3. *Slat Armor.* Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

4. *Tunic Armor.* Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

5. *Clubs.* Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

Scarface Charlie reported elk horn clubs made from the end of the antler. Holes were drilled in the small end and a thong tied through and worn over the wrist. This was also used as a horsewhip. Dick Jonas said that only the Hunibuidika used these.

Scarface Charlie and Dick Jonas reported mahogany clubs which also had thongs tied through a hole in the end so that they could be worn on the arm.

Wadátkuht

● 281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 439 262 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunui^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunui^{yu}tkuht.

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of 283
the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that
tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that [114]
her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to
a lack of experience.

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but 285
were made with a twined weft element and were called
túpadan° (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u}
(heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat
was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house
(káni) as noted in a preceding section.

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs 227
of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, [501]
as mentioned in a section above.

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the 291
Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the
hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease [281] ●
removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin
blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets
when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave
it the name pongadziwik^{ya}.

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and
were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece
moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They
reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys
Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin
said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The
soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers
were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for
moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty
and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins.
Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were [824]
made of tules and bark.

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they [292]
were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po',
was worn by the m[illegible]. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [881]

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
[881] was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[352] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[281] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab^{i} (after naká, "ear")
[304] and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pizhuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

Wadátkuht

to produce powder which was mixed with water before being applied. Black paint, yadubi, was dug from the ground. 386

Skin Dressing. Deer's brains were boiled and dried and put away in a bag and kept until needed for use in tanning hides. When a deer was skinned the hide was left to dry for a bit and then soaked in water for about a week, until the hair began to slip. It was then taken from the water and a deer rib knife, pöwhanuhn°, was used to scrape the loose hair off. 281

The dried brain, which had been stored, was dissolved in warm water and then the hairless hide was put into the solution and rubbed with the hands. This rubbing continued intermittently for several days until water would run through the hide. It was then removed and one end tied to a post and a stick put through the other end and twisted to wring the water from it. The damp hide was then warmed near a fire while it was stretched and pulled with the hands and feet. This latter action thinned and dried the hide. It was then placed over a smokey fire with the skin forming a sort of conical tent over the fire. The smoking process took about one-half hour, and the hide had to be carefully watched at this time until the color was just right. Willow or cottonwood was used for fuel, although oak was sometimes used.

The act of tanning a hide was called tusung oiya. White buckskin was made the same way as was the smoke-tanned buckskin except that the smoking process was not done.

When the hide was first removed from the carcass a rough stone about the size of a mano was used to clean the inner surface. This same stone was used during the tanning to "clean the skum off". Tanning a hide took at least three days, with softening the hide while drying it being the most tedious. The tanning of hides was done by both men and women. [413] [462]

Kitty said her father, Joaquin, smoked hides by sewing a piece of canvas to the skin along one edge. The canvas was pegged to the ground around a smoking fire-pit and the skin pulled up to a cone by a rope thrown over a limb.

Weapons. The best information with respect to the manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, as might be expected, was obtained from Ike who had used them when he was young. The bow was called adúh and was generally made of juniper, wap^{i}. It was usually about three feet long, or as Ike said, 411 [115]

lower front it is sewn with buckskin to the upper of an old shoe which hangs in a loop to support the child's feet. 285

854 The other cradle (pl. 31) has more complicated seaming. It has central seams front and back and two lateral back seams as well. The arca seam is not continuous but begins a short distance either side of the central seams. This specimen does not have a separate foot loop but the covering is roughly sewn across the bottom and a short distance up the front to answer the same purpose. These bottom seams are little more than lashings. Nellie thinks that the transverse back seam is not essential but is for the fringe alone. This seam does not show the characteristic ridge of welt seaming, but the fringed piece is inserted as is the extra strip, only it is wide and fringed instead of being extremely narrow.

The back fringe of plate 30 is not sewn; but slits are cut and a thong run through one slit and out the adjacent one. The front fringe of both specimens consists of extra pieces, pinked along the upper edge, fringed along the lower, and sewn to the skin covering. The fringes are strung with beads, coins, etc.

Both specimens have loops along the front for lacing. The pack strap attachment is similar in both and is well shown in the plates. A buckskin loop is attached to the frame, piercing the skin cover at the back. The end of the burden strap is passed through one of the loops, folded back on itself, and secured by tying a thong through perforations in the strap.

The awning consists in each case of fine open twine in diagonal stitch. The twined rows are paired and run horizontally. A zigzag course is avoided by wrapping the wefts about the outside warp for the inch or so between rows. The start of the awning is at the end attached to the cradle. It is covered by a binding of buckskin but is probably similar to other non-spiral starts.

The awning is supported on a series of bent rods to which it is attached only by the embroidery threads of the hood design. The arched supporting rods are twined together in a zigzag course. It is interesting to note that the characteristic non-spiral start pattern holds here; the rods are sharpened and bent on themselves over a rod 1½ inches long. The twining continues to the awning and again on the other side of it, but not beneath it. The awning support is tied at either end, not to the cradle frame, but to the basket backing. In plate 30 the thongs penetrate the back covering in line with the fringe and are tied in bows.

CORDAGE, NETS, WEAVING

Two-ply string was made from the inner bark of sagebrush. Juniper bark was not used; "it was too soft to be good for anything." The bark was scraped, shredded, and dampened. It was rolled on the thigh, the two strands separately on the downward stroke and combined on the upward stroke. Three-ply string was unknown. A stronger cordage was made of the outer bark of wiha'b', an unidentified plant[142] resembling sagebrush but smaller and growing along mountain streams. The bark was stripped off and exposed overnight to become soft. It was broken in the hands and rolled on the thigh. 283

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[142] Loud and Harrington, 158, suggests that Gosiute *Apocynum androsaemifolium* answers the description of "wiha."

283 Sagebrush bark was sometimes twisted into a two-ply string with the fingers. The cord attached to the moccasin in plate 27*b* was probably made this way, not thigh-twisted.

Two-ply twine of sagebrush or of wiha'b' was made into three-strand braid. Four-strand braid was also known, but not eight-strand. The four-strand work seems to have been confined to buckskin rope. Skin rope, either three or four-strand braid, or merely twisted (?), was used for the horse pack. Three-strand braided bark rope also served the same purpose.

286 Nets (wa'na) were always of wiha'b' twine. Informants had not heard of using nettle fiber. Women sometimes made the twine, but men did the actual netting. A mesh gauge was not employed. According to Piudy, the strand was measured by being looped from the finger tip (middle finger ?) around the base of the thumb (at the wrist juncture) and back to the finger tip. Minnie alone claimed that nets were made of a plant belonging to Wolf, and she called the net i''sha'-wa'na (i''sha', wolf).

Weaving, in the sense of true cloth production, was unknown, but rabbitskin blankets were made by both men and women. Jackrabbit skins were used most, but cottontail pelts could be mixed with them. A good sized blanket (wī'gia) took 25 to 50 skins. Mouse or other small skins were not used; nor were mud-hen blankets made, although informants knew of them from the Nevada Paviotso.

In skinning, the knife was held in the mouth and the hide cut round and round. Accounts of subsequent preparation differ moderately, but the fact remains that the skins were twisted, stretched, and dried. According to Piudy the feet of about five rabbit skins were tied together, making a strip of considerable length. One end was unattached; the other was fastened to a stick which was rolled between the palms. The twisted skins were stretched and allowed to dry. Daisy had it that two people twisted the skins and hung them to dry "like on a clothesline." According to Joshua, the strips were twisted between the palms, stretched, and left to dry one or two nights. If I understood Nellie correctly, the skin from a single rabbit was doubled and interlocked chain fashion with that of another rabbit, and so on. The loop on the far end was caught over the worker's toe and a short stick inserted in the proximal loop. The stick was rolled between the palms, twisting the looped skins which were then hung to dry.[143]

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[143] A Paviotso tale refers to skins hung to dry. Lowie, ST, 225.

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
[237] Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-
[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

• 283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cö'dzita* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening
[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
285 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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[1] Mason, (b), 489 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi} NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

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W
A
283

CORDAGE (twisted)	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tt	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1182. Net (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1185a. Tule	.	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
[323]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tt	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1195. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
482

BURDENS	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tt	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kötommya)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1240. Bag (maro nokwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	.	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
854
285

CRADLES (tsa kibopo)	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tt	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1255. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

[p. 389]

N 224 [787] luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai döpi ("clay rock"). W [30] Wa: Hunters painted themselves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [130] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, töna'.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N ● [262] 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi'dögöp°, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls of sagebrush hung down between bushes. N [263 264] A: Rope of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304). Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N [796] 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[p.422 (c)]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.
222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.
262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogomm baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

● [283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[p.428(B)]

285 1103. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 273). Wd: - (BJ). 411

1114. Paviotso: Mush bowl (Lowie, 233-234, fig. 13,b).

1115. When baskets of one type were made by both coiled and twined technique the generic name was used for both, except when they were distinguished by adding adjectival words "tötsic'kwa," meaning coiled, or "töwic'kwina," meaning twined.

1117. Kl, 2: Field Museum has two pitch-coated coiled food bowls from Pyramid Lake (Steward, 271).

1118. Tg, Wd: Boiling basket pitched on outside then placed in hole so it would not fall over.

1119. Ki: + (Kelly, 123).

1120. See note 1115.

1121. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

WEAVING

Skin Blankets

286 [172] 1140a, 1141a, 1142a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50, 51).

1144. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 228). Steward, 270, describes this type for Death Valley Shoshoni.

1144a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270).

1145. Ki: Kelly, 137, confirms use of vertical loom.

Feather Blankets

[287] 1156, 1160. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50).

1157. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270). Ki: - (Kelly, 136).

Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

1165. Paviotso: "For babies, blankets of sagebrush were made" (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1168a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 56).

Nets

1180, 1180a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 85).

Cordage

288 1184a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pls. 36,h, 73).

1185a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73, pls. 35, 73). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1186-1190. Paviotso: "Used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (toibi) to make rope." "My interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends" (Lowie, 233).

[172] 1189. Lovelock Cave: Rope (tule bark) found in cave had a right or clockwise twist, whereas

[p.434-(BJ)]

N 283 [[72] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 323 N [114] 1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N 854 482 1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [854 482] 1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 756]

MUTILATIONS

N 304 1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

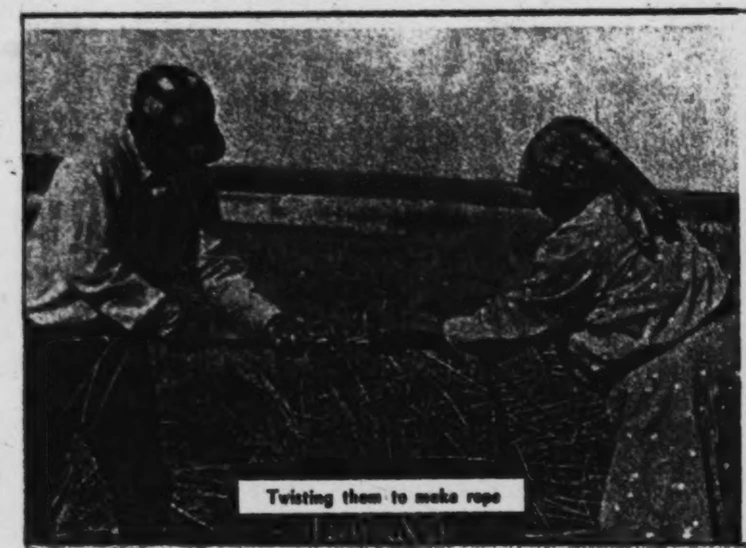
1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kü: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304] 1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

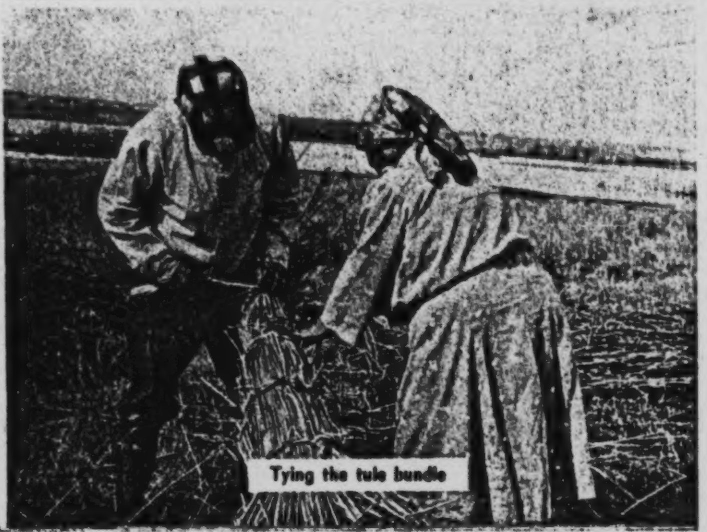
1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p. 435(A)]



Twisting them to make rope



Tying the tule bundle

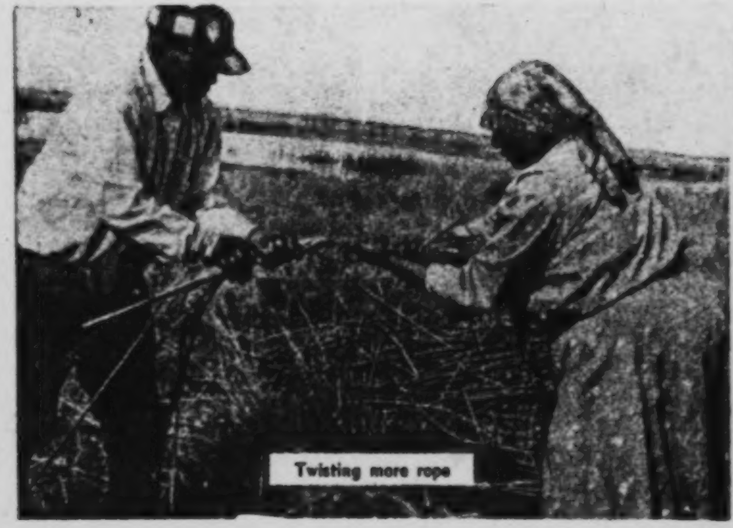
[End Plate 2B]

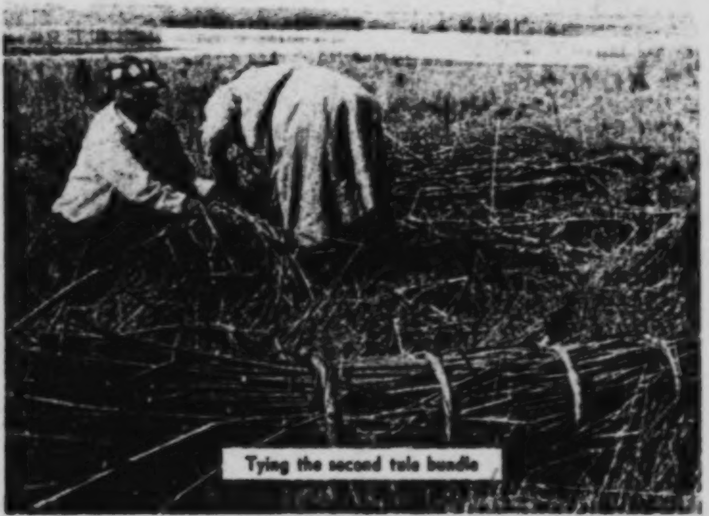
10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

291
396
283

291
296
283

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13


Twisting more rope


Tying the second tule bundle

[End Plate 3A]

[P. 5]
[P. 4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author
396 arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado
Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north
of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were
young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy
(around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Stillwater
[182] marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they
are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could
not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs
[182] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the
cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes
283 of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are
round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches
of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed
in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope
was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When
a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the
ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes
were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After
the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would
[521 make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another
set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst
223 of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and
825] that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds
in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy,
the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do
not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second
bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

-824
[285] sebI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to se in composition; for example se-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sikopi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] taEpi. greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-
like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook
[262] (chotetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in
the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch
[226] in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish
bait.

[222] • tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

● [283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-si-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, tsima, is gathered, inclosed
in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and
[302] sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for
[291] sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from
the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*.
[411] The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow
points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was
[172] a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is
very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwekobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem
[227] the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in
making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 ● [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 439 262 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Wadátkuht

352 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both
177 the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was
that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the
bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle
and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children
were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle
was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her
as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term
nutugwísh^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going
to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called
nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow
splints used for the active element were píwung. The bone
[413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as
witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from
that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys
Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

● 283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and
its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants
had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string.
Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who
[824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from
a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark,
[237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide).
Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said
to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse
hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger
[492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part
of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they
[525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

283 was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. [114] It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience.

285 The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section.

227 The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, [501] as mentioned in a section above.

291 Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, [281] one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}.

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

[292] A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', [881] was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded

Wadátkuht

411 "pretty short". The juniper was cut and left to cure before it was made into a bow. Ike never mentioned backing the bows with sinew, so the assumption is that the Wadátkuht bow was a simple one.

Bowstrings were made from sinew, tihiya tamu', "deer
[283] string" (Kitty called deer tuhu'^{ya}). Kitty said that bow-
strings were made from sagebrush bark and sinew twined to-
[824] gether. She also said that bows were made from split willow
(sagap^{i}) which was bent and dried. She said that chokecherry
wood also could be used for bows.

[824] Arrows, pamos^{a}, either could be made of serviceberry,
taúbui, or arrowcane, wakokob. When serviceberry was used a
straight limb was taken and dried with the bark on. When the
limb was dry the bark was scraped off. Crooked serviceberry
limbs were straightened with one's teeth and mouth. The
arrowshaft was sighted along its length to determine its
straightness. The arrowshafts made from serviceberry had the
undesirable propensity to return to their original crooked
condition. When this occurred they had to be heated by
holding them close to the fire, or by heating them on hot
stones. They were then held in the teeth and bent straight
again. Arrowcane arrowshafts were better than serviceberry
[413] shafts because they remained straight. Arrows from arrowcane
were straightened on a rounded stone that had been heated in
the fire. It was not stated whether the stone was grooved,
or not. Kitty said that arrows were heated near the fire and
straightened with either the teeth or the feet used as the
fulcrum point. The act of straightening arrows is called
tapat^{u}, "to straighten".

Kitty and Ike were in agreement that all arrows had three
feathers, although if a person did not have enough feathers
he could use two on the arrow. Three feathers "carry arrow
[237] straight". Duck wing feathers and sagehen tail feathers were
best for feathering arrows. Though not stated, it is presumed
that the feathers were radially attached.

[824] Greasewood and serviceberry were used for foreshafts of arrowcane arrows. The foreshafts often were rubbed in sap running from a freshly broken juniper limb. This sap was smeared on one end of the foreshaft, the foreshaft was pushed into the arrowcane shaft, and sinew then was bound around the base of the shaft to securely bind the foreshaft into the arrow shaft.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
286

N
W
A
[462]

N
A
[287]

N
W
A
287

● N
W
● [284]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
WEAVING (other than basketry)														
Skin Blankets														
1137. Animal furs used (twisted strips)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1138. Rabbit (kamuwi) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1139. Rat fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1140. Wildcat fur	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1140a. Muskrat fur	·	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1141. Squirrel fur	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1141a. Mole fur	·	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1142. Coyote fur	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1142a. Meadow-mouse fur	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1143. Loom (wikato): 2 parallel bars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1144. 2 horizontal, equidistant from ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1144a. 2 horizontal, 1 above the other	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1145. 2 vertical	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1147. Warp: 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1148. Single strip	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1149. Plain stick for twisting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1151. Twisting on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
1152. Weft: of string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1153. Of buckskin	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
1154. Twined weave	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155. Sex of maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1155a. Female	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feather Blankets														
1156. Bird skins used	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1157. Mud-hen skins	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1159. Skins sewn together	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1160. Skins woven, like with fur blankets (nos. 1137-1155)	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1162. No. of ply warp: 1	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1162a. 2	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
(See also 1134-1136)														
1164. Material: juniper bark	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	+	+	-	-
1165. Sage bark	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
1168a. Tule matting	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1169. Weaving: twined	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1171. Nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1173a. Nets of dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi) fiber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1174. Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
1174a. Stick carved (like Hupa net needle)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	-
1176. String ball on stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1178. Knots: bowline at edge	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	·	+	+	·	·	·
1179. Weaver's	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	·	·	·
1180. Overhand	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	·	·	·
1180a. Square	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	·	·	·
1180b. Mesh gauge: wood	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	·	-	·	-	+
1180c. Fingers	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	·	+	·	+	-
1180d. Stone	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	+	·	-	-
1180e. End of shuttle	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	-	-	·	-	·	-	-

[p.388]

N
302 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground piñon nuts.

1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

Headgear

N
291

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). Tö: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering piñon nuts.

N
[285
177]

1408a. Tö: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Küpa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)

1416a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: - (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on caps).

1426. Tö: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N
● [284]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W
A
[291]

1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). K2: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. Kü: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. Tö: The Tövusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W
[291]

1461. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[291]

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[p.436(A)]

BASKETRY

● 285 The Paiute of this region manufacture both twined and coiled ware, but the latter is said by some to be of recent introduction.[130] Basketry is one of the few crafts still practiced and this only to a limited extent. The old-style seed beaters, conical burden baskets, and water jars are rarely seen, but twined cradles and baskets in single and double rod coil are encountered now and then. Until recently oval coiled laundry baskets have been made for sale to the whites.

My data come primarily from two informants, Lizzie Godowa of Beatty and Minnie Anderson of Fort Bidwell. Virtually all the complete specimens figured are the work of the latter. Although Minnie is not conscious of being lefthanded, her coiling progresses the opposite of the norm, and specimens made by her must not be used for comparative purposes. Her twining, however, proceeds in normal fashion. In the absence of another Bidwell informant, one from Beatty was substituted, a shift involving a different band. Available specimens show no appreciable difference between the basketry of the two groups.

Materials.—Willow is the only material used in basket making. It is said to be best in fall; during the summer growing season it is brittle and not easily worked. Straight young shoots are gathered in fall, scraped or split as the case may be, and stored. Rods are kept straight, tied in bundles; strands are kept in coils, tied with willow bark. Before being used, they must be soaked until soft and pliable.

Preparation of willows.—Peeled but unsplit willows furnish the foundation material for both coiled and twined ware. Formerly the rod was scraped with a black obsidian knife; nowadays, with a small butcher knife. The knife is held in the right hand with the blade across the palm; the butt is held between the thumb and first finger with the handle extending out to the worker's left (pl. 22*a*). The willow is grasped in the left hand and the leaves and bark removed by scraping away from the worker toward the tip or the butt, according to the hold. The shoot is then reversed and scraping directed toward the opposite end. Willows so prepared are now ready for use as warps or as foundation rods.

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[130] "They learned that kind from the whites. In the old days the sticks (rods) always stood straight up" (P). Nellie Townsend had heard the same thing. Minnie Anderson thought that coiling was made in the old days and that a splintered deer leg served as an awl.

285 ● Strands for sewing or twining are obtained by splitting such rods in thirds or halves. In halving, the process is as follows: The tip is split in two with the teeth and the lower half retained in the teeth. The upper half is pulled with the left hand, the right hand following the split down the stalk (pl. 22*b*). The half rod thus obtained is further split by being stripped of its inner wood, which process is identical with the one just described. The inner pulp is discarded and the remaining strand is complete, provided the outer bark has been scraped off at the outset. If this is not the case, the stripping process is once more repeated, this time to free the strand of the bark.

Larger willows are split in thirds. During the procedure, one strand is clenched between the teeth, and both hands are held at the juncture of the splits (pl. 22*c*). The three strands thus obtained are subject to the treatment previously described in order to rid them of the inner wood and to remove the outer bark, providing this has not been done at the start. If the willow is long, it is necessary, as splitting proceeds, to shift the hold with the teeth from the tip down the stalk toward the butt end.

285
531
Decoration.—Decoration, in the sense of pattern design, is conspicuously absent from the modern basket work. A row or so of color darker than the body (pl. 24*b*) seems to be about the most ambitious decorative scheme attempted. My informant stated that in the old days "women who knew how made nice designs on their baskets," but that these craftsmen were all dead. Coloring may be produced in a variety of ways; the most frequent seems to be by burying the willow in damp earth. Lizzie stated that sometimes the strands were colored by being soaked with willow bark; sometimes they were steeped in crushed ripe currants.

285 *Coiled ware.*—The quality of the coiling seen today is mediocre, if not worse. There is only single and double-rod foundation, with the latter after the manner of the former. The two rods are arranged in a vertical plane, and the sewing strand includes both of them and the upper rod of the previous row. The effect is similar to that of single-rod coil, but a given stitch encloses three rods instead of two.[121] I did see one nicely worked three-rod basket,[122] said to have been made by a Nixon Paviotso. It ran clockwise as seen from above and had non-interlocking stitches.

Oval shapes are at least as common as round ones and are said not to have any special function. One might suspect their popularity to lie in the greater ease with which the start is made, but informants do not seem conscious of such a bias. The foot or rim (pl. 23*a, b*) is a point of interest. In the case figured, it consists of a row of three rods whipped to the base-wall juncture. I have noted at least three other specimens similarly equipped.[123] With one, the foot is considerably deeper, consisting of several superadded rows. This foot device, utterly foreign to aboriginal coiling, together with the prominence of the oval form, lends credence to the contention that the coiled technique here is of recent introduction.

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[121] Mason, Basketry, fig. 188.

[122] In possession of Daisy Brown.

Coiled ware is called nana'zoanadᵘ. Work is from right to left, clockwise from above. Plate 23, made by Minnie, is the reverse, left to right and counterclockwise. I did not see any round baskets started, but figure 3 shows the manner in which Lizzie commences the oval type; Susie Archie says that her grandmother used to start baskets this way. The specimen got from Minnie (pl. 23) does not show this kind of start; the rods are simply whipped together.

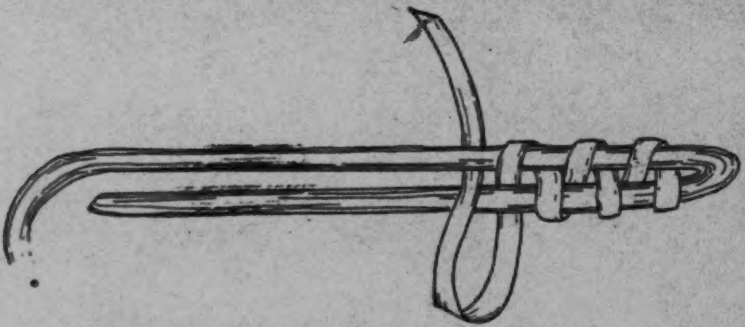

Fig. 3. Start of oval coiled basket, seen at the home of Mettie Petty, Beatty.

While work is in progress, the materials are constantly dampened so that they may remain pliable. They are periodically immersed in a basin of water, moistened in the mouth, or water sprinkled on with the hands. The sewing strand in particular must be kept damp. It is pulled from the back, or inside of the vessel, and is then brought over the top toward the worker, turned, and pushed through the hole made by the awl. The right or convex side of the basket remains toward the worker throughout. Stitches are not interlocked or consistently split.[124]

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[123] One in possession of Nannie Ochiho; the others belong respectively to Mrs. E. C. Lowell and Mrs. May Seegins of Fort Bidwell.

[124] An exception noted below has interlocking on the rim finish.

Joining rods is called pita'kwin. A new rod (u'a'p) is pointed, but the terminating one is not shaved or beveled. When a new sewing strand is required, the old one is left protruding on the wrong side and the new one pushed through from the work side with an inch or so left dangling. The stray ends are broken off after the willow becomes dry and brittle. 285 ●

In one or two specimens the rim receives special treatment. A small single-rod basket owned by Nannie Ochiho has the top rod caught to the preceding one at intervals of an inch, and along the intervening areas the rod is wound with the sewing strand. Mettie Petty of Beatty has an oval two-rod basket with a fairly involved finish. The top row is sewn by two alternating strands, one black and one white. The black and the white strands respectively interlock with every third stitch of the preceding row, leaving thereby a free stitch after each white overcast.

This same basket has the foundation rods unsewn at either end and twisted to serve as handles. Another large oval basket has handles of twisted rawhide.

Twined ware.—The generic term for basket is tsi·da.[126] Twining (nagwi'c) was made in a variety of forms including: conical burden basket, close or open twine (kudu's^{i}); grater, fan-shaped, open twine (ya'ta'); parching and winnowing tray, fan-shaped, close twine (tsamü'n^{a}—said to come from the verb to roll); seed beater (tsi'ku'); dipper (tsoko'^{o}); spoon (kwasi'tsoko'^{o}); cooking basket (ü'pü'); mush bowl or cup (si·woboi); water jar (si·o'sa'); fish trap (wi'ha').

Informants claim not to have made plaque-like baskets.

Of the above list, the last six have not been manufactured in many years and it was possible to obtain only the most cursory description of them. It will be convenient to dispose of these now and then pass to forms for which there are more data.

The dipper and the spoon are probably one and the same. The former was described by Daisy, who said: 285
415

> It is made of willow. It is like the seed beater only smaller and pitched on the outside. Use this when you cook seeds, and serve food with it.

Piudy mentioned the spoon which he said was shaped like the seed beater but small, tightly woven, and unpitched. It was used for stirring seed mush. It differs from Daisy's description only in the matter of the pitch and in name. The latter difference is more apparent than

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[126] Nowadays it signifies crockery as well. De Angulo, 332, has evidently recorded names of special forms, i.e., mush bowl and parching tray.

285
416

real, as the terms are identical save for the descriptive term, kwasi', meaning tail or handle.

The cooking basket was "round and had an open mouth." Nannie Ochiho remembered it as six or eight inches in height. It was watertight by virtue of close weaving, not through the application of pitch or gum.

The willow cup (si'woboi; si, said to be from sūb', willow) was unpitched and was used for individual servings of food as, for example, pine-nut gruel. No further details could be procured, but presumably it resembled the Paviotso specimen figured by Lowie.[126]

The water jar (si'o'sa'; o'sa', any kind of jar) had a conical base. Piudy said that "it was easier to carry that way"; Minnie, that "in the old days they didn't know how to make flat bottoms." The jar was either set on its side, or a small hole was dug to allow it to stand upright. According to Minnie, such jars had willow handles; Piudy thought they were of deer hide; neither had heard of hair handles. A specimen (pl. 21*c*) made by Nina Naneo's grandmother, however, does have hair woven in the handles.

The jar just mentioned is made in diagonal twine. Several local specimens, all of unknown provenience, are in this same technique. In view of these facts and considering the Nevada data,[127] it seems safe to assume that the old Surprise Valley water jar was of similar construction. The Naneo specimen is an upward twine, provided progression is left to right as usual. It does not have the conical base;[128] the bottom is dented and in cross-section would resemble figure 6*f* of Spier's Havasupai. At the neck the warps have been cut short and the top overcast.

The basketry jar was made watertight with juniper or pine gum put on a flat stick, held over the fire, and then rapidly applied to the exterior. For the inside, four or five small stones were heated and dropped in with some pitch. The container was shaken vigorously until the whole interior was coated. The woman tested the basket by holding it to her lips and blowing to see if there were any holes. If there were none, she filled the jar with water and, if it did not leak, considered it finished. Such a jug lasted "a long time."

According to Joshua a family ordinarily had two basketry jars, a small one for the children and a larger one for the adults. On journeys, a woman carried the water jar. The neck was usually plugged with green grass; the Naneo specimen has a wooden stopper.

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[126] SE, fig. 13*b*.

[127] Lowie, SE, 234 and fig. 20*a*, *b*.

[128] In this respect resembling fig. 20*b* in Lowie, SE.

Of the fishing basket, there is only the most meager description. It was of stiff willows, five to eight feet in length, long, "like a sock," and had a constricted neck. It was presumably in open twine. 285 415

For the remaining types of twined ware, there are fortunately a few specimens for guidance. Twining proceeds from left to right. With non-circular specimens (such as the grater and the parching tray) it is impossible to tell from the specimen alone in which direction the work goes. It seems safe to assume upon the basis of models made by Lizzie and Minnie, and from the uniformity of direction in spirally worked baskets, that the progress is from left to right in these as in other forms. The slant of the stitch is discussed at the end of the section on twining.

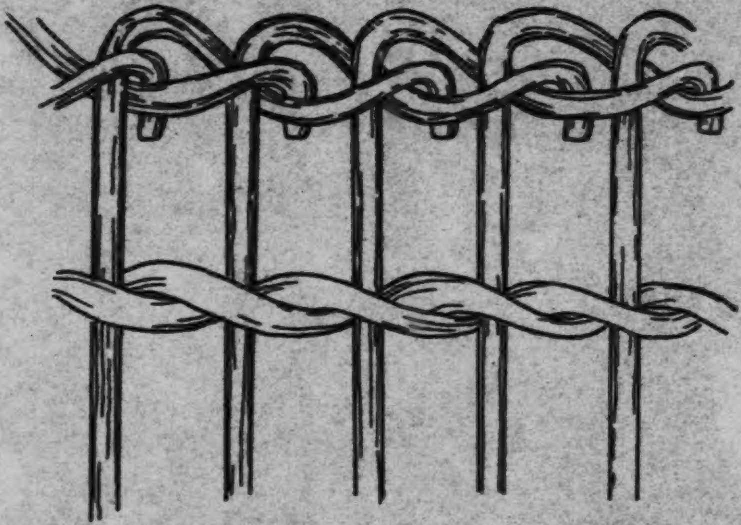

Fig. 4. Rim finish (exterior) of open twined burden basket, 1-28303.

The utility container, the conical burden basket, may be in open twine or close diagonal twine, the latter for seeds and berries, the former for wild plums and objects of like size. I have examined six burden baskets, three in open and three in close twine, but two of the latter are incomplete models made by Minnie and Lizzie.

Plate 24*b* shows an open twine conical basket. The start is on a pair of warp sets, each consisting of eight rods. The first few rows are twined on double warps. At the start the twine is solid; after two or three inches it becomes simple open twine with the rows spaced an inch or more. The rim finish is shown in figure 4. A willow hoop is lashed to the turned down warps and another hoop applied on the interior about halfway down. There is no 285 evidence of a tump line. Lizzie Godowa has a similar basket which is started on warps crossed in fours. A somewhat smaller basket of the same order seen at the home of Nina Naneo is said to have been made by her grandmother. As can be seen from plate 21*a*, the twine is both diagonal and open, giving a zigzag effect.

The close diagonally-twined burden basket shown in plate 24*a* starts with warps crossed in sixes; the diagonal stitch starts from the first row. At the top the warps are clipped close and a hoop lashed on. A model (fig. 5) starts in simple twine on warps crossed in threes. The sketch shows Minnie's method of introducing supplementary warps. A rod is inserted and doubled back to make two warps. Other rods are added singly.

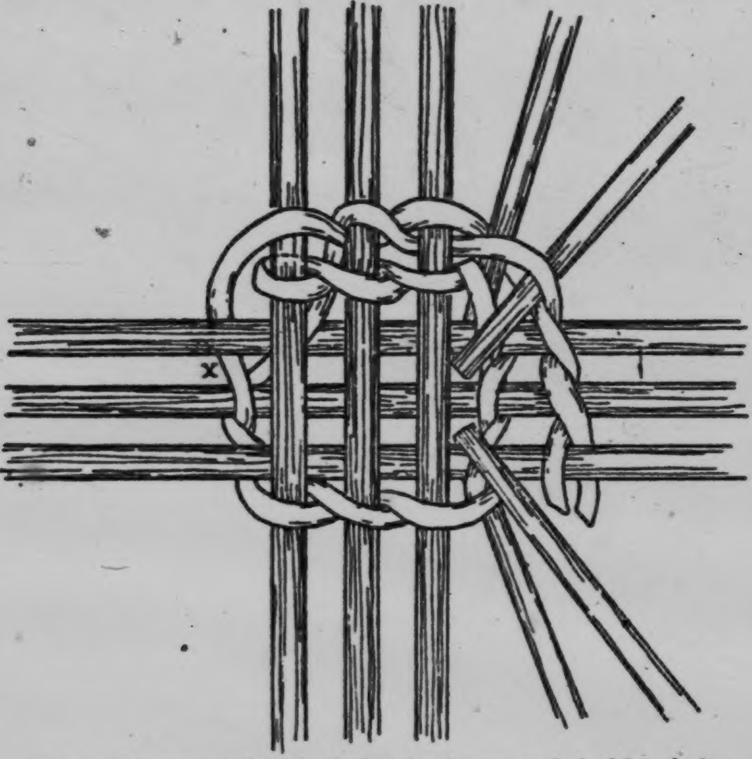

Fig. 5. Start of twined burden basket showing one method of introducing new warps.

The model made by Lizzie is started on warps crossed in fours. Eight rods are twined together in pairs and the last two pairs turned at right angles to the first, thereby producing warps crossed in fours (fig. 6). After three rows the twining on double warps is changed to simple twine and later to diagonal twine.

Both Minnie and Lizzie start the basket on the convex side, twining from left to right. After a few rows the warps are sprung down and the basket worked apex up. With increase in size, the apex is turned downward and work continued left to right on the near side. These shifts in position occasion no change in the direction of the twine or in the work side. 285 ●

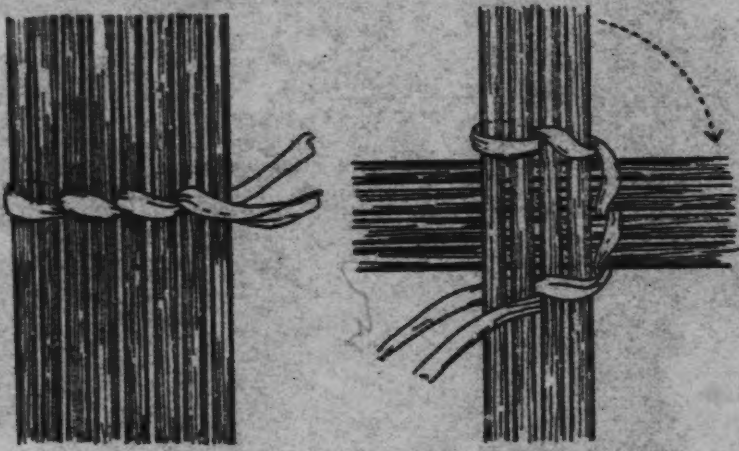

Fig. 6. Start of twined burden basket.

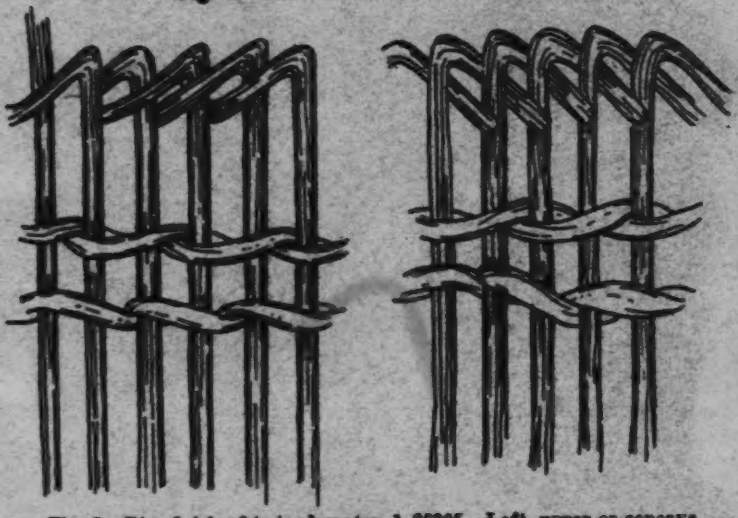

Fig. 7. Rim finish of twined grater, 1-28205. Left, upper or concave face; right, back or convex face.

Burden baskets become flattened through use, not deliberately. Minnie volunteered, "This basket is no good; it's all flat on one side." Seed gathering baskets were not coated with pitch as among the Gosiute.[129] 285 415

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[129] Chamberlin, 341.

The open twine fan-shaped tray was doubtless put to many uses,[120] but is here called a grater because roots are rubbed on it to divest them of their skins. It is kept in shape by being placed in a damp spot, weighted with stones.

The dilapidated grater shown in plate 25a is in open twine, the rows paired at inch intervals and running horizontally. The stitch is uniform until the last three inches where it becomes diagonal twine, with rows still paired. The warp finish is diagrammed in figure 7. An encircling willow is lashed about the outer edge of the tray.

The start of all non-spiral specimens, such as the grater, the winnowing tray, the seed beater, etc.,[121] is at the base. The grater may serve as an example, and its initial rows are diagrammed in figure 8.

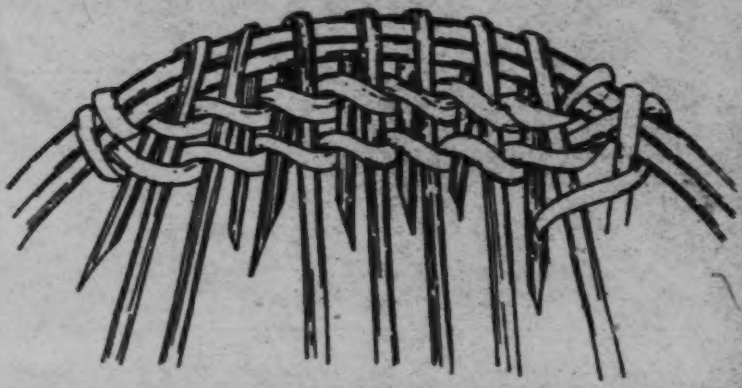

Fig. 8. Start of twined grater, 1–28205, showing back or convex face.

Warps are placed at right angles to two rods and bent back on themselves, enclosing the two outlining rods. In this instance, the short ends of the lapped warps are on the right or concave face of the tray. They are chewed thinner at the tip so as not to bulge. Work begins at the lower left on the wrong, or convex, side. The two outlining rods are caught in a stitch; then the first warp and its lapped tip are enclosed, and so on. Until one is past the range of lapped tips, twining is on two rods. New warps are inserted singly to provide the fan-like shape. Lizzie works from left to right across the back or convex face. At the end of the course (lower right of sketch) she turns the specimen right face up and works from left to right across it, and so on. The turning from one face to the other means that the

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[120] Some authors speak of it as a sifting basket.

[121] Excepting "first cradles."

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stitches continue to have a uniform slant on either face which they would not have if the work were continued back and forth on one face alone.

The parching or winnowing tray is a non-spiral affair essentially like the grater but in close twine.

Plate 26a shows a specimen made by Minnie. The start is similar to that of figure 8, but the warp lap is on the back or convex side. The first few rows are simple twine, followed by the body in diagonal twine. The last few inches are also diagonal but on multiple warps, three being the number most frequently enclosed. The warp finish at the upper edge is somewhat haphazard, but seems to resemble figure 7, except that each unit consists of three or four adjacent warps instead of a single one. As usual, the finished specimen is completely encircled by a willow hoop. Another parching tray probably made by the same person is shown in plate 26b. The start is similar to the above, but the warps turn back on the concave or upper face. The initial rows are simple twine which soon passes into diagonal. The latter stitch continues until the last six rows which are simple twine on double warps.

A parching tray (pl. 31c) of unusually fine workmanship is in possession of Nina Nance. Like the others, it is in diagonal twine. The outer stitches on either edge enclose double warps, making a sort of selvage. Unlike all others, it is decorated with several rows of diagonal black lines. This tray differs slightly in contour from the others illustrated; the top is straight across instead of arched and meets the sides at a pronounced angle.

The model parching tray started by Lizzie is pictured in plate 25b. It differs structurally from the above mentioned specimens in that the warps are not lapped back over a horizontal rod. My notes are not clear on the procedure involved, but from the model, the start seems to be on four warps bent into an arc. Other warps are inserted singly to give the necessary flare.

The seed beater is next to be considered. It is not provided with a wooden blade such as the Gosiute use.[182] The following description is based upon the specimen figured in plate 27a:

The start follows the usual non-spiral pattern, but the warps lap on the back or convex side. The lower half of the bowl is in simple open twine, rows paired and running horizontally. The upper half shifts to diagonal twine, still open and rows still paired. At the top, the warps are bunched, forming a short handle. Coarse twining on multiple rods holds the bundle together; there seems also to have been some willow lashing on the handle. A hoop encircles the bowl, passing in the back at the root of the handle.

Some details may now be presented concerning the slant of the twined stitch. Following Barrett's[183] definition, it may slant either upward or downward, and in some instances a group will employ one twist to the complete exclusion of the other. Such is not the case with this band of Paiute. Not only do they use both types, but the two occur side by side in a single specimen, even in a single row.

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[182] Chamberlin, 341. [183] Pomo Indian Basketry, 147.

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Thus the start of the conical burden basket shown in figure 5 is downward. At X, just before the termination of the first course, an upward stitch occurs, probably an error. Where the new warp is added at the upper right, however, a definite shift to upward stitches occurs and continues for the remainder of the model. Another specimen (pl. 24b) made by Minnie shows this identical shift from initial downward stitches to upward ones.

Furthermore, an open twine burden basket (pl. 24a) made by Minnie is similarly fluctuating. The first two or three courses are worn off, but the first distinguishable row is upward. After five rows, five or six downward stitches occur, followed by two rows of upward twist. Downward stitches next ensue and continue the remainder of the specimen. A "first cradle" (pl. 28) made by Nettie de Gamo shifts several times, once in the middle of a row.

Such variations are theoretically intelligible on the basis of decorative effect, for if one were to alternate rows of upward and downward twine, a pattern would result. But such is not the case here. These variations seem rather to indicate carelessness and an inattentiveness to detail and plainly demonstrate the absence of a single standard slant. Even so the selection of the twist is not entirely a matter of caprice. In two instances there is some suggestion of a correlation between the slant of the stitch and the type of basket. Thus, the three open twine burden baskets examined are all with downward twist, save for the irregularity at the start of Minnie's specimen. The parching trays are likewise uniform; the four specimens are all upward twine.[136] Although Lizzie makes the grater and both types of burden basket with a downward stitch, when it comes to the parching tray she shifts to an upward twine. She could give no reason further than "that is the way it is done."

The above alignment suggests a possible connection between the slant of the stitch and the manner of working the basket. The open twine burden basket is worked spirally, round and round, while the parching tray is a non-circular affair worked across one face, then turned and worked across the other. But this correlation does not hold because the close twine basket, although worked spirally, is sometimes upward twine; and the grater, a flat, fan-like tray similar to the parcher, is downward in one of the two specimens. Neither is any correlation maintained between the open and close twine technique and the stitch slant.

Although cradles have not yet been considered, it may be said that data concerning them are equally conflicting. Assuming a left to right progression, the de Gamo specimen has both slants but is pre-

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[136] Weltfish, 490, notes that cave material from southern California seems to be downward for plain and 3-strand twine and upward for diagonal twine. This is suggested in the Pavictso material but does not hold for all specimens.

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dominantly downward; the model made by Minnie is also "mixed" but is mainly upward. The basket backs of three "later cradles," skin covered, are, two upward and one downward.

Specimens are too few to be conclusive, but a summary of the twine slants is appended. The names listed indicate the provenience of specimens and likewise the maker, unless otherwise indicated. These data are included because they demonstrate that the three known individuals from whom we have more than one basket produced twines of both varieties. Numbers are given for specimens now in the museum.

Water jar; 1 specimen; upward slant; Nina Naneo, Beatty (made by her grandmother) (pl. 21*e*).

Open twine burden basket; 3 specimens; all downward; Nina Naneo (made by her grandmother) (pl. 21*c*); Lizzie Godowa; Minnie Anderson (1-28203) (pl. 24*b*).

Close diagonal-twined burden basket; 3 specimens; Lizzie Godowa, downward; Minnie Anderson (1-28204) (pl. 24*a*), upward except for first row; Minnie Anderson (model, fig. 5), upward except for first row.

Parching tray; 4 specimens; all upward slant; Nina Naneo (made by her grandmother) (pl. 21*c*); Lizzie Godowa (model, 1-28211) (pl. 25*b*); Minnie Anderson (1-28206) (pl. 26*a*); probably Minnie Anderson[185] (pl. 26*b*).

Seed beater; 1 specimen; upward; Minnie Anderson (1-28207) (pl. 27*a*).

Grater; 2 specimens; Lizzie Godowa (model), downward; Minnie Anderson (1-28205) (pl. 25*a*), upward except for upper third which alternates rows of upward and downward (fig. 7).

"First cradle"; 2 specimens; Minnie Anderson (model, 1-28209) (fig. 9), badly mixed; Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell (1-28210) (pl. 28), mixed at start but predominantly downward.

"Later cradles"; 3 specimens; Nellie Townsend (maker unknown) (1-28212) (pl. 29), upward; Nellie Townsend[186] (maker unknown), (pl. 31), downward; provenience unknown[187] (pl. 30), upward.

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[185] In collection of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell.

[186] In collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell.

[187] In collection of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell.

CRADLES

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Cradles are considered here because the technical details concerning them fall largely within the realm of basketry. There are two recognized types, the "first cradle" and the "later cradle." Their functional distinctions are mentioned elsewhere.[138]

The first cradle is in use the first month after birth and is called saki'-huˑp^{a} (balsa-cradle; so-called from its shape). It is essentially a basket and nothing more, lacking the rigid frame, the triangular awning, the skin cover, and the tumpline of the other cradles. There are at least two kinds of saki'-huˑp^{a}. One kind is illustrated in plate 28. A miniature of the other kind was made by Minnie Anderson, but unfortunately the specimen is so out of proportion that it seems inadvisable to figure it. Its manufacture may be described as follows:

A weft strand is twined about a series of paired warps. When all are caught, the last pair is bent back parallel to itself and enclosed by a twined stitch as indicated in figure 9. When all the pairs have been so treated, the nucleus for an arched top is formed. The diagram suggests that the rods lie in a flat plane, but in reality the outer ones are slightly raised, making the top semi-domed. After the initial row of twining the affair is turned and worked across the other face, then turned again, and so on. This makes twining throughout the specimen a continuous course, zigzagging from side to side, in this respect resembling the grater, winnowing tray, etc. Although the model is very roughly made, there seems to be an adherence to double warps throughout. The specimen tapers slightly toward the base, where the warps are cut off evenly.

This cradle has a hood of sorts, but one quite distinct from the triangular awning of the later cradles. It is really a hoop, like that of Lowie's Mospa specimen.[139] For this hoop, a series of parallel rods is caught together in open twine and the ends attached to either side of the cradle near the top. A cloth thrown over the top for sun-protection is kept off the child's face by the hoop.

The infant is placed in the basket on a padding of shredded sagebrush bark and held in by means of a thong laced through skin loops along the sides of the cradle. Unlike the later cradles, the first ones do not indicate the sex of the infant.

The other style of first cradle is shown in plate 28. It also lacks the rigid frame and other traits distinctive of the later cradle. In structure it follows the grater pattern (fig. 8), but the outlining rods are bent at a sharp angle instead of being gently curved. Unlike the grater which is worked from the base up, twining of this specimen commences in the upper right corner (as seen in the plate). Each warp and its lap are enclosed in a single stitch, thereby making the twine on double warps until the turnback is passed, a matter of some six inches. Twining is thereafter on single rods. Rows are paired and run horizontally; to avoid zigzagging, the wefts are wrapped about the outer rods for the necessary distance between rows. The last or bottom four rows are close twine.

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[138] P. 161.

[139] SE, fig. 34a. Nellie Townsend immediately designated this figure as a first cradle.

I am not certain of the exact manner in which the cap is attached. It is obviously a part of the body as the body twine extends to include it on the sides. A separate course of twining is worked across the top of the cap, joining the component rods to each other and attaching the cap to the upper edge of the cradle proper. This row of twining starts at the upper left (as viewed in the plate) and zigzags back and forth, ending at the upper right at the point where the body twine begins.

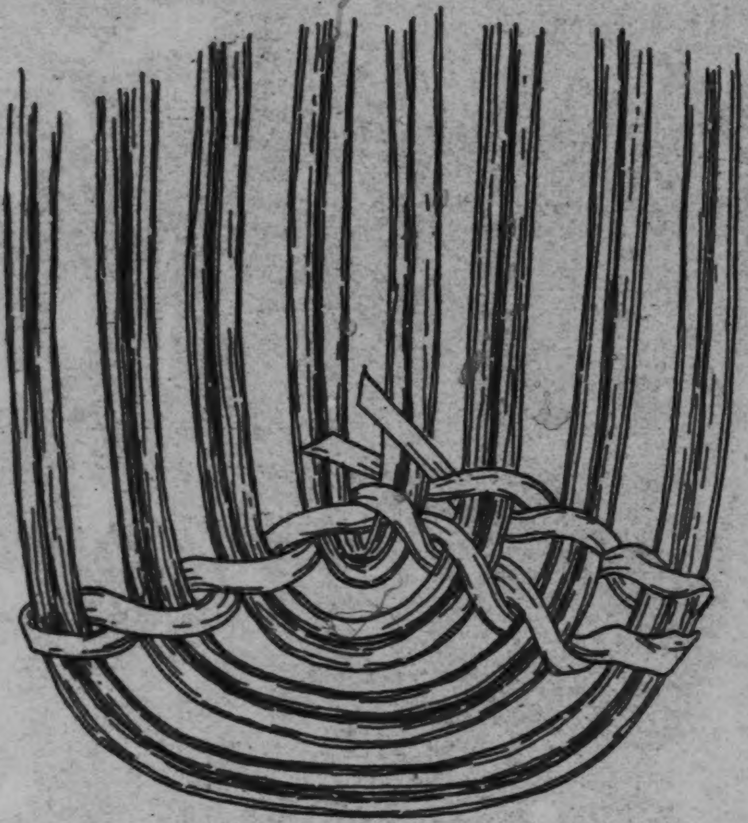

Fig. 9. Start of first cradle. From a model, 1-28209. Warps reduced in number to facilitate sketching.

The illustrated specimen has side loops of cloth in lieu of deer hide.

After the saki'-hu'p^{a}, a child has four cradles successively larger and differing from one another only in size. Structurally the later cradle consists of a wooden framework (pl. 29) supporting a twined basket backing. The whole is skin-covered, and although nowadays canvas is sometimes substituted, buckskin is preferred. A triangular awning (tsoko'no') is attached on a line with the top of the backing and is supported by a series of arched rods held together in twined stitch. As is common elsewhere,[140] the awning design is indicative of the sex of the infant. A diamond or zigzag pattern serves for a girl, a series of diagonal lines for a boy. Plate 30 has diagonal lines alternating with tipi-like motifs. Nowadays these designs are worked in embroidery thread, either red or blue. Informants do not remember what was used formerly; "maybe they didn't have designs then." The solid bead embroidery seen on some cradles is Plains type. It is taught in the local Indian school and is probably of no great age.

The skeleton of the skin-covered cradle is seen in plate 29. As Nellie Townsend noted, Surprise Valley cradles tend to flare more at the top than those figured by Lowie[141] for the Nevada Paiute. The arch and base of the frame are always separate pieces spliced at the sides. The arch of the figured specimen is willow and the base choke-cherry. The base may be either angular (pl. 29) or rounding (pl. 30). The wood is heated, bent, and tied in the desired shape; then placed on a level spot, weighted with stones, and allowed to dry. Nowadays the frame is nailed together. Formerly the transverse bars were notched at the ends and tied to the skeleton with thongs. The specimen shown in plate 30 is so constructed; its bars, as those in plate 29, rest on the upper surface of the frame, just beneath the basket backing.

The twined backing is attached by thongs. According to Nellie, it is usually made before the frame. The warps of the backing are always longitudinal, and the start is similar to that of figure 8 except that the outlining rods are bent upward at an angle. Twining starts at the lower righthand corner (as seen in pl. 29) with the back as the initial work surface. In this instance the twine is simple openwork with rows more or less equi-spaced. The same holds for the cradle of plate 30. At the end of a row one weft is carried along the outside warp and wrapped to it by the other weft. The backing of one specimen (pl. 31) is twined in a zigzag course, and at the open ends the rows are about six inches apart. The backing of some cradles is simple twine on double warps. The backing ordinarily ends on a line with the awning attachment. In one specimen (pl. 31) it extends somewhat beyond, but it seems likely that the hood has been placed too low. This cradle was used by one of Nellie Townsend's children, and as the child grew, the hood was raised. When the cradle was sold, the hood was lowered to its present position.

The two specimens figured differ somewhat in the attachment of the skin covering but both show welt seaming, i.e., a discrete strip carried in the seam between the two joined surfaces. The covering of both cradles hangs loose and unattached at the sides. That shown in plate 30 has a seam along the top of the arch and down the center front. The covering is tied to the backing beneath the awning and also at the bottom. Here there is no seam; the skin is simply turned under across the back of the lowest transverse rod. At the

lower front it is sewn with buckskin to the upper of an old shoe which hangs in a loop to support the child's foot. 285

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[140] Kroeber, Handbook, 536; Lowie, SE, 254.

[141] SE, 32c, 34a, b; although plate 30 resembles Lowie's specimens in outline.

The other cradle (pl. 31) has more complicated seaming. It has central seams front and back and two lateral back seams as well. 854 The area seam is not continuous but begins a short distance either side of the central seams. This specimen does not have a separate foot loop but the covering is roughly sewn across the bottom and a short distance up the front to answer the same purpose. These bottom seams are little more than lashings. Nellie thinks that the transverse back seam is not essential but is for the fringe alone. This seam does not show the characteristic ridge of welt seaming, but the fringed piece is inserted as is the extra strip, only it is wide and fringed instead of being extremely narrow.

The back fringe of plate 30 is not sewn; but slits are cut and a thong run through one slit and out the adjacent one. The front fringe of both specimens consists of extra pieces, pinked along the upper edge, fringed along the lower, and sewn to the skin covering. The fringes are strung with beads, coins, etc.

Both specimens have loops along the front for lacing. The pack strap attachment is similar in both and is well shown in the plates. A buckskin loop is attached to the frame, piercing the skin cover at the back. The end of the burden strap is passed through one of the loops, folded back on itself, and secured by tying a thong through perforations in the strap.

The awning consists in each case of fine open twine in diagonal stitch. The twined rows are paired and run horizontally. A zigzag course is avoided by wrapping the wefts about the outside warp for the inch or so between rows. The start of the awning is at the end attached to the cradle. It is covered by a binding of buckskin but is probably similar to other non-spiral starts.

The awning is supported on a series of bent rods to which it is attached only by the embroidery threads of the hood design. The arched supporting rods are twined together in a zigzag course. It is interesting to note that the characteristic non-spiral start pattern holds here; the rods are sharpened and bent on themselves over a rod 1½ inches long. The twining continues to the awning and again on the other side of it, but not beneath it. The awning support is tied at either end, not to the cradle frame, but to the basket backing. In plate 30 the thongs penetrate the back covering in line with the fringe and are tied in bows.

CORDAGE, NETS, WEAVING

Two-ply string was made from the inner bark of sagebrush. 283 Juniper bark was not used; "it was too soft to be good for anything." The bark was scraped, shredded, and dampened. It was rolled on the thigh, the two strands separately on the downward stroke and combined on the upward stroke. Three-ply string was unknown. A stronger cordage was made of the outer bark of wiha'b', an unidentified plant[142] resembling sagebrush but smaller and growing along mountain streams. The bark was stripped off and exposed overnight to become soft. It was broken in the hands and rolled on the thigh.

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[142] Loud and Harrington, 158, suggests that Gosiute *Apocynum androsaemifolium* answers the description of "wiha."

The Gidü'tikad^{a} employed a two-post frame for the weaving. 286 Informants said that the Nixon Paviotso used a frame of four uprights and two cross-bars.[144] With the two-post frame, the uprights, about five feet in height, were set as far apart as one could conveniently reach. The twisted skins were wound tightly from one post to the other, from bottom to top. The weft was twine (either wiha'b^{i} or sagebrush bark), thongs, or, more recently, strips of cotton cloth. The worker started a row of simple twine at the lower righthand corner and worked it to the top. According to Daisy, the wefts were tied here and a new row started at the bottom, otherwise the blanket would be wrinkled. Joshua thought that the twining was continuous, turning at the top and coming downward. Piudy reported an extra-length blanket made by pushing the completed part off the posts and winding more skins on the freed poles. One blanket ordinarily sufficed as bedding for two persons.

Sagebrush bark blankets are said to have been made in the same technique, but without the frame. Such blankets, like those of rabbit skin, were used as bedding and capes. Leggings were also made of sagebrush bark, presumably in open twine. A model of the old time sagebrush moccasin is seen in plate 27*b*. The start is identical with that of the first cradle (fig. 9). The wefts consist of untwisted sagebrush bark. At the termination of each row, the wefts are twisted into string and left as a loop for lacing. The hanging warps turn up over the foot as a tongue. The cord is crisscrossed, catching the loops on either side.

Bags for food storage were made of tule or of sagebrush bark, 285 presumably in open twine. They were described as "like those the 415 Modocs use only not as well made."

STONE WORKING

Stone archaeological remains are fairly plentiful, although not 324 spectacular, and are ascribed to mythical pre-Paviotso inhabitants. Thus, "These stone things came from the stories. When animals were people they made them." Pestles are found near water, "because Nümüzo'ho (cannibal; literally people-grinder) was driven into the lake." Another cannibalistic being, Bahi'zoho, who was "animal but looked like an Indian," has mortars ascribed to him. Nümüna (people's father) is held responsible for petroglyphs and for footprints seen along lake shores.

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[144] Like that described by Lowie, SE, 238.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godowa, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212; maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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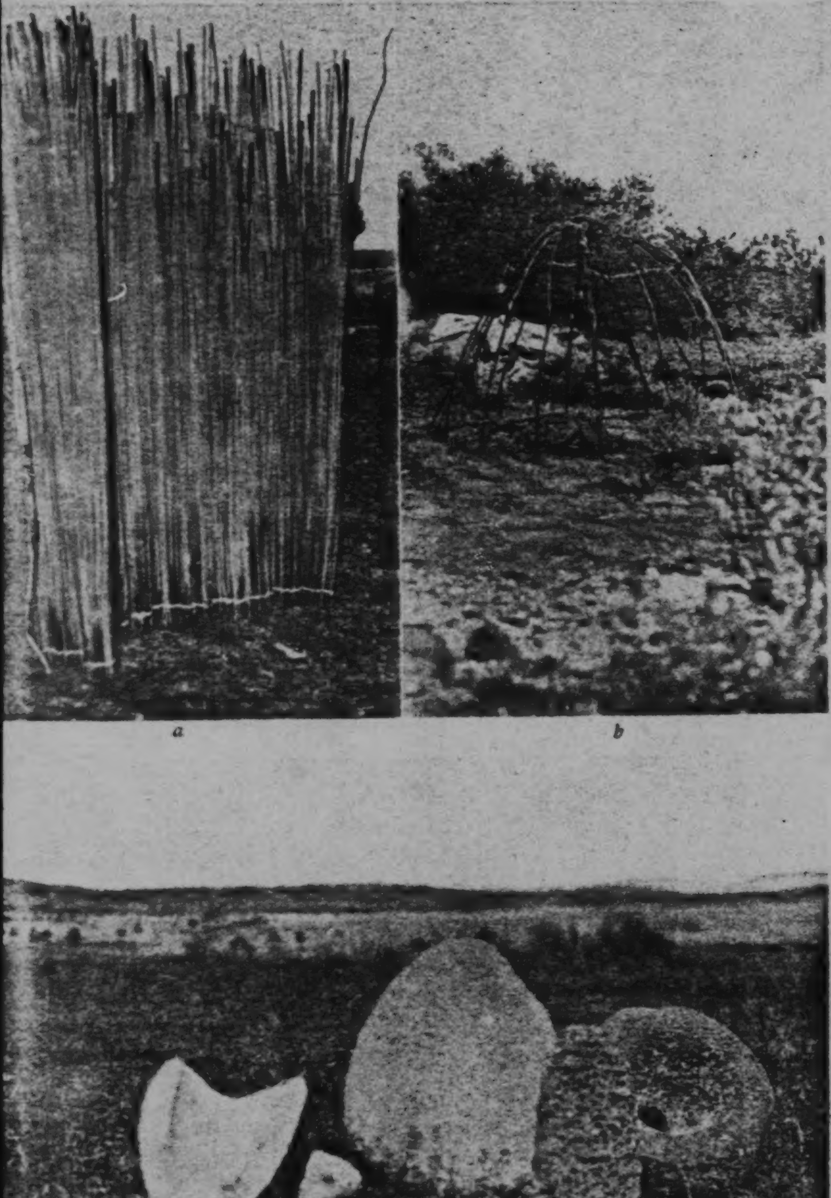
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MATERIAL CULTURE

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1: Kelly **E-5** **(1930) 1934** **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

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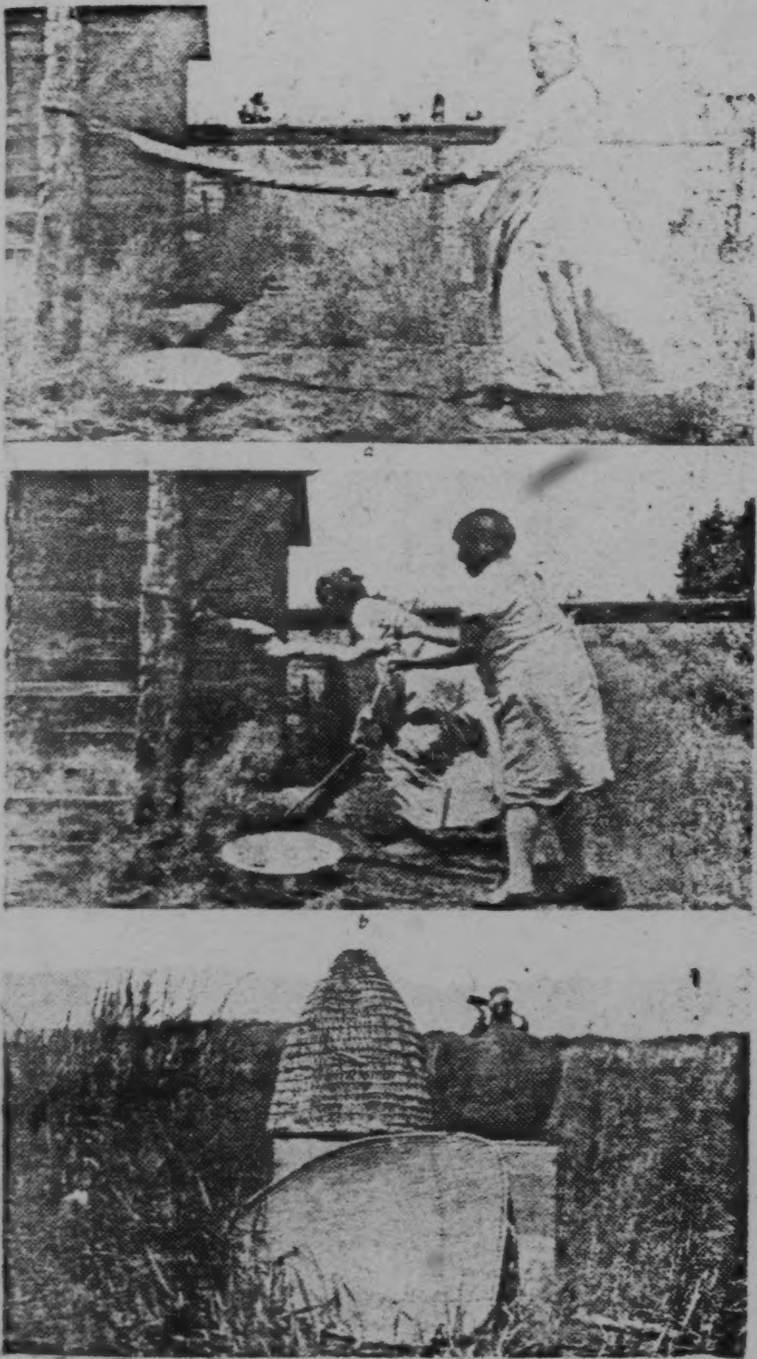

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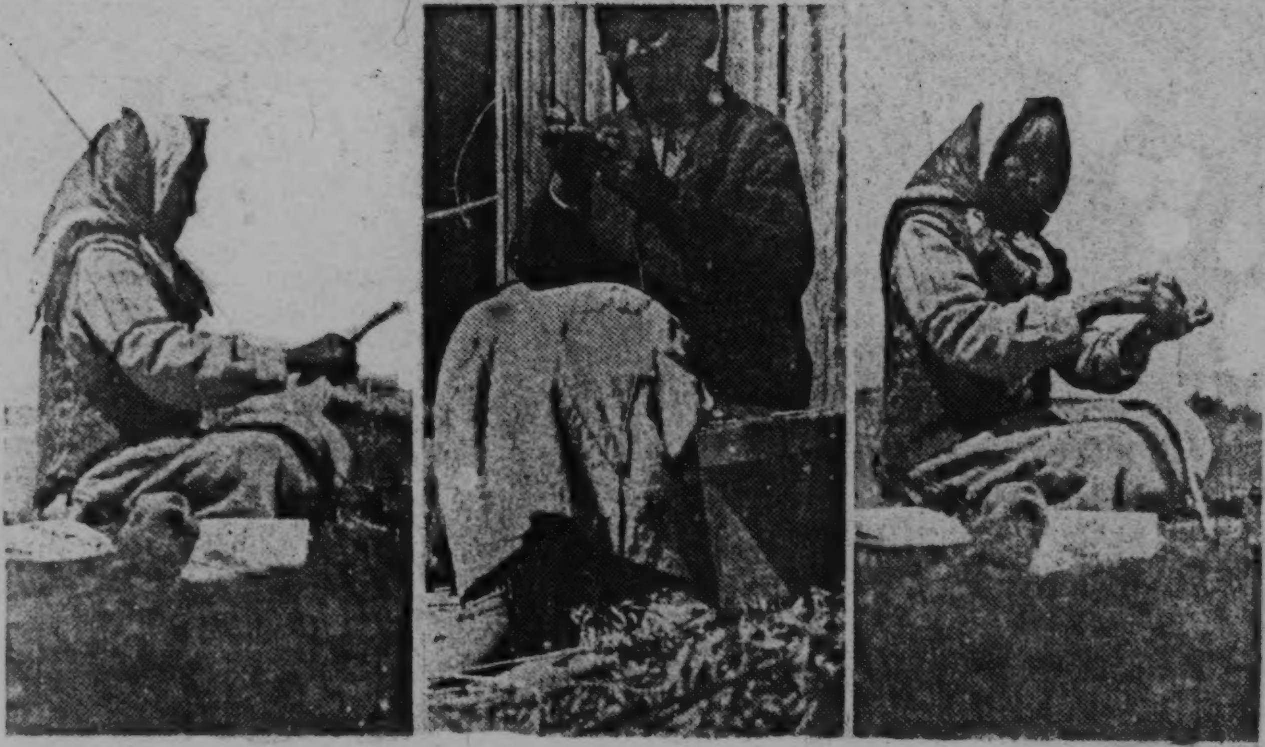
CRAFTS: SKIN WORKING; BASKETRY

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 22



PREPARATION OF BASKET MATERIALS

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 23

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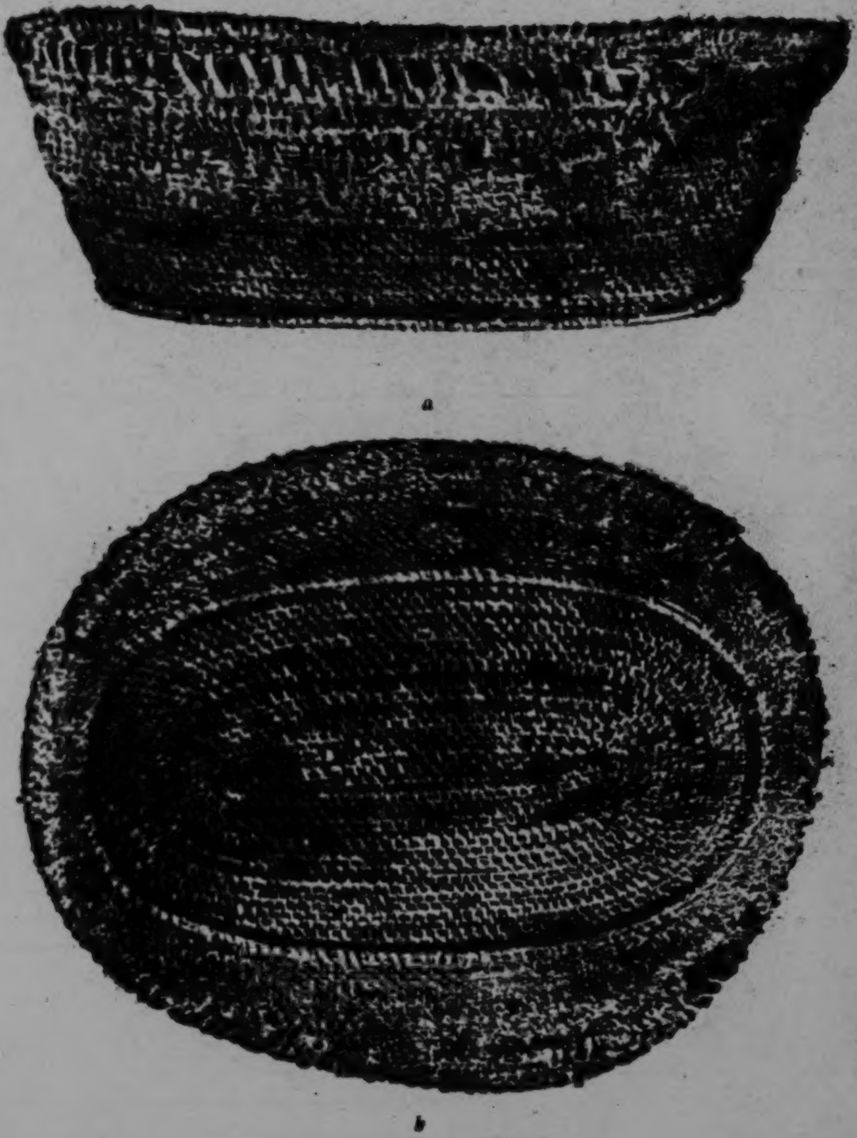

COILED BASKET, SIDE AND BOTTOM VIEWS

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1: Kelly .5 (1930) 1934

Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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KELLY] PLATE 24

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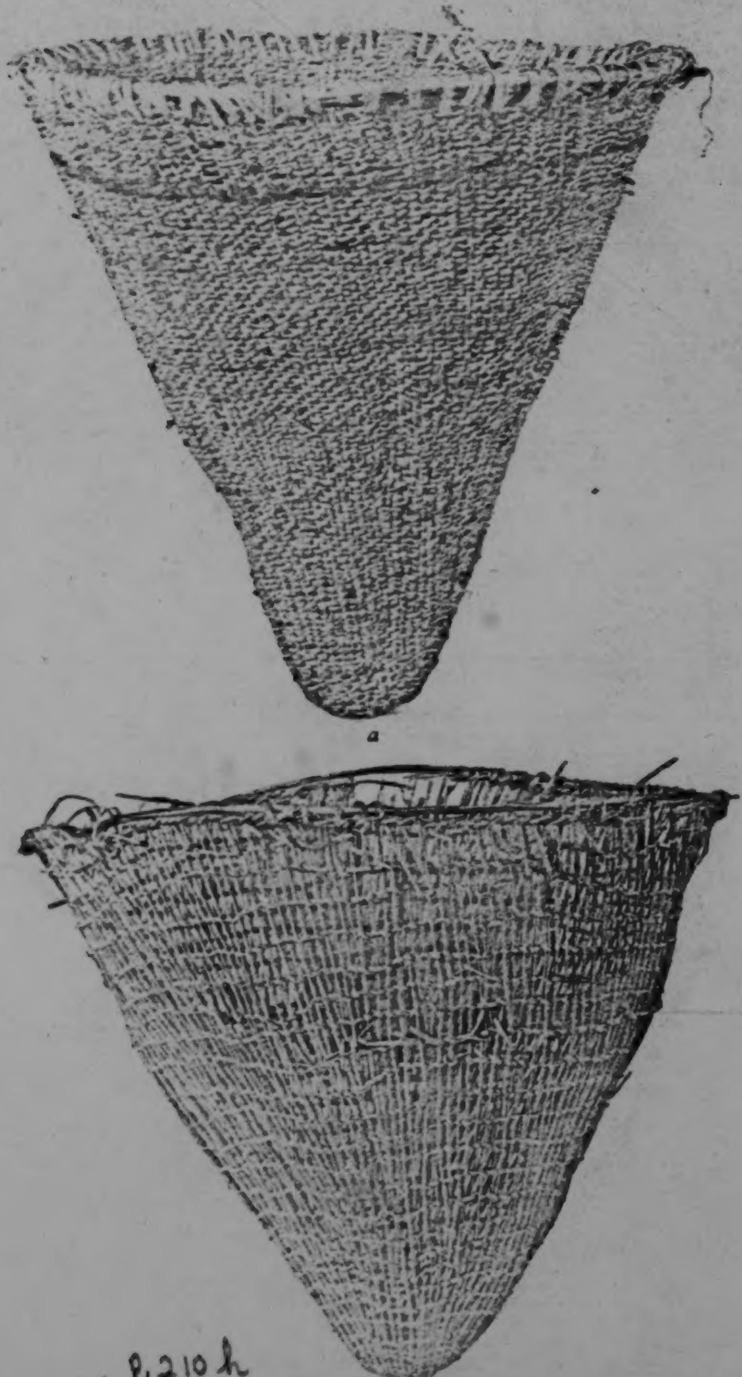

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p. 210 h

CONICAL BURDEN BASKETS

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 25

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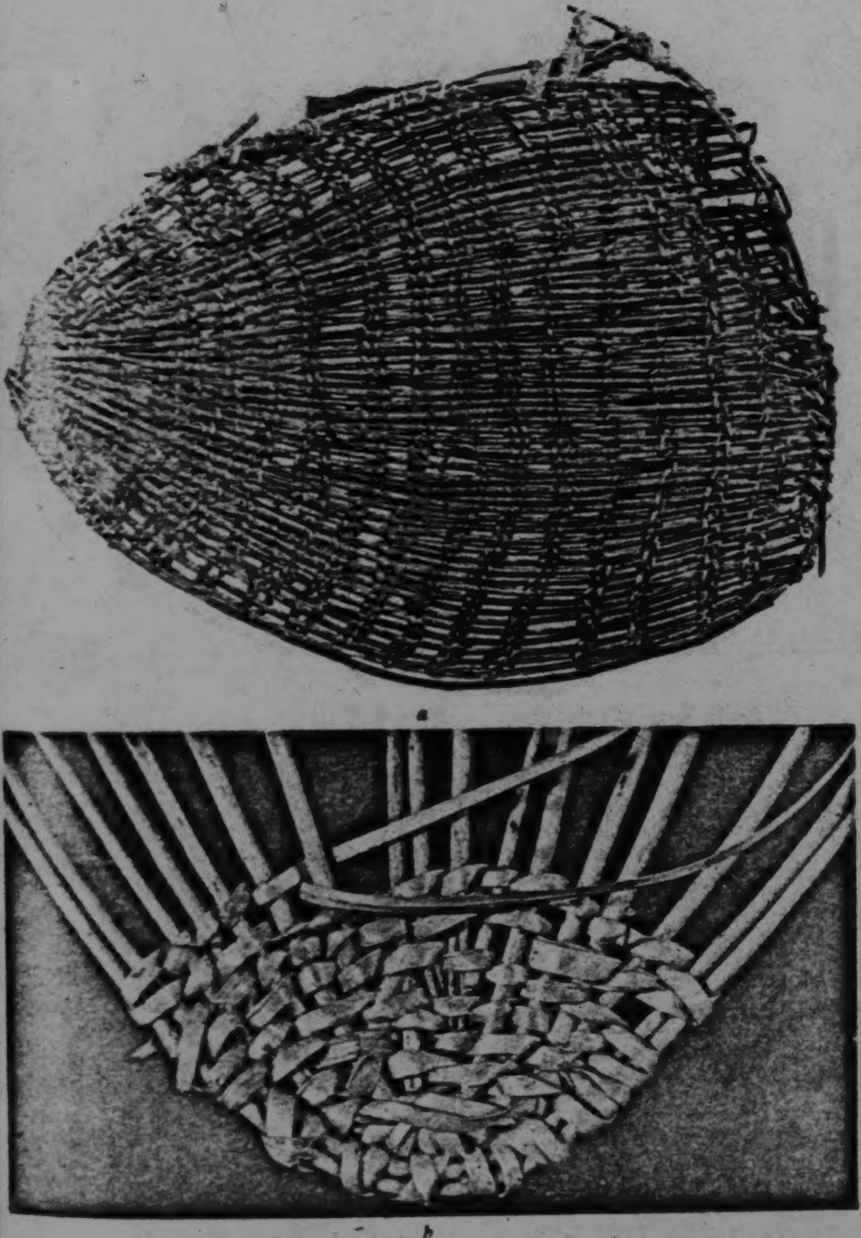

GRATING TRAY; START OF PARCHING TRAY

p. 210 i

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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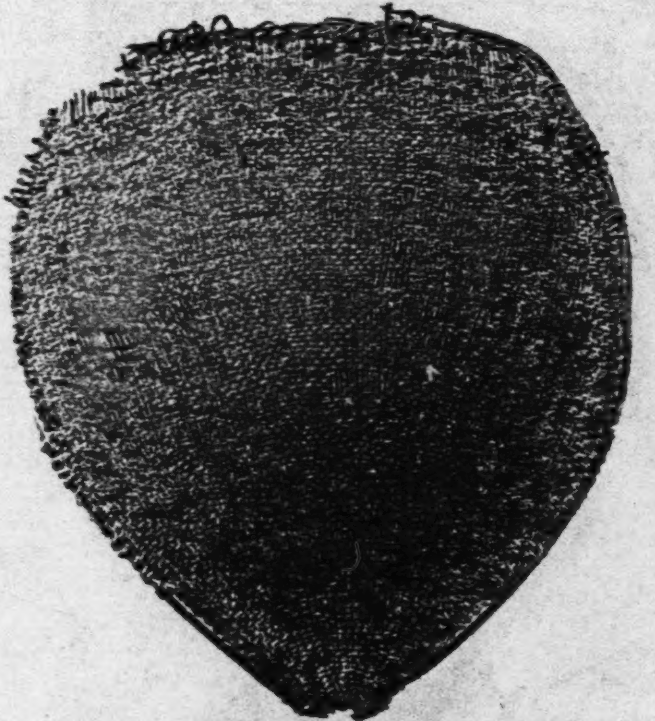

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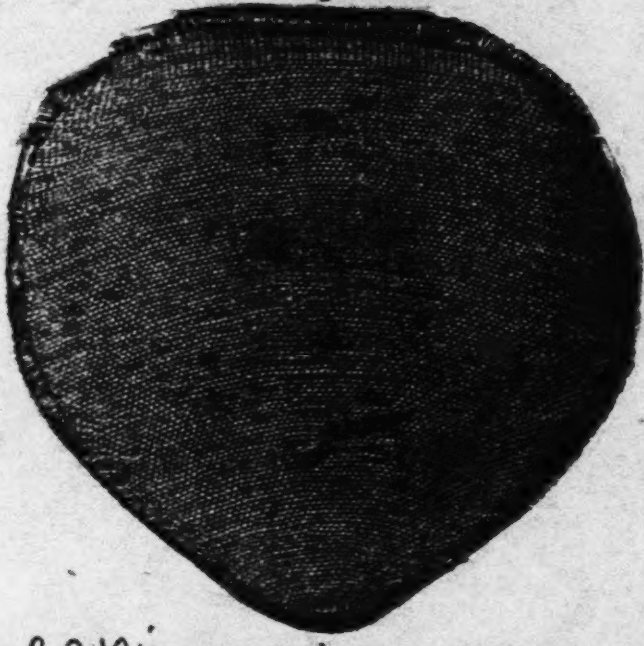

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1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
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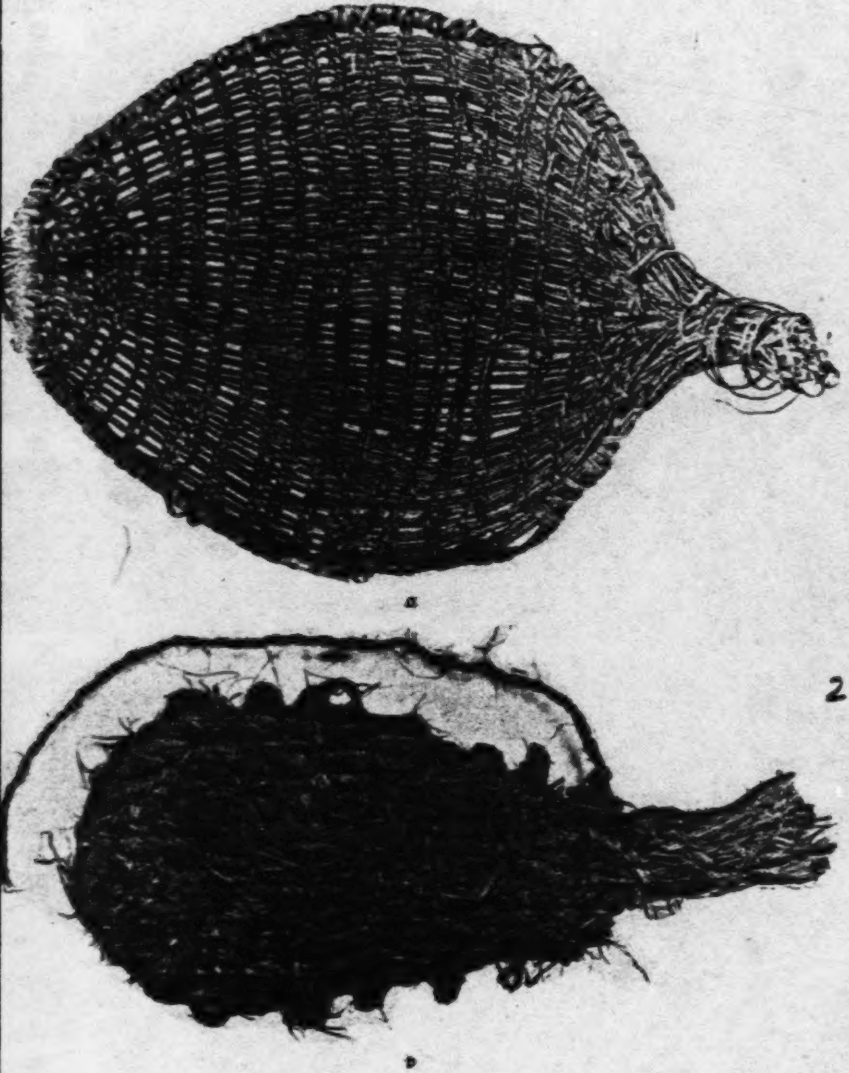

SEED BEATER; SAGEBRUSH BARK MOCCASIN

p 210 k

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 25

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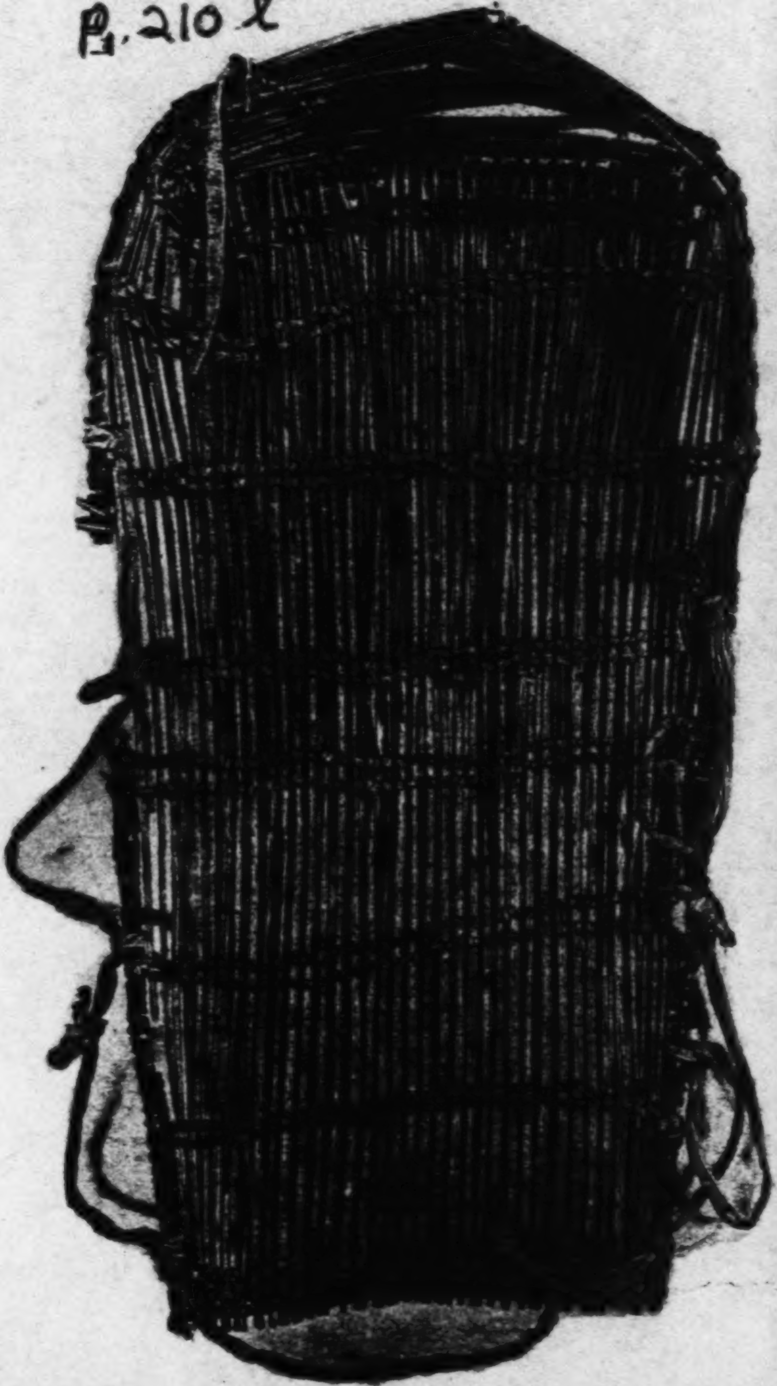
Pl. 210 l



I; Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 29

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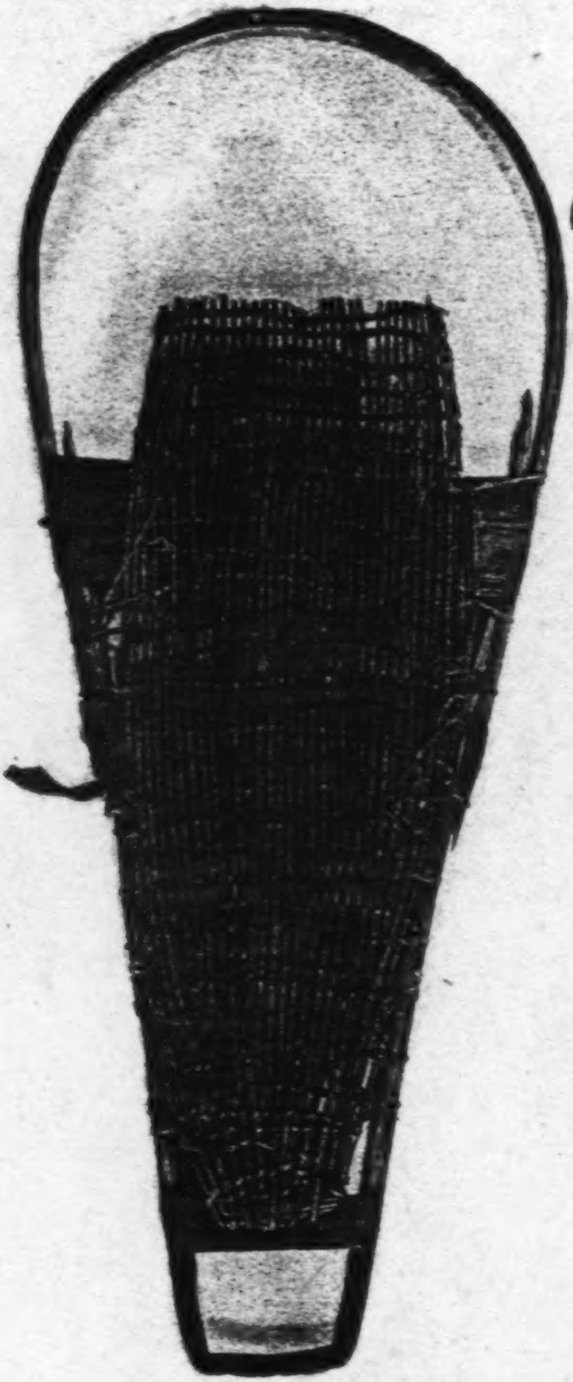

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1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

p 210 m

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 30

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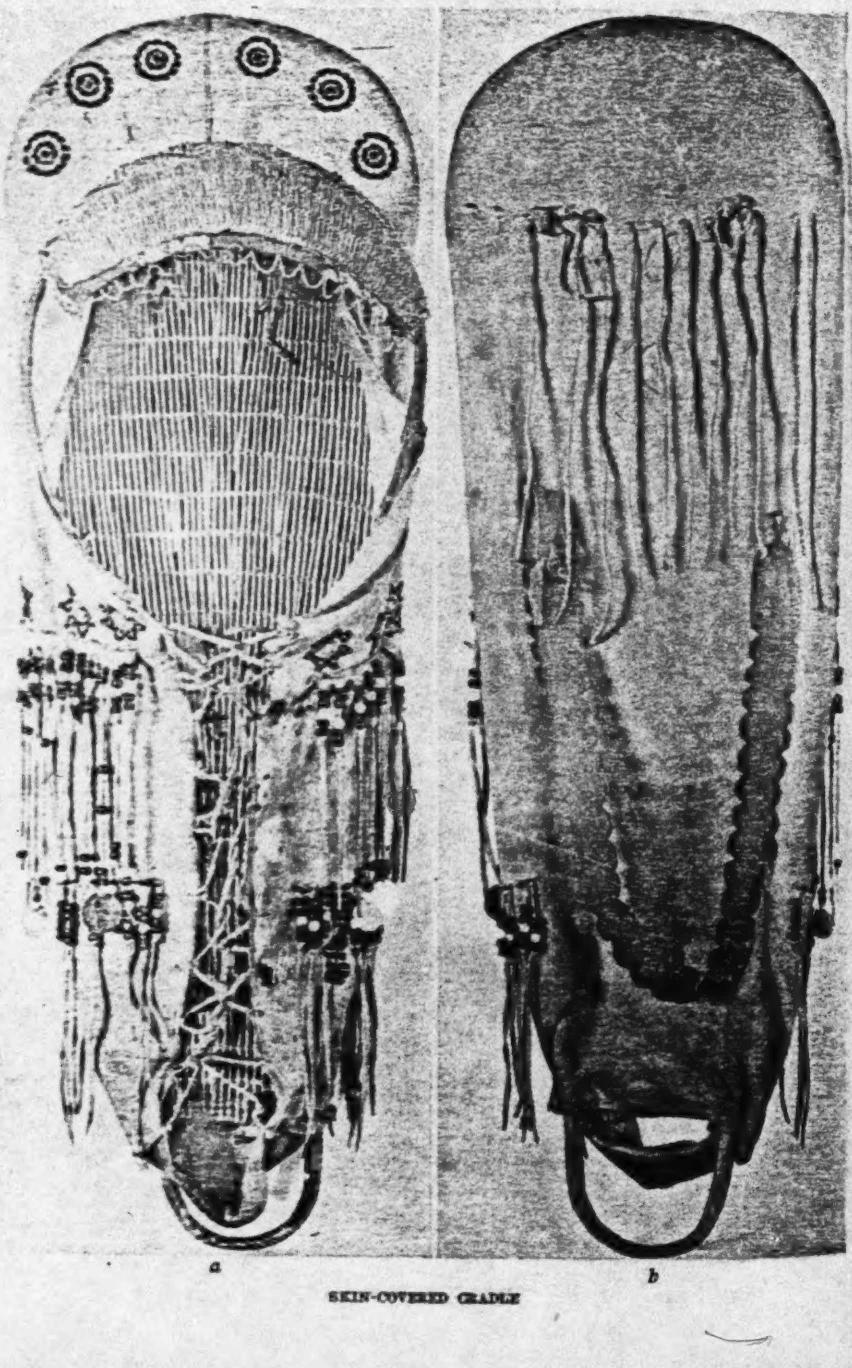

a b

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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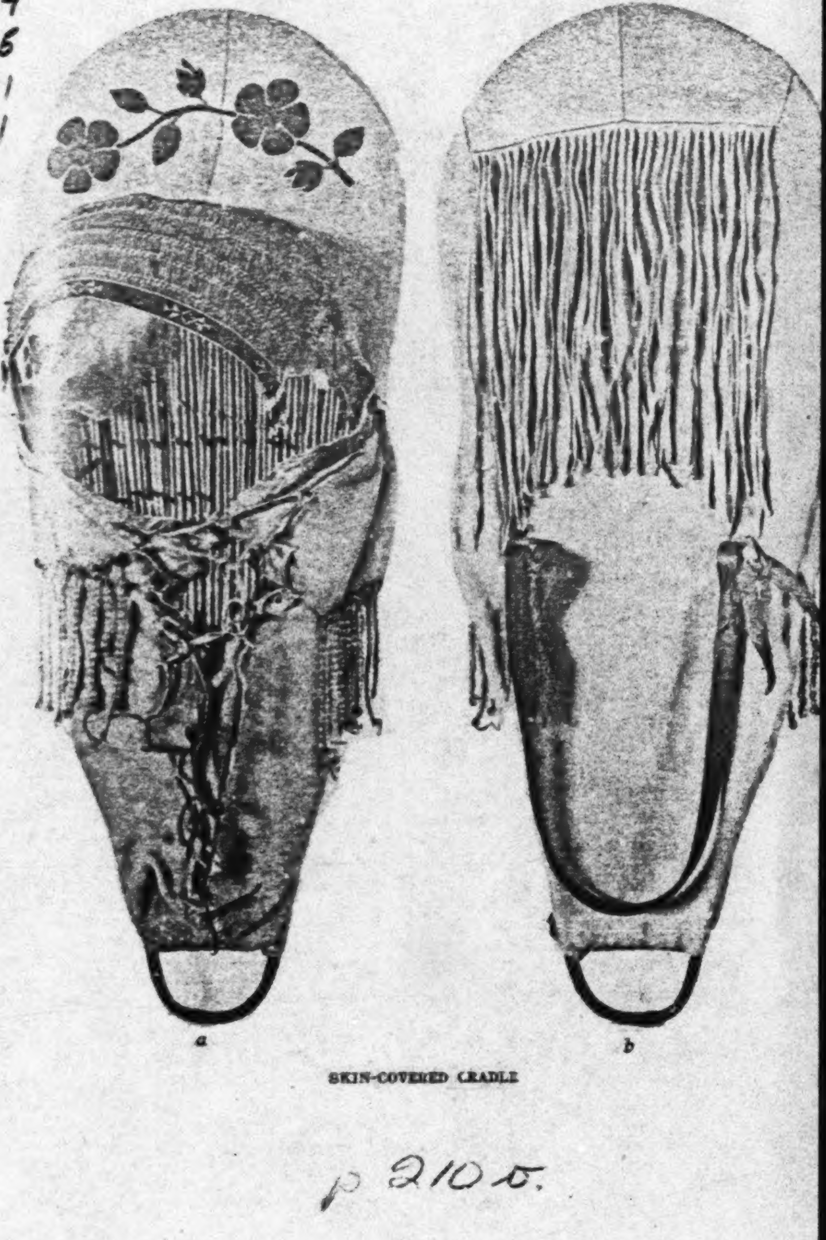

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

p 210 v.

INDUSTRIES.

000 *Stone Technique.* On the stone work of the Plateau Shoshoneans the following statement by Powell merits being rescued from its recondite source:—

> The obsidian or other stone of which the implement is to be made is first selected by breaking up larger masses of the rock and choosing those which exhibit the fracture desired and which are free of flaws; then these pieces are baked or steamed, perhaps I might say annealed, by placing them in damp earth covered with a brisk fire for twenty-four hours, then with sharp blows they are still further broken into flakes approximating the shape and size desired. For the more complete fashioning of the implement a tool of horn, usually of the mountain sheep, but sometimes of the deer or antelope, is used. The flake of stone is held in one hand, placed on a little cushion made of untanned skin of some animal, to protect the hand from the flakes which are to be chipped off, and with a sudden pressure of the bone-tool the proper shape is given. They acquire great skill in this, and the art seems to be confined to but few persons, who manufacture them and exchange them for other articles.[1]

Pottery. There were significant differences among the Plateau Shoshoneans with regard to their knowledge of ceramic processes. Early travelers speak with tantalizing vagueness of earthen jars among the Lemhi and their neighbors, stone-boiling being also reported.[2] On the 323 285 252 other hand, Wind River Shoshoni informants only mentioned man-made soapstone pots and the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake very definitely denied having ever made pots, saying that baskets were used for boiling food and pitched basketry bottles for storing and carrying water. However, Sarah Winnemucca notes the modeling in mud indulged in by children, who made herds of animals and then shot at them with bow and arrow.[3] The Paiute cooked in earthen kettles (*pambö'nᵃ*) made of hard clay (*widsᵃ*). According to one hardly convincing Moapa statement these used to be made by a *man* specializing in the art for the rest of his people. This is indeed contradicted by the Shivwits, who say their "mud buckets" (*pambö'ni*) were made by women, as we should expect. It proved impossible to have a pot made, but a brief description was given. The clay used was of a yellow color but became brownish-black on firing. Only two localities were believed to yield suitable material, one near the Colorado River and the other to the south of the Reservation on a mountain over which the Shivwits originally roamed, near the boundary line of Utah and Arizona. The coiled technique was employed and a piece of turtle shell served to smooth the vessels within and outside. They were pointed at the bottom so that they could be stuck into the

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[1] Powell 27-28.
[2] Lowie, 177, 1[illegible].
[3] Hopkins, 57.

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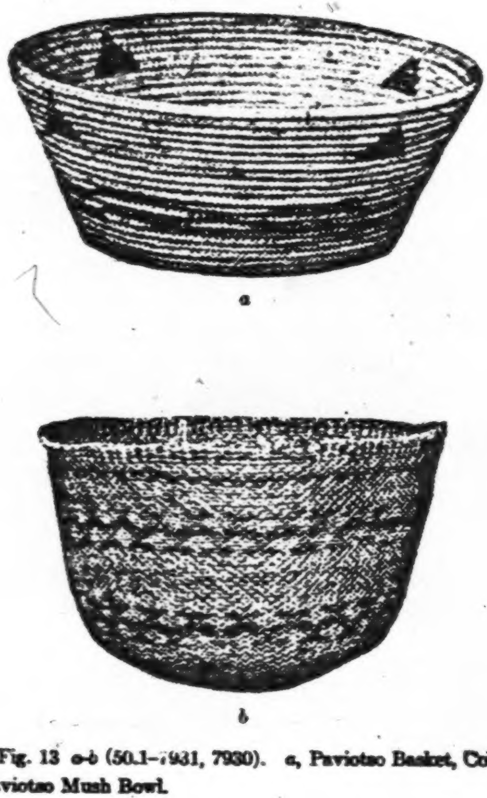

Fig. 13 a-b (50.1-7931, 7930). a, Paviotso Basket, Coiled; b, Paviotso Mush Bowl.

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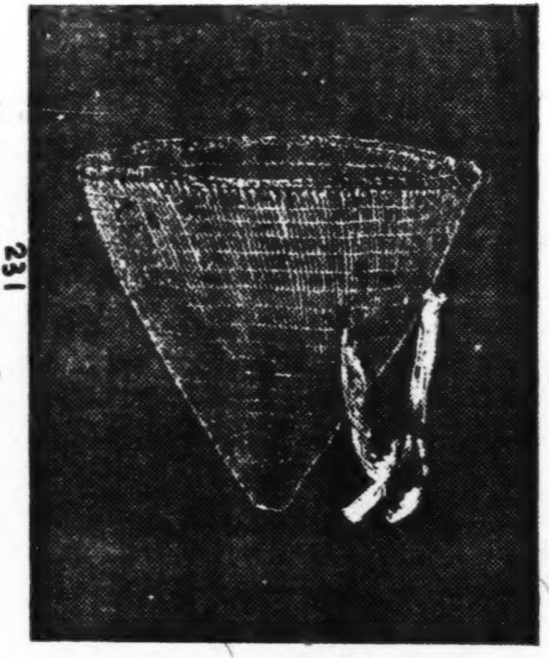

Fig. 14 (50.1–7926). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Openwork.

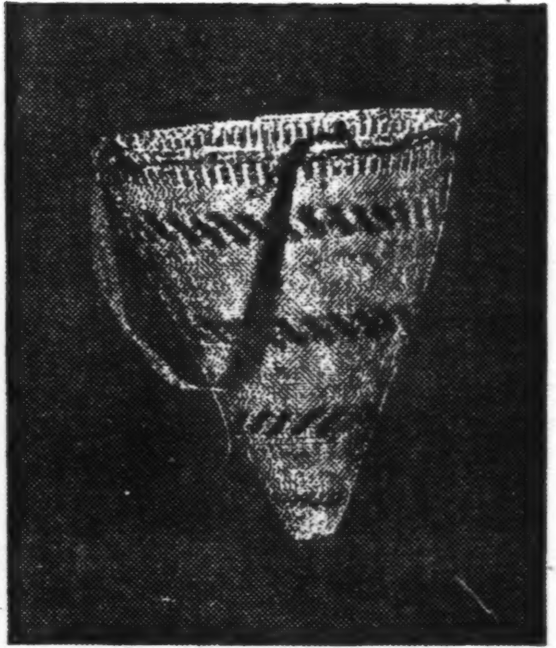

Fig. 15 (50.1–7924). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
[237] maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-
[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cŏ'dzitȧ* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1-7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1-7932) the opening
[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
285 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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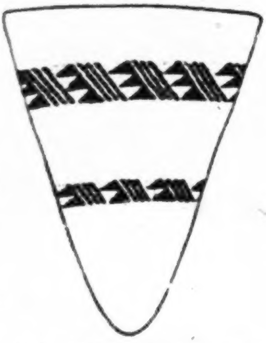
[1] Mason, (b), 480 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

•285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun**, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tü'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawúl'nō*ᵒ. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.



[531] →

[412] →

Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamō''nō, ya'lá*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

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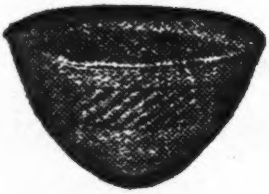

Fig. 17.

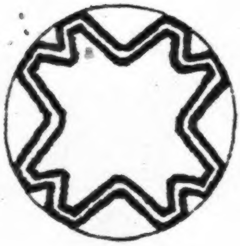

Fig. 18.

• [285] ←

a Fig. 19. b

Fig. 17 (50.1–8588). Basketry Hat, Moapa.
Fig. 18 (50.1–8629). Decoration of Moapa Basketry Bowl.
Fig. 19 *a*–*b* (50.1–7922, 8643). *a*, Paviotso Twined Tray; *b*, Shivwits Tray, Twined.

[P. 236 is blank]

285 sperical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion; though the point of the cone is somewhat rounded, the vessel cannot stand. There are two lugs of twine and hair, connected by a modern band. The remaining bottles stand without difficulty, all having a flat bottom, which in two cases is dented in the center.

171 285 The Paiute share most of the forms of the Paviotso, but on the basis of the available material they seem to have a greater variety, especially in the coiled technique. To what extent there may be local differences, it is impossible to determine from the collection, which includes only a few Shivwits specimens. Of these a large conical gathering-basket does not seem to call for special comment and an openwork twined tray differs from a Moapa equivalent mainly through its broader, less ellipsoidal form. A very coarse but not open-twined tray (Fig. 19b), and even more so a shallow coiled bowl present a distinctive appearance. The Shivwits, like the Pima,[1] use the pods of the devil's-claw for black splints in making designs.

000 Turning to the Moapa pieces, which constitute the bulk of the Moapa collection, we find among the water-containers one striking difference from those of the Paviotso in that two of them, both jar-shaped, are coiled (Fig. 21). They are flat-bottomed and retain part of the pitch used to render them water-tight; the lugs and carrying-rope are shown in the illustration. This type is shown by Mason[2] and from his statement it appears that Powell collected many specimens of somewhat varying shape but in the same technique from the Utah Paiute, i.e., from the Shivwits and Kaibab. [171] The twined bottles include a flat-bottomed specimen recalling the Paviotso pattern and several pear-shaped pieces (Fig. 20c) rather more bi-conical than the Paviotso equivalent. The larger jugs are called *ōts*; the smaller, *o'tsdíts*.

171 285 291 Three hats (*qaítsoqot, qaítsogots*) conforming to the same shape (Fig. 17) are all twined like those of the Paviotso. A single Bannock specimen is likewise in this technique. This fact is significant because it aligns the Shoshoneans with the northern rather than the southern Californians.

000 The gathering-baskets (*ăīis*), which vary considerably in size, are all twined and fall into two main categories according to whether the twining is close or open. Fig. 22 shows perhaps the best sample of the latter variety. As in several other cases, the inside of the lugs supporting the carrying-band or strap is reënforced with splints or wrapped little sticks. The torsion of the warp strands noted by Mason in a Utah Paiute

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[1] Russell, 133.

[2] Mason, (b), Plates 32, 117; 350, 361, 480, 496.

000 gathering-basket[1] is noticeable in a number of my specimens also. Its shape is not duplicated in my Moapa collection, in which all pieces but one are conical and even the aberrant form may be conceived as a rounded cone, but a basket bought from the Lemhi Shoshoni closely approximates it. The close-plaited Moapa (specimens 50.1-8616, 8618) [285] [531] [171] gathering baskets are also conical; they exhibit various ornamental patterns. The large Utah Paiute specimen figured by Mason[2] is decorated with a motive practically identical with that on a Paviotso basket (Fig. 16).

A twined basket of unique form is shown in Fig. 23. The ornamentation, which is in two zones, is visible on the inside, but the patterns are externally stressed by a black coating.

[285] [171] The pointed open-twined tray (*yant*^{u}) of Paviotso shape also occurs in Moapa, but there is also a markedly less peaked specimen (specimen 50.1-8592), while another is definitely elliptical (specimen 50.1-8594). The close-plaited trays are likewise of more varied shape than those of the Paviotso: representative forms are specimens 50.1-8575, 50.1-8597, 50.1-8577, 50.1-8599. One name applied to these trays at Shem is *ta'qwū''yo, ta'qwāī'ō*, the Moapa term being ^{ta}'*qôy*^{u}.

Though I did not buy any Paiute seed-beaters, their occurrence is attested by a pair from southern Utah figured by Mason.[3]

The coiled baskets from Moapa are for the most part flat-bottomed. By far the most common shape is the bowl, which varies considerably in size. *Qo'tsits* is the term applied to a coiled bowl, said to have been water-tight and used for a plate, but *tsītsowats* was also noted. The largest suggests a laundry-basket, being provided with lugs. More characteristic samples, also noteworthy for their ornamentation, are seen in Figs. 24, 26. Practically all the basketry-bowls have some decorative motive, as shown in Fig. 18, though in some cases it dwindles into insignificance. In a number of specimens the shape is not distinctively that of a bowl but assumes rather ellipsoidal outlines. A very neatly worked little basket, recurved at the top and markedly truncate at the bottom is shown in Fig. 29b, and a large basket with a lid quite distinct from all the rest is seen in Fig. 25.

At Moapa I unfortunately did not secure any sandals, but a pair made to order by a Shivwits (Fig. 5a) is of considerable interest, both because quite different from the tule, equivalents of the Paviotso and because strongly suggestive of the cross-woven Basket-Maker sandals described by Kidder and Guernsey.[4]

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[1] Mason, (b), 493.
[2] Mason, (b), 494.
[3] Mason, (b), 492.
[4] Kidder and Guernsey, 158, Pl. 67.

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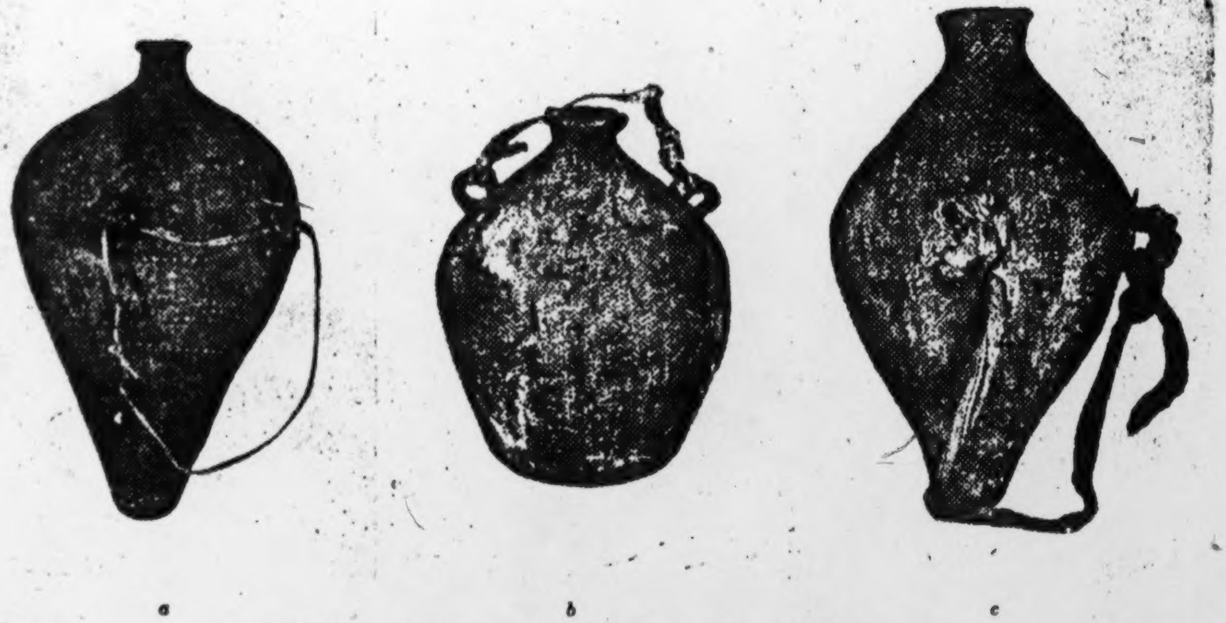

Fig. 20 a-c (50.1-7916, 7905, 8606) Basketry Bottles. *a*, *b*, Paviotso, Twined; *c*, Moapa.

000 type: a hoop encloses a series of *transverse* willow sticks gradually shortened toward the bottom and united by three strings passing through perforations near the extremities and center of each. The general shape is thus similar to that of the board cradle, while the arrangement of sticks recalls the Plains Indian backrests. A specimen from the Lenders collection (50.1–885) conforms to the usual basket-work type in which *vertical* rods are held together by a basketry technique (see below). A Ute variant of this order from southern Utah is described and illustrated by Mason.[1] Compared with Paviotso and Paiute equivalents to be noticed presently its most distinctive feature is the use underneath of an ellipsoidal hoop that bulges beyond the frame laterally, but does not enclose it vertically: the sticks project beyond it both above and below. The rods are united by twining, there is an awning, and the white buckskin cover encloses the entire frame, rods as well as hoop.

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The Paviotso use a diminutive cradle (*sa'kï'hubə*) with rounded hood at the top during the first month of the infant's life (50.1–7963); the basketry technique is that of simple openwork twining. In general shape this specimen is not unlike one of the two Shasta cradles illustrated by Dixon.[2] It is carried in the arms. Later a second cradle (*hūbb'*) is made, which remains in use until the child is able to walk. The Museum has three specimens of definitely known provenance,—two uncovered and one, lacking the awning, covered with buckskin. Four covered pieces catalogued as "Paiute" (50.1–2110, 50.1–4026, 50.1–4025, 50.1–5991) may, however, with great assurance be ascribed to the Paviotso, making seven full-sized specimens in all.

In both covered and uncovered cradles the greater part of the structure consists of parallel rods united by openwork twining, and the awning is likewise of uniform pattern to be described below. The main difference is in the framing, which leads to a difference in the outer shape of the two variants. In the uncovered variety, represented by a Pyramid Lake specimen (50.1–7912), the two framing rods, which are united to each other by wrapping, are on all sides parallel to the framed rods, which they closely adjoin, so that there results a compact quadrilateral narrower at the bottom than at the top. The covered pieces may be represented by the Pyramid Lake cradle shown in Fig. 34b, where the frame consists of two looped sticks applied from top and bottom respectively, so that the total appearance of the cradle suggests the Nez Percé pattern or that of the Ute, if rounded off below. The skin covering extends

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[1] Mason, (a), 527.
[2] Dixon, (b), 434.

854 over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the
171 average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper
285 loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks. The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120
854 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the
285 sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Museum
531 specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belonging
171 to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's "Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso, has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.[1]

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.[2]

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.[3]

000 Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

854 The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso
171 type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of
285 the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,[4]

Text Continued on Page 257

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[1] Mason, (a), 528.
[2] Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.
[3] Dixon, (a), 200.
[4] Mason, (a), 530-534.

000 that is to say, it is an arch secured to the sides of the frame. In structure, however, this arch differs from those figured by Mason, since it consists of a considerable number of thin-bowed rods united in pairs by twining, which is done in such a way as to produce a decorative pattern of approximately V-shaped elements.

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285 The Shivwits cradle (Fig. 33a) is double-bowed like the covered Paviotso type. In place of the compound arch of the Moapa cradle there is a single bent stick connecting the two sides. From near the top, the flat frame formed by the twined rods, there rises the twined basket-work awning, which gradually expands from a width of 2½ inches to 6 inches and is secured to the center of the arch. Compared with the Paviotso awning, which it resembles in general position, the Shivwits awning differs in being longer, narrower, undecorated, and almost flat instead of definitely vaulted; its support consists of a single rod where the Paviotso cradle usually has six and is more or less vertical to the plane of cradle frame instead of forming an obtuse angle with it.

GAMES.

009 In his monograph Stewart Culin has given rather careful consideration to Shoshonean games and I here merely offer personal notes and observations.

Among the Moapa Paiute the cup-and-ball game (*tŏ'dsip*ⁱ or *tŏ+dsinimp*ⁱ) is popular in a definite form, a cottontail skull being caught on a *pasts* stalk originally connected with it by means of *wu'tsi* string. A model was obtained (Fig. 35). Each of the tooth cavities counts 6, the holes on the side 10, any other hole 1, the front teeth 6, while catching the minute hole on the inside of each row of tooth cavities at once wins the game regardless of the score, being equivalent to countless points. It is said that a person who loses this game gets bald-headed.

The Shivwits use the bull-roarer (*nánimŭt*), but only as a children's toy, as which it was instituted by the mythical character Wolf. A father would make one for his children to play with. Fig. 36 represents a model.

A figure by Powell indicates the playing of the hand-game by his Paiute.[1]

The Ute of Ignacio thus described their manner of playing the hand-game (*naiuu'k· apârau*). All the players at any one time are of the same sex but both men and women play the game. Formerly the caches consisted of two elk teeth tied together, and each player had two. If the

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[1] Powell, Fig. 4, facing p. 128.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
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A
#11

	To	K1	K2	Hh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1024. Rawhide	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1025. Wooden rim	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1026. Feathers attached	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1027. Armor	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1028. Club, stone headed (tökuinamu)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1028a. Stone in buckskin on end of thong	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1029. Plain rabbit club only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1031. Sling (takui'wu'ungö) as toy (cf. 1868a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1031a. For war and hunt also	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
285
[1462]

BASKETRY

	To	K1	K2	Hh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1032. Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1032a. Fish traps made by men	·	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Materials

	To	K1	K2	Hh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1033. Willow for coil foundation (tötsie'kma)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1034. Willow for twine foundation (tötsie'kwina)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Coil and twine weft of willow sapwood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035a. Tule	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1039. Inner willow bark brown	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1039a. Fern roots for dark brown	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1040. Pussywillow black	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1040a. Material buried to dye	·	·	·	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1041. Red feather quills	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1042. Yellow feather quills	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1043. Strands scraped through hole in can	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
1044. Applied decoration: black paint	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1045. Red paint	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
1046. Yellow paint	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

Basket Weaving

	To	K1	K2	Hh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1048b. Wicker	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1049. Coiling	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1051. 1 rod	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1052. 2 rods.	−	+	−	+	−	−		−	−	+	+	−	+	−
1053. 3 rods	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1054. 2 large, 1 small rod	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1055. 4 rods	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1056. Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1057. Counterclockwise	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1057a. Split stitch	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1058. Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1059. Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1060. Diagonal twine	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1061. 3-strand	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1064. Bead decoration, aboriginal	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1064a. Modern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1066. Feathers woven in	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

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285
#15

Basket Forms

	To	K1	K2	Hh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1067. Twined seed beater (tsiku)														
1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	W2	Ki	AE
1071. Twined winnowing basket (timsban)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (pata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (tsamo or tôma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a. Angular tray (tamo)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1080. Twined	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1082. Conical carrying basket (karus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091. Fishing trap (ayakui)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a. Bipointed, opening on side	[illegible]	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. Men made	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kötsmenö)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1096. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1098a. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1100. Pointed bottom	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1102. Pitch on outside	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1105. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
1106. Handle: horsehair	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1108a. Willow	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1114. Food bowl (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115. Coiled	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1117. Pitch coated	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled	[illegible]	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1119. Ladle (tüsobasa)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1129. Lids modern	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (maro'o)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1133. Of twined tule	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1134. Mat (söno)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1182. Net (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1185a. Tule		-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1195. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BURDENS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kötsomnyu)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1240. Bag (maro nokwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kuruu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tsa kihopé)														
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1256. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

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283

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achumawi NS5

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291

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Tt	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Hair Dressing														
1366. Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367. Grass bundle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1368. Rye-grass-root bundle (mai'awa)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1369. Rabbit-brush bundle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1370. Men's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1371. Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372. Bangs loose	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1373. Coiled on head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1374. Tied up on head	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1375. Bangs	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1376. Front lock sticks up	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1377. Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379. Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379a. Sea-otter (pasuga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381. Women's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382. Bangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1383. Tucked under basket hat	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1384. Tied back of neck	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1385. Middle hair part	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1386. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387. 1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388. Bangs	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1389. Tied on top of head	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1390. Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1390a. Bone tubes	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Red paint	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1392. Red paint in part	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1393. Marrow	−	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1394. Mud against lice	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
1395. Braids fur wrapped	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396. Washing: with plain water	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1397. With white clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1398. Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400. Depilation: of beard	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401. Of eyebrows	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1402. Of pubic hair	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1403. With stone flake	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	+
1404. With fingernails	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1405a. Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1405b. Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Headgear														
1406. Woman's basketry hat	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408a. Men's bark hat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. Men's fur cap	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411. Fawnskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412. Antelopeskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1415. Muskratskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416. Beaverskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416a. Badgerskin	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417. Wildcatskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418. Coyoteskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1420. With quail tufts	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1421. With other feathers	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
1422. With horns	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1423. Hair net	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

[p.392]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
413
[172]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).

1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).

1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).

1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).

1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N
415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).

1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.

1017. Ki: - (BA).

1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W
[415]

1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N
411
[172]
W
[411]
A
[411]

1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).

1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tökuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

N
[251]

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N
285

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. To: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N
[172
177]

1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

N
[172]

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

N
[432]

[p.433(N)]

N 285 [488] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes). W [285]

1039a. K2: DM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use. W [285]

1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker. N [174E]

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120). N [177 172]

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Kl: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

[p.433(R)]

N 235 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [285] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

N [172]

Basket Forms

N 235 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idiwa, kawono.

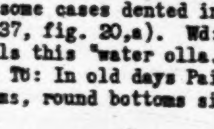
N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868.) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.



Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.434(W)]

285 411 1103. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 273). Wd: - (BJ).

1114. Paviotso: Mush bowl (Lowie, 233-234, fig. 13,b).

1115. When baskets of one type were made by both coiled and twined technique the generic name was used for both, except when they were distinguished by adding adjectival words "tŏtsic'kwa," meaning coiled, or "tŏwic'kwina," meaning twined.

1117. Kl, 2: Field Museum has two pitch-coated coiled food bowls from Pyramid Lake (Steward, 271).

1118. Tg, Wd: Boiling basket pitched on outside then placed in hole so it would not fall over.

1119. Ki: + (Kelly, 123).

1120. See note 1115.

1121. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

WEAVING

Skin Blankets

286 [172] 1140a, 1141a, 1142a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50, 51).

1144. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 228). Steward, 270, describes this type for Death Valley Shoshoni.

1144a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270).

1145. Ki: Kelly, 137, confirms use of vertical loom.

Feather Blankets

[287] 1156, 1160. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50).

1157. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270). Ki: - (Kelly, 136).

Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

1165. Paviotso: "For babies, blankets of sagebrush were made" (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1168a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 56).

Nets

1180, 1180a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 85).

Cordage

288 1184a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pls. 36,h, 73).

1185a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73, pls. 35, 73). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1186-1190. Paviotso: "Used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (toibi) to make rope." "My interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends" (Lowie, 233).

[172] 1189. Lovelock Cave: Rope (tule bark) found in cave had a right or clockwise twist, whereas

[p.434(B)]

N
302 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground piñon nuts.

1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

Headgear

N
291

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). Tö: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering piñon nuts.

N
● [285
171]

1408a. Tö: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Küpa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)

1416a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: - (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on caps).

1426. Tö: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N
[284]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W
A
[291]

1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). K2: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. Kü: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. Tö: The Tövusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W
[291]

1461. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[291]

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[p.436(A)]

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

MATERIAL CULTURE

THE material culture of the Harney Valley Paiute is similar to that of the Surprise 105 Valley Paiute. In the following description emphasis has been placed on those artifacts which are different either in manufacture or use to those described by Isabel Kelly (University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Volume 31, No. 3), pp. 67-210.

HOUSES

1. Tule Mat House. Most usual type of winter house in the memory of old in- 342 formants.

Frame. Four willow, poplar or young pine poles about 15-20 feet long were lashed together with a deer-skin thong or sagebrush twine. The poles varied in the amount that they extended beyond the lashing but probably averaged about one foot. They were spread out in a circle about ten to twelve feet in diameter and sunk in the ground about four to six inches. The two main poles at the front were close together and formed the door. Additional poles, usually eight, were leaned between the main poles—two in each space, and sunk about two inches in the ground. Two horizontal willows were lashed around the outside of the poles (one informant claimed they were lashed on the inside), one about four feet from the ground and the other about eight feet. It usually took two willows to extend around the circumference. (One informant stated three rows of horizontal willows were used.) The men cut the poles and the women helped drag them to the camp site.

Covering. The frame was covered with tule mats. The mats were about five feet 285 high and varied from four to six feet in length. Four or five sections went around the 342 base. The mats were made by sewing the tule together with a rye grass or sagebrush bark thread and a willow, greasewood or thorn bush needle. A willow stick was attached at each end of the mat; a hole was made in the top of one willow and the thread was knotted, and then the mats were sewn across back and forth about every six inches, and the thread looped around the willows at each side. At the bottom, the tule was bent under and held in place by two rows of twining. (Some informants stated there were also two rows of twining at the top.) The mats were attached at each end to one of the poles and tied to the horizontal willows about a foot from the top in order to make an overlap of three to eight inches. The sections of mats were connected by tying the end willows together. The top mat was not lashed to the frame but to two additional poles, consequently it was adjustable and the smoke hole could be completely closed. One informant stated that this was a relatively recent innovation and that in the old days the smoke hole was not adjustable. Extra layers of mats were sometimes added in cold weather. The

[p. 92 is blank]

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior.* The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows [354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some [251] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] 2. *Grass House.* The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. *Bark House* (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. *Cave House.* Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. *Cloth House.* The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. *Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks.* These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[342 841] 7. *Shades.* These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. *Winter Menstrual Hut.* This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[342] 9. *Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343 844 10. *Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

EAR PIERCING

The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe 304
hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix.

BLANKETS

1. *Rabbit skin blankets.* The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then 281
tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off.

Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders. [291]

2. *Other Blankets.* Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

SKIN DRESSING

Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers re- [412]
ported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire.

BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

1. *Baskets.* Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar 415
in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. 285 ●
They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a [412]
parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

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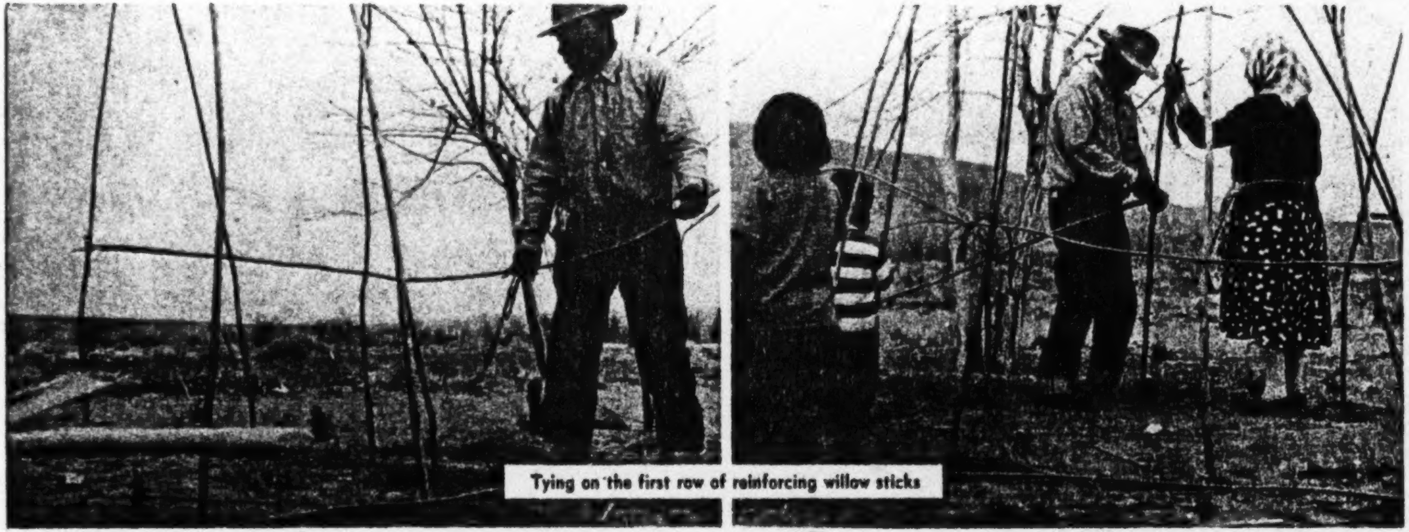
10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Tying on the first row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End plate 7A]

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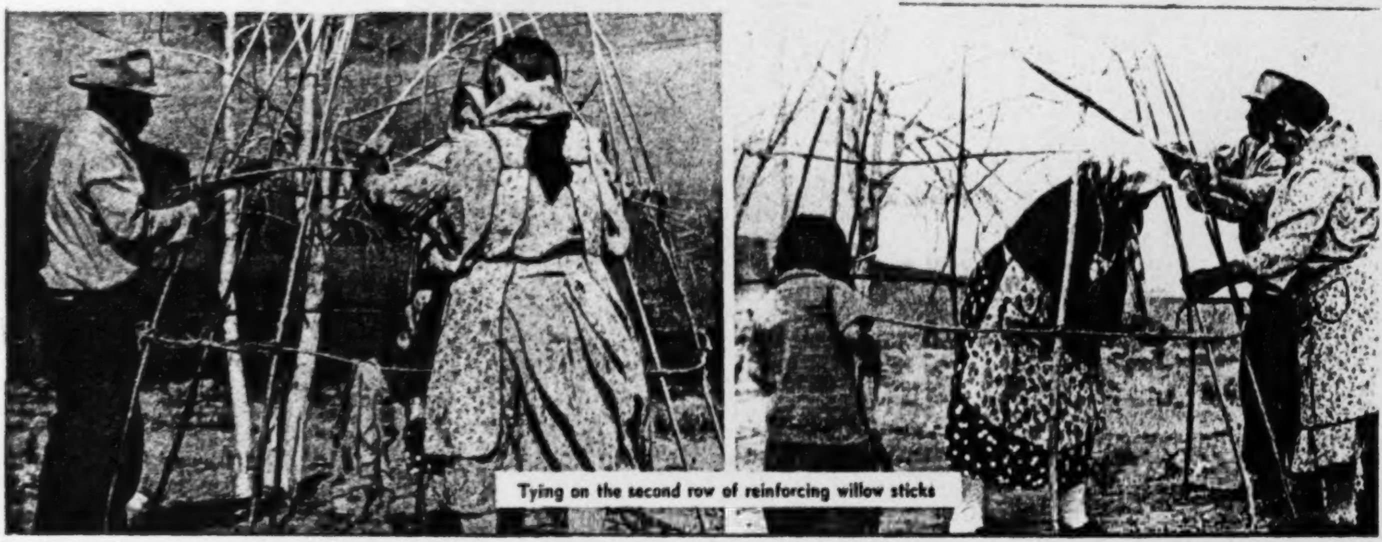
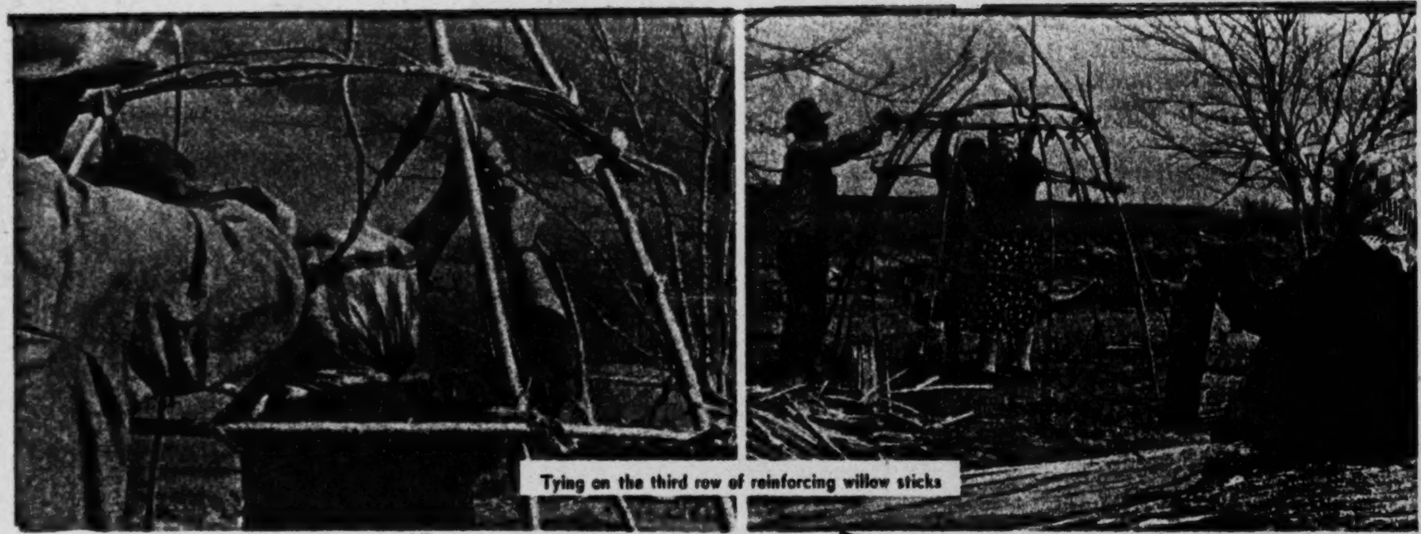


Tying on the second row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 7B]



Tying on the third row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 8A]

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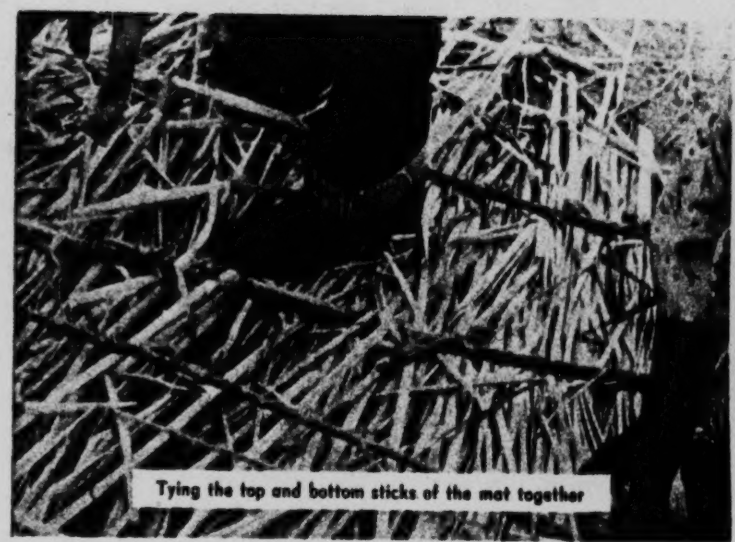
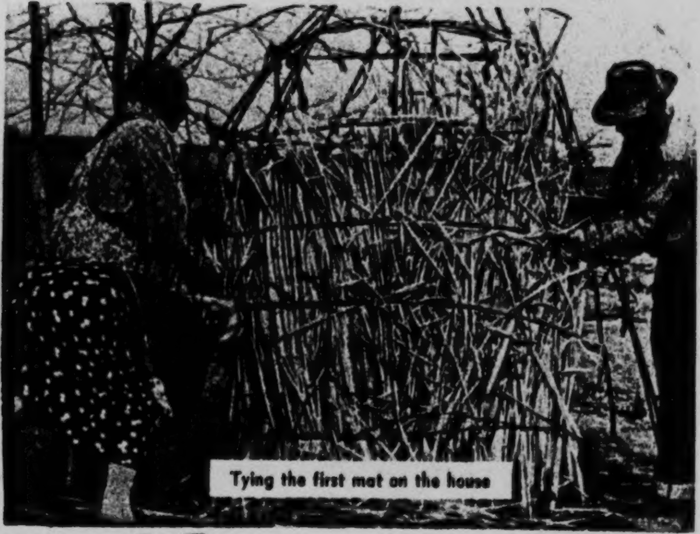


Tying the top and bottom sticks of the mat together



Tying the first mat on the house

[End Plate 9A]

13: Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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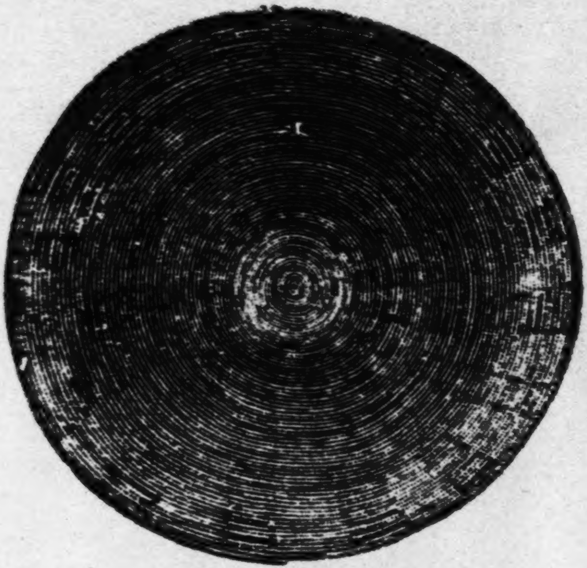

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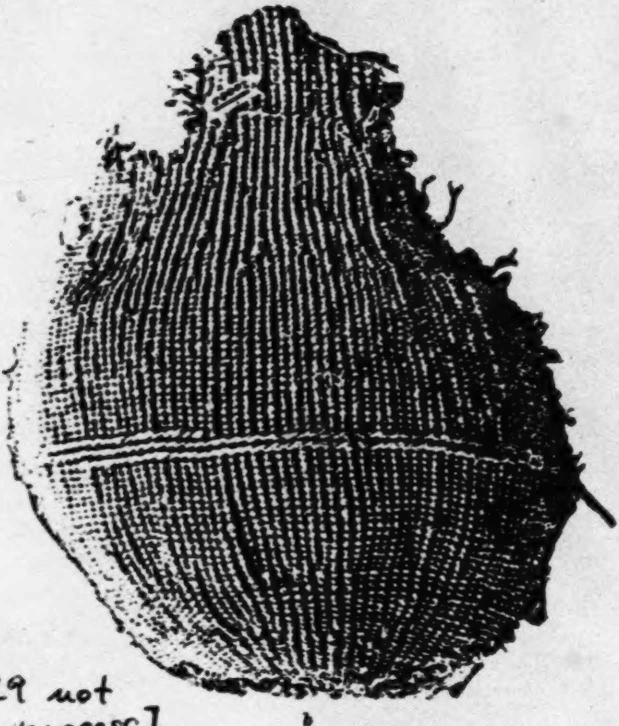


b

COILED AND TWINED BASKETS

[Plate 30]
[Plates 2 - 29 not
process.]

-824 [285] sabI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to sa in composition; for example sa-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-epi.

[261] sikupi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suna, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] [262] [226] taEpi. greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (ohetetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tis'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, taima, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwehobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

Gathering seeds.—By October various seeds were ripe. The seeds 222 of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, were especially mentioned, also the seeds from the cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The fine down to which the cat-tail seeds are attached is spread upon the hard ground of a playa to the depth of 1 or 2 inches and over a space of 5 to 10 feet in diameter. It is then burned. More of the down is gradually added and continually stirred with sticks in order that it may be fully consumed. At the end of a hard day's labor there may be a sufficient quantity of seed upon the ground to fill several sacks. The method of removing the nut-like shell of these and other minute seeds is explained in discussing the various implements. It was a [262] common thing to make porridge of several seed meals mixed.

The one-leaf piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, a tree 8 to 25, or rarely 45, feet in height, is found on the range east of Carson sink at an elevation of over 1000 or 1500 feet above the valley. It formed so important [423] a source of food that different bands of Northern Paiute held proprietary rights to certain tracts. [621] Winnemucca claimed the particular mountain on which is located the mythical "Weasel trail," described later (p. 160; no. 1, pl. 68). Late in autumn the nuts were gathered and secreted in piles until opportunity presented itself for transportation.

Basketry.—The typical Northern Paiute hulling basket (tema) is 285 ● a flat triangular tray, while other tribes, as well as the cave people, 252 had circular hulling trays. A layer of seeds is placed upon such a basket, and pressure applied with a circular motion with a flat stone. This cracks the nut-like seed coverings, after which the kernel and shells are separated by winnowing. A hulling basket may be of coiled (pl. 30a)* or other weave, but it must be a tight weave, as it is used to hull small seeds. Tema baskets are also used in roasting seeds, either before or after hulling, by placing them on the basket with coals and shaking. For the hulling of pine nuts and the larger seeds a coarser basket called yata may be used.

A flat wicker tema basket, triangular in shape, 24 by 30 inches in 285 size, was found several miles north of Lovelock cave, at the base of a cliff, at an elevation of some 300 feet above the level of the plain. It is undoubtedly a Northern Paiute specimen left on the spot in recent decades. It is made of willow, there being 32 warp rods and 40 courses of woof to 10 centimeters. The woof is single, unlike that in baskets found in the cave, and passes over two warps at a time, giving the basket a superficial appearance of being of diagonal twined weave.

* [See Category 116, End Plate 30—Analyst]

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart. [531]

[314] [193] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called taida. Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material culture of the Northern Paiute. 825 For example, when Natches described the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of bear skin. [291] Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 773 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipō or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See Category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame of such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called sainovi.

285 [177] Basketry. Kitty Joaquin made various types of basketry and would copy Maidu Baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come from the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsikú, or tsaiyun. The tsikú was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munish, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called síoshà ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was covered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

[482] 352 177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakomo'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was taínope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "sling-shot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

Wadátkuht

352 177 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term mutugwish^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow splints used for the active element were piwung. The bone [413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string. Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who [824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark, [237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide). Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger [492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they [525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Josquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section. 285 ●

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasummko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

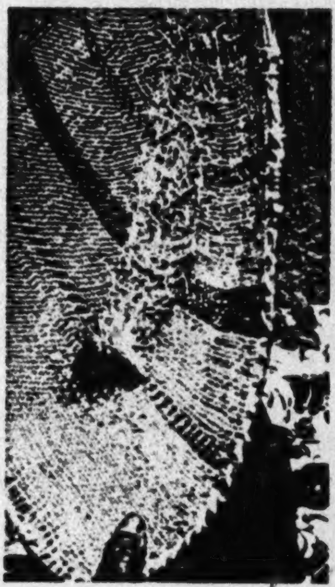
Wadatkuht

[P.91]

Plate 4

412
415
←
● 285
→

b. Metate and mano



d. Winnowing tray

516
252

a. Grinding with metate and mano

c. Winnowing meal

[End Plate 4]

Wadátkuht

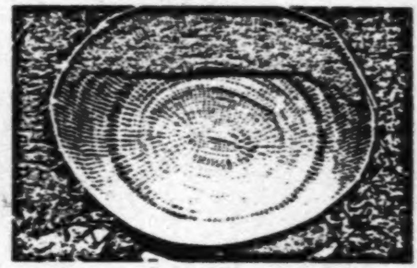
[P. 97]

Plate 5

● 285

[252]

a. Washing "wild potatoes" with yabis, "sieve"



b. Coiled basket

291

222

c. Digging "wild potatoes"

252

d. Leaching acorn flour

[End Plate 5]

283 Sagebrush bark was sometimes twisted into a two-ply string with the fingers. The cord attached to the moccasin in plate 27*b* was probably made this way, not thigh-twisted.

Two-ply twine of sagebrush or of wiha'b' was made into three-strand braid. Four-strand braid was also known, but not eight-strand. The four-strand work seems to have been confined to buckskin rope. Skin rope, either three or four-strand braid, or merely twisted (?), was used for the horse pack. Three-strand braided bark rope also served the same purpose.

286 Nets (wa'na) were always of wiha'b' twine. Informants had not heard of using nettle fiber. Women sometimes made the twine, but men did the actual netting. A mesh gauge was not employed. According to Piudy, the strand was measured by being looped from the finger tip (middle finger ?) around the base of the thumb (at the wrist juncture) and back to the finger tip. Minnie alone claimed that nets were made of a plant belonging to Wolf, and she called the net i'sha'-wa'na (i'sha', wolf).

Weaving, in the sense of true cloth production, was unknown, but rabbitskin blankets were made by both men and women. Jackrabbit skins were used most, but cottontail pelts could be mixed with them. A good sized blanket (wi'gia) took 25 to 50 skins. Mouse or other small skins were not used; nor were mud-hen blankets made, although informants knew of them from the Nevada Paviotso.

In skinning, the knife was held in the mouth and the hide cut round and round. Accounts of subsequent preparation differ moderately, but the fact remains that the skins were twisted, stretched, and dried. According to Piudy the feet of about five rabbit skins were tied together, making a strip of considerable length. One end was unattached; the other was fastened to a stick which was rolled between the palms. The twisted skins were stretched and allowed to dry. Daisy had it that two people twisted the skins and hung them to dry "like on a clothesline." According to Joshua, the strips were twisted between the palms, stretched, and left to dry one or two nights. If I understood Nellie correctly, the skin from a single rabbit was doubled and interlocked chain fashion with that of another rabbit, and so on. The loop on the far end was caught over the worker's toe and a short stick inserted in the proximal loop. The stick was rolled between the palms, twisting the looped skins which were then hung to dry.[143]

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[143] A Paviotso tale refers to skins hung to dry. Lowie, ST, 225.

The Gidū'tikad^{a} employed a two-post frame for the weaving. Informants said that the Nixon Paviotso used a frame of four uprights and two cross-bars.[144] With the two-post frame, the uprights, about five feet in height, were set as far apart as one could conveniently reach. The twisted skins were wound tightly from one post to the other, from bottom to top. The weft was twine (either wiha'b' or sagebrush bark), thongs, or, more recently, strips of cotton cloth. The worker started a row of simple twine at the lower righthand corner and worked it to the top. According to Daisy, the wefts were tied here and a new row started at the bottom, otherwise the blanket would be wrinkled. Joshua thought that the twining was continuous, turning at the top and coming downward. Piudy reported an extra-length blanket made by pushing the completed part off the posts and winding more skins on the freed poles. One blanket ordinarily sufficed as bedding for two persons. 286

Sagebrush bark blankets are said to have been made in the same technique, but without the frame. Such blankets, like those of rabbit skin, were used as bedding and capes. Leggings were also made of sagebrush bark, presumably in open twine. A model of the old time sagebrush moccasin is seen in plate 27*b*. The start is identical with that of the first cradle (fig. 9). The wefts consist of untwisted sagebrush bark. At the termination of each row, the wefts are twisted into string and left as a loop for lacing. The hanging warps turn up over the foot as a tongue. The cord is crisscrossed, catching the loops on either side.

Bags for food storage were made of tule or of sagebrush bark, 285
presumably in open twine. They were described as "like those the 415
Modocs use only not as well made."

STONE WORKING

Stone archaeological remains are fairly plentiful, although not spectacular, and are ascribed to mythical pre-Paviotso inhabitants. Thus, "These stone things came from the stories. When animals were people they made them." Pestles are found near water, "because Nümüzo'ho (cannibal; literally people-grinder) was driven into the lake." Another cannibalistic being, Bahi'zoho, who was "animal but looked like an Indian," has mortars ascribed to him. Nümüna (people's father) is held responsible for petroglyphs and for footprints seen along lake shores. 324

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[144] Like that described by Lowie, SE, 228.

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*ticoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tügwü'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

286 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised
281 by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

531
287 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso
171 made no quillwork of any kind.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
1322. Necklaces (törakiapö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidömu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1328. Animal claws	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1330. Wildcat	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1331. Animal teeth	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1332. Dewclaws (takamomo or tomitsö)	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
1333. Charred pine seeds	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	-	-	-
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339. Animal fur	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339a. Mouse	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1340. Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1341. Hoofs	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1342. Bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1342a. Quills	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	-	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1351. Hair	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wina)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oarööpi)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	·	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (puitsötaigan)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+

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[321]

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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	To	K1	K2	Ks	Ts	Tt	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1473. Decoration: paint	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1474. Bone-bead pendants	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
Skirts														
*1475. 1 skin around waist	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1476. For women	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1477. Of buckskin	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1478. Of mt.-sheep skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1479. Of mt.-lion skin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1480. Fringed	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
*1481. 2 skins, sewed sides	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1482. For women	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1483. Knee length	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1484. Fringed	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1485. Of deerskin	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1486. Of mt.-sheep skin	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1487. Of antelopeskin	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1488. Small front apron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1489. For women	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1490. For men	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1491. Of skin	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1492. Fringed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1493. Of shredded bark	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	*+
1494. Braids on cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1495. Worn with back apron	·	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1496. Worn under dress	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1497. Large back apron	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1503. Vegetable-fiber skirt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	*−	−
1504. For women	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1505. Of shredded bark	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1506. Twined bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1507. Grass	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1508. Breechclout (G-string type)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1509. For men	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1510. For women	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1511. Of buckskin	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1512. Fur	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1513. Bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1514. Woven vegetable fiber	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1515. Leggings	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
*1516. Leggings: for men	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
*1517. For women	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	*−	+
1518. Of skin, sewed	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
1519. Fur	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1520. Tule	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1521. Sage, twined	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1522. Juniper	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1523. Length: hip to ankle	·	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1524. Hip to knee	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1525. Knee to ankle	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
Footgear														
*1526. Habitually barefoot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
*1527. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1528. Soft upper	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1529. Hard sole	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1530. Badgerskin sole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1531. Sole flat	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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[286]

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
1532. Sole molded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1533. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1535. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1536. Tongue added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1536a. Olivella-shell beading	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1545. Uppers added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1559. Rabbit hide	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
*1562. Sandal	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-
1564. Bark	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-
*1564a. Tule and rushes	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1570. Sinew	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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GAMES

	To	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
*1577. Ball Race (wutakoi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1579. And return	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1583c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1586. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

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137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogonum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

[317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[283] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

285 411 1103. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 273). Wd: - (BJ).

1114. Paviotso: Mush bowl (Lowie, 233-234, fig. 13,b).

1115. When baskets of one type were made by both coiled and twined technique the generic name was used for both, except when they were distinguished by adding adjectival words "tŏtsic'kwa," meaning coiled, or "tŏwic'kwina," meaning twined.

1117. Kl, 2: Field Museum has two pitch-coated coiled food bowls from Pyramid Lake (Steward, 271).

1118. Tg, Wd: Boiling basket pitched on outside then placed in hole so it would not fall over.

1119. Ki: + (Kelly, 123).

1120. See note 1115.

1121. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

WEAVING

Skin Blankets

286 [172] 1140a, 1141a, 1142a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50, 51).

1144. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 228). Steward, 270, describes this type for Death Valley Shoshoni.

1144a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270).

1145. Ki: Kelly, 137, confirms use of vertical loom.

Feather Blankets

[287] 1156, 1160. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50).

1157. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270). Ki: - (Kelly, 136).

Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

1165. Paviotso: "For babies, blankets of sagebrush were made" (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1168a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 56).

Nets

1180, 1180a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 85).

Cordage

288 1184a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pls. 36,h, 73).

1185a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73, pls. 35, 73). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1186-1190. Paviotso: "Used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (toibi) to make rope." "My interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends" (Lowie, 233).

[172] 1189. Lovelock Cave: Rope (tule bark) found in cave had a right or clockwise twist, whereas

[p.434-(B)]

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*ticoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tūgwū'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

286 281 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

531 287 171 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso made no quillwork of any kind.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

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WEAVING (other than basketry)	Ta	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tr	Wd	Ki	Ah
Skin Blankets														
1137. Animal furs used (twisted strips)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1138. Rabbit (kamuvi) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1139. Rat fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1140. Wildcat fur	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1140a. Muskrat fur	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1141. Squirrel fur	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
*1141a. Mole fur	·	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142. Coyote fur	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1142a. Meadow-mouse fur	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1143. Loom (wibato): 2 parallel bars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1144. 2 horizontal, equidistant from ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
*1144a. 2 horizontal, 1 above the other	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1145. 2 vertical	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1147. Warp: 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1148. Single strip	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1149. Plain stick for twisting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1151. Twisting on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1152. Weft: of string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1153. Of buckskin	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1154. Twined weave	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155. Sex of maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1155a. Female	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feather Blankets														
*1156. Bird skins used	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
*1157. Mud-hen skins	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1159. Skins sewn together	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1160. Skins woven, like with fur blankets (nos. 1137-1156)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1162. No. of ply warp: 1	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1162a. 2	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
(See also 1134-1136)														
1164. Material: juniper bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
*1165. Sage bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
*1168a. Tule matting	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1169. Weaving: twined	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1171. Nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1172a. Nets of dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi) fiber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1174. Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
1174a. Stick carved (like Maps net needle)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	−
1176. String ball on stick	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−
1178. Knots: bowline at edge	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	·	+	+	·	·	·
1179. Weaver's	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	·	·
*1180. Overhand	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	·	−	−	·	·	·
*1180a. Square	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	·	·
1180b. Mesh gauge: wood	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	·	−	·	−	+
1180c. Fingers	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	·	+	·	+	−
1180d. Stone	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	+	·	−	−
1180e. End of shuttle	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	−	−	·	−	·	−	−

[p.386]

285 411 1103. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 273). Wd: - (BJ).

1114. Paviotso: Mush bowl (Lowie, 233-234, fig. 13,b).

1115. When baskets of one type were made by both coiled and twined technique the generic name was used for both, except when they were distinguished by adding adjectival words "töt-sic'kwa," meaning coiled, or "töwic'kwina," meaning twined.

1117. Kl, 2: Field Museum has two pitch-coated coiled food bowls from Pyramid Lake (Steward, 271).

1118. Tg, Wd: Boiling basket pitched on outside then placed in hole so it would not fall over.

1119. Ki: + (Kelly, 123).

1120. See note 1115.

1121. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

WEAVING

Skin Blankets

286 [172] 1140a, 1141a, 1142a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50, 51).

1144. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 228). Steward, 270, describes this type for Death Valley Shoshoni.

1144a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270).

1145. Ki: Kelly, 137, confirms use of vertical loom.

Feather Blankets

● [287] 1156, 1160. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50).

1157. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270). Ki: - (Kelly, 136).

Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

1165. Paviotso: "For babies, blankets of sagebrush were made" (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1168a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 56).

Nets

1180, 1180a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 85).

Cordage

288 1184a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pls. 36,h, 73).

1185a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73, pls. 35, 73). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1186-1190. Paviotso: "Used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (toibi) to make rope." "My interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends" (Lowie, 233).

[172] 1189. Lovelock Cave: Rope (tule bark) found in cave had a right or clockwise twist, whereas

[p.434(B)]

103

on the south side of Dimadatsúsu.

29) Mehltútumi wadaiyo - "Shady Place", is the village site near Doyle, California, near Harry Wilson's place.

30) T'ashuh' awawa - "Rustling Cottonwood Leaves". This place is about two miles south of Harry Wilson's place and is at a bend of the road, and on the south side of Sam Boni's ranch.

31) Tedehmge - "Metate", the name for the area east of the Nevada State Prison.

32) Pehtsumalidíma - "Wild Rose Spring", refers to a spring southeast of the Nevada State Prison. There is some mining going on in this area.

33) Kabadima - "Gooseberry Spring", is located east of Item 32.

34) Maokápa - "To Break Something". The location of this place was not obtained but is in the vicinity of Item 32 and Item 33 as Harry Wilson was naming the places he knew in the general order in which they occurred geographically.

35) Himomalaiko - "Willows Moving Back and Forth", a place south of Item 33. The name for willow is hímo.

36) Damlihn - a hill a little east and south of Item 35.

37) Himowáka - "Willow Creek", the name for Willow Creek somewhere south (?) of Item 36.

38) Daotishitalak - "Burned Hillside". This is also the white name for this area. It is near Item 37.

39) Tangíshitalak - the name of a mountain which has a mine upon it and is presumably beyond (south?) of Item 38.

40) Daoldima - a spring southeast of Item 39.

41) Wehtsapalónga - Where the WPRR track passes about four miles southeast of Harry Wilson's Place. It is just below Mr. Evan's field along the west side of the creek at a place where the sagebrush is high. This place was named because of the sagebrush bark which was gotten for clothing.

[287]
[124]

342 sagebrush enclosure was even less formal than the shade, consisting
417 of an unroofed circular enclosure about chest high. The single entrance was closed with a tule mat. The fireplace was in the center of the circle. An enclosure used for shamanistic treatment at the Bidwell camp seems to accord with the above description. Young willows were stuck in the ground to form a fair-sized circle. At the entry they were bent and turned back either side, overlapping with the adjacent willows. The bending was continued around the circle, making a neat top finish.

Several informants insisted that in the earliest times they had no shelter other than the shade and the enclosure. "In the old days they had no wickiup. When it was snowing they just kept on traveling. Some froze to death because they had no rabbit blankets. In the old days they had only two kinds of shades" (DB).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

● 291 The Gidü'tikad^{a} of both sexes wore skin clothing of Plains type. It seems probable that this style was introduced at a fairly recent date[75] but beyond the recollection of oldest informants. The survival of an earlier California-Basin costume is suggested by the use of the fiber skirt by widows and poor women and by the occasional use of the loin cloth in lieu of the breechclout.

Women's clothing.—A widow or a woman whose husband was not a successful hunter would fashion for herself a knee-length skirt of sagebrush bark.[76] She braided it into a belt from which the bark
[171] hung loose in front and back but not at all on the sides. This is evidently the familiar California double apron. It was called nakwi', skirt; the front and back sections did not have separate names.

A more prosperous woman wore a buckskin dress (kwa'sü). Antelope hide could be used, but "it was pretty thin." Some women had two dresses, some three. All were alike; there was no "best dress." Two of the largest hides were required for the woman's garment, which hung from her shoulders. According to one informant additional pieces were used for sleeves, but this is doubtless a recent innovation. The head end of the hide was at the bottom of the dress;

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[75] De Angulo, 118, and Spier, Klamath, 207, *feel that the Plains costume is late.*

[76] "Just like the Hawaiians wear" (SA).

the tail was cut off, not turned down. The skirt hung evenly around 291
the bottom; it was not cut in points. The dress reached halfway between knee and ankle; the sleeves were about elbow length.

Sewing was done with an awl (witiü') of mountain-sheep horn 294
and sinew (ta˝mu) from the back of the deer. Seams ran down the sides and on the shoulders, leaving a central opening large enough to admit the head. Joshua stated that in order "to look pretty," the side seams were fringed about an inch in depth and that the bottom was sometimes fringed, but never the sleeves. According to Daisy, the lower edges of the sleeves and skirt were fringed. Fringe was applied across the breast and encircling the hips as in the modern dress shown in plate 20*a*, *b*. The chief difference from that seems to be that in the old days the fringe did not extend across the shoulders in the back. Beads were sometimes strung on the fringe. The dress shown in plate 20*a*, *b* has been lengthened by the addition of a flounce.

Informants[77] were unanimous in averring porcupine-quill decora- 294
tion, but unfortunately it was not possible to determine the exact 531
nature of the work. Of course, no specimens have survived. All agreed that the quills were dyed yellow by being boiled with a lichen (*Evernia vulpina*) found on dry junipers. The quills were soaked in warm water until soft and the points broken off to make all a uniform length. They were flattened before being attached with sinew. I understood from several accounts that they were caught at one end only and were allowed to hang like fringe, but this is probably incorrect. Daisy Brown said that one obtained two colors by dyeing some quills and leaving others natural color. The quills were arranged in the desired design and stitched. Protruding ends were cut off and raw edges covered with a narrow strip of buckskin. The woman's dress bore extensive quill decoration. According to the different versions it was placed around the bottom and down the shoulders; on the sleeves and down the side seams; down the shoulders but never along the side seams; around the bottom, down the shoulders, and on the breast; around the bottom and in a yoke extending from the chest over the shoulders and around the back.

Beneath the buckskin dress a woman wore a belt with a strip of 291
skin passing between the legs. It was similar to the man's breechclout, but somewhat wider, and bore the same name, nati'.

In winter a woman added a blanket of rabbit skins or of sagebrush bark. It was worn cape-like across the shoulders and was pinned on the chest with a small twig.

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[77] JB, MA, TA, DB, NO, MP.

● 291 *Men's clothing.*—A man wore a buckskin shirt similar to the woman's dress, but shorter, reaching just above the knees. It was called kwa'sü, the same as the woman's dress; even nowadays there is no distinction in name between the two garments. In the old days the sleeves of the man's shirt seem to have been short but recent specimens have long sleeves. Dr. Sam told of punching holes in the lower edge of the long sleeve and threading a string through these and around his thumb to prevent shrinkage. In the old days a man had "no coat, no vest, just a shirt and no underwear." According to one informant, men's clothes were "pretty tight." A man had one shirt for hunting deer and one other shirt; some men had three shirts.

[531] Two doeskins were required for the shirt; a skin was never cut in two. The hide was smoked thoroughly so that the garment might be washed and still remain soft. A man sometimes decorated his shirt by applying red paint along the seams. He himself did this. Some shirts bore inch-wide fringe on the sleeves and around the bottom. I examined a boy's garment[78] which had a sack-like body to which sleeves had been added (pl. 20c). The juncture of body and sleeve was fringed as was also the sleeve seam. The bottom of the shirt and the lower edge of the sleeves were pinked and the neck bound with buckskin. A small tuft of eagle feathers and down was tacked at the back of the neck.

Men ordinarily wore the buckskin breechclout (nasi'), although the loin cloth (pitsa'paho) was occasionally worn. Most informants denied knowledge of the latter, but one had seen it in use, and another knew of it from hearsay. According to one informant, "some men never wore much pants."

In winter men wore rabbitskin or sagebrush blankets the same as those worn by women.

Children's clothing.—Children wore few clothes, even in winter. Their garments were made of wildcat hide, never of coyote.[79] They wore a badger-skin cap and "shoes and stockings," presumably leggings and moccasins, of sagebrush bark.

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[78] In possession of Bob Foster, Beatty, Oregon.

[79] Cf. Lewis, SE, 217.

Leggings

There seems to have been a considerable variety of legging styles which in native terminology fall into two types, the full length (kusa') and the knee length (witsa'wana'kwitip; witsa', calf of leg; wana'kwitip, tied below the knee).[60] Full length skin leggings attached to the belt were worn when hunting. They were seamed on the outside of the leg and "if a woman had time and wanted her husband to look nice, she might fringe the seam." 291

The shorter legging sometimes consisted of a mat-like piece of buckskin wrapped about the leg and tied on; sometimes of buckskin strips wound puttee-fashion and tied with string. Still a third type of short legging was of tailored deer skin with the seam on the outside. These various knee-length styles all bore the same name and were worn by both sexes.[61] Women wore them in winter and when digging roots, but not about camp. When at home a woman substituted a "long moccasin" which reached about half-way up the calf. A man wore leggings the year round. For him the short legging must have been inadequate under most circumstances, for he wore no covering between it and the buckskin shirt.

Footgear

The soft-soled deer-hide moccasin was the usual foot covering for both sexes, either traveling or at home. I do not recall seeing a single person, child or adult, barefooted.[62] Sandals were not worn; in default of hide, a moccasin was twined of tule or of sagebrush bark. Charlie Washo could remember old people who wore "tule shoes," but sagebrush bark seems to have been preferred. As Minnie Anderson put it, "Tules are no good for shoes. Sagebrush is nice and warm even if it gets wet." Sagebrush moccasins (wanai'-moko'; wanai', sagebrush-bark, moko', moccasin, nowadays shoe) were worn when going after water. Except for material, the model (pl. 27*b*) made by Minnie is identical with a Klamath specimen figured by Barrett.[63] When traveling or when hunting afoot in winter, grass or shredded sagebrush bark was stuffed inside the moccasin. 291 294

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[60] Translation by NH.

[61] Although Lowie, SE, 217, states that Paviotso women did not wear leggings.

[62] Informants repeatedly said of the Achomawi, "They were poor dressers. They never even wore shoes." When they killed a Paiute they are said to have taken his moccasins for their own use.

[63] Plate 17, figure 2, and plate 19, figure 2.

To these, Hatt[93] adds the Chippewa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Salteaux, and Sioux of the Upper Missouri. He also notes a specimen from northern Utah. By virtue of Teit's recently published paper,[94] the Plateau distribution can be extended to include "all the interior Salishan tribes," and specifically the Coeur d'Alene, Okanagan, Flathead, and Spokan. For the Shuswap, Teit[95] states that "a few people of the southern bands wore moccasins sewed on one side like the most common kind used by the Thompson tribe." Spier and Sapir[96] note Pattern 8 for the Kalispel and state that it is the prevailing style on the Yakima reservation today. Pattern 8 is also known from the Klamath,[97] and de Angulo[98] reports it for the Modoc and Achomawi as well as for the Surprise Valley Paiute. 171 294

The above distribution is a northerly and westerly one but the situation is complicated by the presence of several different moccasin types and by chronological considerations. The absence of Pattern 8 among certain Plateau groups, namely Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Wishram,[99] also requires explanation. The style is traditionally old among the Blackfoot, Thompson, and Coeur d'Alene, and recent among Spier's Klamath and Okanagan.[100] Unfortunately I have no data concerning its age among the Paiute. When asked, informants invariably replied that it was the old-time form. I do recall being shown a modern specimen which, as nearly as I can remember, accorded with Wissler's Pattern 10. In response to a leading question, my informant said that it was probably a "white man's moccasin." At the time I was not aware of the situation to the north and did not press the point further.

Mittens

Gloves were unknown in the old days, although at present they constitute one of the principal articles of native manufacture. Dr. Sam said that when women were traveling they sometimes wore buckskin "mittens." Pindy said that women tied a rabbit skin, fur side in, on either hand. A similar arrangement of wildcat hide covered the whole of both arms, muff fashion. Neither the "mitten" nor the "muff" has a native name. 291

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[93] P. 179.

[94] Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, 73, 234, 334.

[95] Shuswap, 506.

[96] Wishram, 207.

[97] Spier, Klamath, fig. 21b.

[98] P. 319.

[99] Teit, Lillooet, 219; Teit, Shuswap, 777; Spier and Sapir, 207.

[100] Wissler, Blackfoot, 128; Teit, Thompson, 209; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 72; Spier, Klamath, 209; and Spier, in conversation.

Headgear

291 One would rather expect the basket hat from analogy with surrounding groups such as the Nevada Paviotso,[181] the Achomawi, and the Klamath, but informants, both from Bidwell and Beatty, flatly denied its use.[182] Joshua said that a few women wore basket caps secured from the Achomawi, but that other than these, they were not worn. Women either went bare-headed or covered the head with buckskin the way in which the bandana is worn today (pl. 21*a*). When a heavy load was slung from the head, a pad of sagebrush bark prevented chafing.

291 Men wore a fillet of deer, otter, or coon skin to which feathers
292 were sometimes tied. As far as I could determine, the eye shield[183] was unknown, but visored caps were made of badger, wildcat, skunk, or mink skin. A man who did not wear such a cap had to shield his eyes with his hands "in order to see any distance." Children sometimes wore a badger-skin cap. There was doubtless much individual variation in headgear; some men made hats from wildcat heads.

HAIRDRESS

302 Both sexes wore the hair long. According to two informants,[184] men and women wore the hair in two braids, one over either ear. At chest level the braids were tied together with a buckskin thong and thrown back over the head "out of the way." Minnie Anderson of Bidwell and Lizzie Godowa of Beatty still preserve this mode of hairdress. Daisy said that women wore two braids, one over either shoulder, and that men dressed the hair similarly save for the fact that they twisted instead of braided it. It was twisted for a distance, wound with buckskin, and the ends allowed to hang loose. Nowadays all men wear the hair clipped short. Dr. Sam said that the Silver Lake women wore their hair in two braids while the men had three, one either side of the head and one down the back. Men cut bangs and combed them into a pompadour. Nannie Oehiho reported a three-braid coiffure for women.

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[181] Lowie, SE, 217.

[182] Tom Anderson did report the basket cap, but he was born in Nevada, and the information presumably applies to his own band.

[183] Which is of tule among the Klamath. Barrett, plate 17, figure 6.

[184] MA, JB.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 17. *a, b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a, b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c, d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a, b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a, b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Gedows, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212; maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a, b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a, b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅛ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

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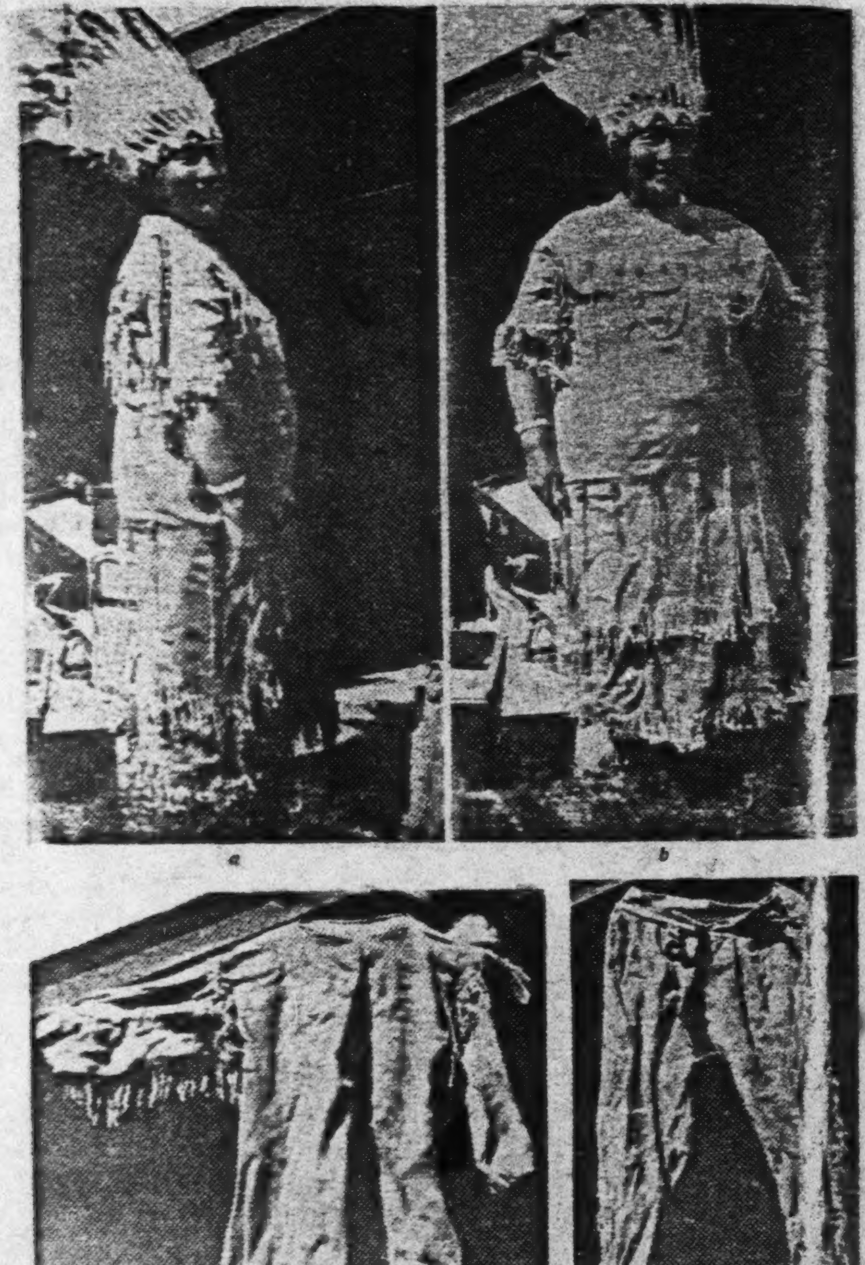
UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE [illegible]



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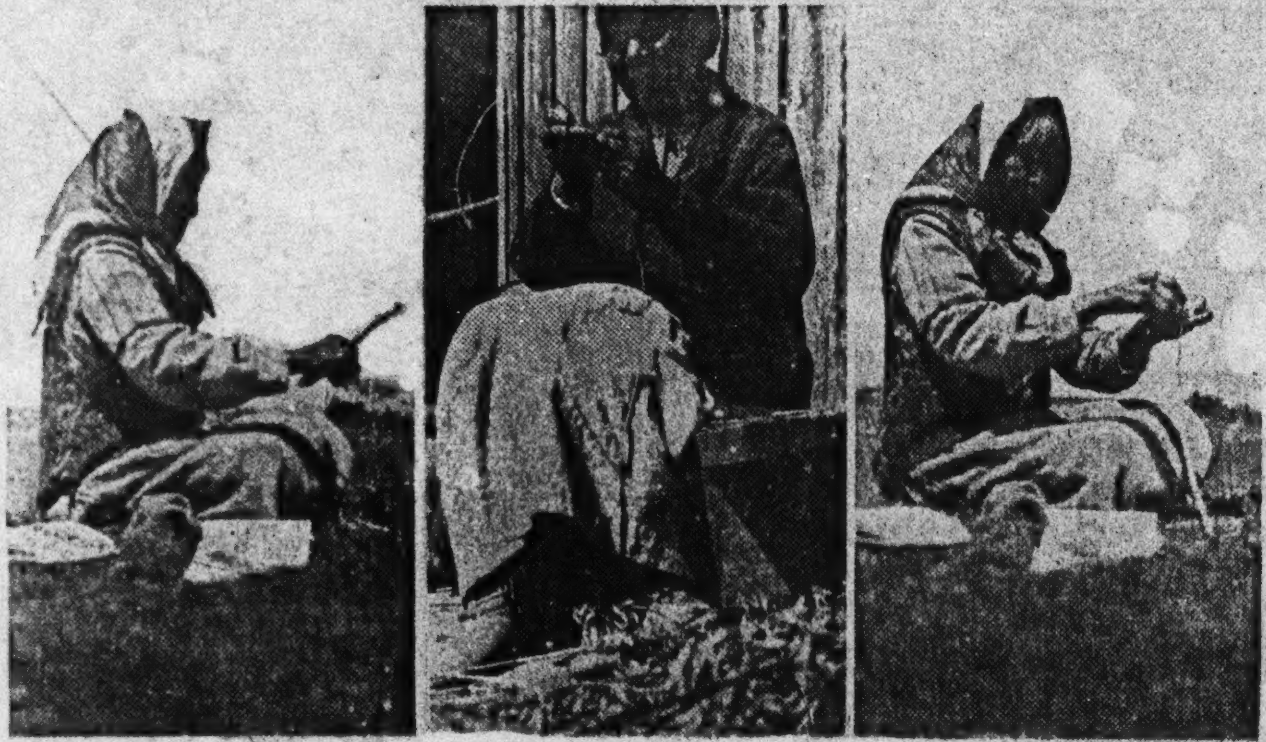
1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

Pg 210f



PREPARATION OF BASKET MATERIALS

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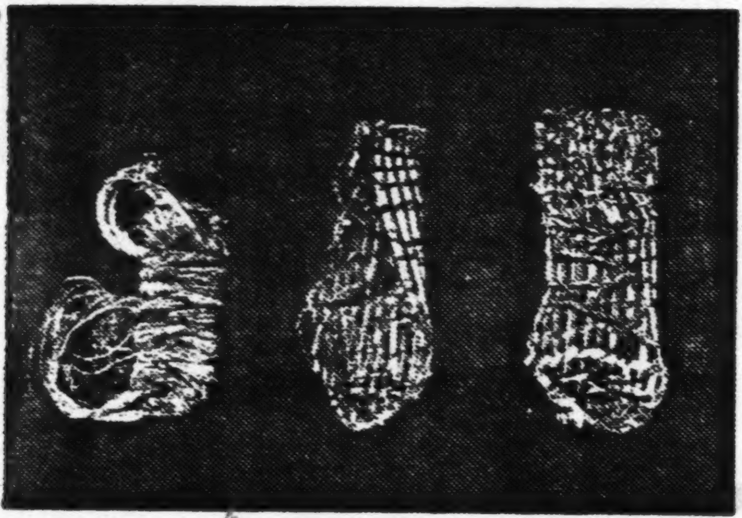

Fig. 5.

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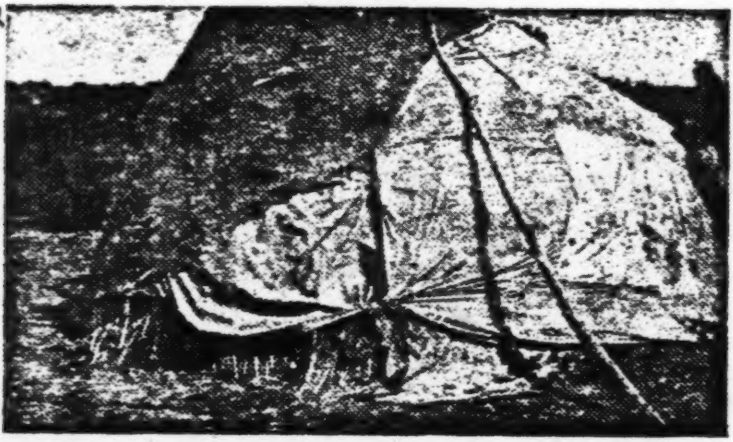

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5 *a–c* (50.1–8639a, 7966, 7965). Sandals. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, *c*, Paviotso.
Fig. 6. Tule Lodge of Pyramid Lake, Paviotso, with Canvas Covering.

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000 animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

224 The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and
231 hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

000 The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

DRESS.

● [291] [171] The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump'*. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

hats. At Whiterocks I noted a young girl whose forehead was decorated with a circle painted in the middle. At Navaho Springs most of the men and some of the women had plucked out their eyebrows. 000

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.

[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.

[3] Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.

[4] Reed, 40.

The Paviotso also had rabbitskin capes for winter wear. They were very warm and lasted three or even four winters. Otherwise their main use was as a cover when sleeping. The men's costume consisted of a buckskin breechclout and fringed leggings secured with a buckskin cord. In the old days badger skin caps were occasionally worn. The woman's dress was of antelope skin and reached down just below the knees. Women did not wear leggings but exposed the leg between footgear and dress; they had basket hats. For babies blankets of sagebrush bark were made, and a boy's leggings were manufactured from deer and coyote hide. The Paviotso used a porcupine tail for a comb, also the dried and doubled roots of wild rye. 291 [237]

The Wind River Shoshoni women wore buckskin dresses decorated with elk teeth but not with beadwork. The cut of the dresses was like that of the cloth ones worn nowadays. Some were decorated all over with elk teeth in front. Leggings were of buckskin and distinct from the moccasins. Generally speaking, the Plains Indian style prevailed among both sexes. 000

Formerly young Shoshoni men who were courting girls used to pluck out their eyebrows. Among the Comanche I noticed that practically all the men were without eyebrows and at least to some extent the practice extends to the female sex.

The hair was parted by some Shoshoni men on the side, by others in the middle. It was not braided but hung down loose as a rule. Once in a while it was braided and wrapped on the side, but this was rare. In the early days there was a bang in the center, curled on a stick. They never wore a big braid in the back, but all had a little braid so that a feather or other ornament could be tied to it. Wawanabidi (1912) had his hair unparted but brushed up pompadour fashion in the center and with braids on the sides. The women parted their hair and left it loose; they never braided it as today. The parting line was painted red and still is. Old women with gray hair would paint it red. A peaked boy's cap of muskrat skin with two rabbit's tails for tassels is described by Wilson.[1]

The Moapa had deerskin moccasins if rich, while poor people wore jossweed (*tsowáramp*^{i}) sandals. What the sandals (*áwūp*) were like among the Paiute was determined at Shem, where a model pair was

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[1] Wilson, 35.

000 secured (Fig. 5a). The two strings pass, each on one side of the second (next to the big) toe, are crossed over the toe and then pulled through the rear loop, against which the heel rests. They were tied in front on the instep. Sandals were worn on snow. Both men and women used them. Another Shivwits informant said that sandals were worn both winter and summer. They were made of the leaves of *ū'ˢε*, a plant identified by Powell as the yucca or Spanish bayonet.[1] In the winter a kind of bark called *cünáp* was tied on the sandals across the foot by means of loops. Sandals wore out more rapidly than moccasins; if a man put them on in the morning and chased mountain sheep they were worn out in the evening on account of the many rocky places trodden. Otherwise they lasted somewhat longer.

While the Moapa and Kaibab Paiute had deerskin moccasins, the Shivwits say they made theirs exclusively of mountain-sheep skin.

The Ute wore hard-soled buckskin moccasins (of Plains Indian style).

• 291 237 [824] The Paviotso wore deerskin moccasins in the summer. Skin from the tough neck of the deer was taken for the sole. Badgerskin with the hairy side in was used for winter moccasins. Softened sagebrush bark was put inside to keep the feet warm. According to one informant, only the sole was of badger hide, the uppers of buckskin. I saw a pair of woman's moccasins with a cowhide sole, deerhide uppers, and an inverted U-shaped piece in front, crenate at the top; the seam was in the back. Models of tule sandals in openwork twining were obtained for the Museum (Fig. 5bc).

000 Wind River Shoshoni moccasins were formerly all of buckskin; the Arapaho introduced the custom of having hard soles.

DWELLINGS.

In the summer the Moapa and the Tō'+intesà+u bands used a shade of rectangular groundplan called *hawáγan'*. The walls were formed of brush on three sides and the sloping roof was covered with the same material. The winter lodge differed inasmuch as the Tö'+intesà+u had cedar houses (*moγáqan'*).—conical structures with a framework of cedar trees tied together at the top and a covering of cedarbark thick enough to keep out the rain; pieces of bark were tied together with cord. Possibly this very imperfect description was meant for the slab-house type reported by Dr. Barrett from the Washo.[2] There was a fireplace in the

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[1] Powell, 126.
[2] Barrett, (b), 10, pl. II.

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*^{u}, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tŭ̄'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nō*^{o}. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.

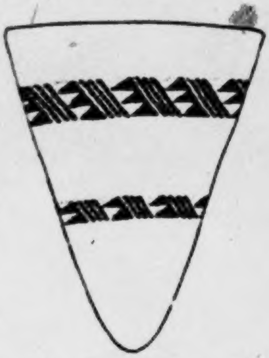

Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

[531] → The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

[412] → A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamō''nō, ya'tá*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett. (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett. (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 237]

285 sperical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion; though the point of the cone is somewhat rounded, the vessel cannot stand. There are two lugs of twine and hair, connected by a modern band. The remaining bottles stand without difficulty, all having a flat bottom, which in two cases is dented in the center.

171 The Paiute share most of the forms of the Paviotso, but on the basis
285 of the available material they seem to have a greater variety, especially in the coiled technique. To what extent there may be local differences, it is impossible to determine from the collection, which includes only a few Shivwits specimens. Of these a large conical gathering-basket does not seem to call for special comment and an openwork twined tray differs from a Moapa equivalent mainly through its broader, less ellipsoidal form. A very coarse but not open-twined tray (Fig. 19b), and even more so a shallow coiled bowl present a distinctive appearance. The Shivwits, like the Pima,[1] use the pods of the devil's-claw for black splints in making designs.

000 Turning to the Moapa pieces, which constitute the bulk of the Moapa collection, we find among the water-containers one striking difference from those of the Paviotso in that two of them, both jar-shaped, are coiled (Fig. 21). They are flat-bottomed and retain part of the pitch used to render them water-tight; the lugs and carrying-rope are shown in the illustration. This type is shown by Mason[2] and from his statement it appears that Powell collected many specimens of somewhat varying shape but in the same technique from the Utah Paiute, i.e., from the Shivwits and Kaibab. The twined bottles include a flat-bottomed
[171] specimen recalling the Paviotso pattern and several pear-shaped pieces (Fig. 20c) rather more bi-conical than the Paviotso equivalent. The larger jugs are called *ōts*; the smaller, *o'tsdts*.

171 Three hats (*qaitsoqot*, *qaitsogots*) conforming to the same shape (Fig.
285 17) are all twined like those of the Paviotso. A single Bannock specimen
291 is likewise in this technique. This fact is significant because it aligns the
Shoshoneans with the northern rather than the southern Californians.

000 The gathering-baskets (*ōtis*), which vary considerably in size, are all twined and fall into two main categories according to whether the twining is close or open. Fig. 22 shows perhaps the best sample of the latter variety. As in several other cases, the inside of the lugs supporting the carrying-band or strap is reënforced with splints or wrapped little sticks. The torsion of the warp strands noted by Mason in a Utah Paiute

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[1] Russell, 133.

[2] Mason, (b), Plates 32, 117; 250, 361, 489, 496.

SWEATING, AND SWEAT-HOUSES.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typical
[177] Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow
wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found today
[177] in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
[177] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many
people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made
a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting
around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As
for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems
that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the
old men frown on it.

CLOTHING.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men
wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with
fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings
were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The
shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the
chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back
between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made
use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the
loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative.
There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The
statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men
wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable.
They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition
(say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
[174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing
nothing but a kilt.

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the 291 ●
Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves. Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually wore only the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometimes donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest. As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it that way.

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their [302]
shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the women a basket-cap (also like the Pits).

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same [171]
as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a [281]
single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added: one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly Californian mocassin.

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain and snow.

WEAPONS OF HUNTING AND WAR.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of 411
the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different: the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the [171]
arrow on the right hand side.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	Ac
1071. Twined winnowing basket (timbas)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (yata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (tsamo or tōma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a. Angular tray (tasa)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1080. Twined	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1082. Conical carrying basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091. Fishing trap (eyakai)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a. Bipointed, opening on side	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. Men made	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kötosaĕ)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1096. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1096a. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1100. Pointed bottom	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1102. Pitch on outside	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1105. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
1108. Handle: horsehair	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1108a. Willow	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1114. Food bowl (taida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115. Coiled	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1117. Pitch coated	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled	·	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1119. Ladle (tūnōhaa)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1129. Lids modern	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (maro'o)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1133. Of twined tule	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1134. Mat (sōnō)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
285
415

N
W
A
[182]

N
W
A
[227]

N●
A
[291]●

N
A
[362]

[p.387]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

●
N
W
A
● 286

N
W
A
[462]

N
A
[287]

N
W
A
257
N
W
[284]

WEAVING (other than basketry)	Ta	Kl	K2	Bk	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	WR	Ki	AE
Skin Blankets														
1137. Animal furs used (twisted strips)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1138. Rabbit (kamüdi) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1139. Rat fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1140. Wildcat fur	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1140a. Muskrat fur	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1141. Squirrel fur	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1141a. Mole fur	·	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142. Coyote fur	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142a. Meadow-mouse fur	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1143. Loom (wikato): 2 parallel bars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1144. 2 horizontal, equidistant from ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1144a. 2 horizontal, 1 above the other	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1145. 2 vertical	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1147. Warp: 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1148. Single strip	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1149. Plain stick for twisting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1151. Twisting on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1152. Weft: of string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1153. Of buckskin	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1154. Twined weave	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155. Sex of maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1155a. Female	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feather Blankets														
1156. Bird skins used	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1157. Mud-hen skins	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1159. Skins sewn together	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1160. Skins woven, like with fur blankets (nos. 1137-1155)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1162. No. of ply warp: 1	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1162a. 2	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
(See also 1134-1136)														
1164. Material: juniper bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1165. Sage bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
1168a. Tule matting	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1169. Weaving: twined	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	+
1171. Nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1172a. Nets of dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi) fiber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1174. Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
1174a. Stick carved (like Hupa net needle)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	−
1176. String ball on stick	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−
1178. Knots: bowline at edge	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	·	+	+	·	·	·
1179. Weaver's	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	·	·
1180. Overhand	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	·	−	−	·	·	·
1180a. Square	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	·	·
1180b. Mesh gauge: wood	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	·	−	·	−	+
1180c. Fingers	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	·	+	·	+	−
1180d. Stems	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	+	·	−	−
1180e. End of shuttle	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	−	−	·	−	·	−	−

[p.388]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ac
DRESS AND ADORNMENT														
1322. Necklaces (törakiapö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tocmi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (paidöma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1328. Animal claws	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1330. Wildcat	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1331. Animal teeth	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1332. Dewclaws (takaounu or tomitsö)	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
1333. Charred pine seeds	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	-	-	-
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339. Animal fur	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339a. Mouse	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1340. Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1341. Hoofs	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1342. Bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1342a. Quills	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	-	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1351. Hair	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1359. Soot (ntuctaigua)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wina)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oaröpi)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (paitsötaigwa)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+

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	Ts	K1	K2	Kk	Ts	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wh	Ei	Ac
Hair Dressing														
1366. Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367. Grass bundle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1368. Rye-grass-root bundle (wai'ova)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1369. Rabbit-brush bundle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1370. Men's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1371. Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1373. Coiled on head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1374. Tied up on head	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1375. Bangs	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1376. Front lock sticks up	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1377. Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379. Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379a. Sea-otter (pasuga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381. Women's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1383. Tucked under basket hat	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1384. Tied back of neck	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1385. Middle hair part	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1386. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387. 1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388. Bangs	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1389. Tied on top of head	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1390. Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1390a. Bone tubes	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Red paint	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1392. Red paint in part	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1393. Marrow	−	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1394. Mud against lice	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
1395. Braids fur wrapped	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396. Washing: with plain water	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1397. With white clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1398. Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400. Depilation: of beard	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401. Of eyebrows	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1402. Of pubic hair	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1403. With stone flake	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	+
1404. With fingernails	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1405a. Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1405b. Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Headgear														
1406. Woman's basketry hat	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408a. Men's bark hat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. Men's fur cap	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411. Fawnskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412. Antelopeskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1415. Muskratskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416. Beaverskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416a. Badgerskin	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417. Wildcatskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418. Coyoteskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1420. With quail tufts	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
1421. With other feathers	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. With horns	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1423. Hair net	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	We	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1425. Fur eyeshade, held by string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
1425a. Badger fur only	·	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
1426. Band around head	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Tanned buckskin	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1428. Cottontail fur	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1429. Other fur	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Robes and Capes														
1432. Woven (twined) vegetable fiber	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1433. Woven (twined) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1434. Sewed hides, fur left on	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1435. Deer hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1436. Wildcat hide	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1437. Badger hide	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1438. Ground-hog hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1439. Coyote hide	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1440. Mt.-sheep hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1441. Gloves or mittens	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1442. Feather robes	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Shirts and Dresses														
1444. Women usually wear nothing	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1445. Women's long gown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1445a. Of deerskins: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1445b. 3	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
1446. Of antelopeskins: 2	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1446a. 3 or more	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
1447. Of mt.-sheep skins: 2	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1447a. 3 or more	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
1448. Knee length	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
1449. Shin length	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1450. Skins front and back	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1451. Inset on sides	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1452. Poncho type	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1453. Sleeves: elbow length	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1454. Fringed	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1455. Flaps over upper arms	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
1456. Sleeveless	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
1457. Decoration: paint	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1458. Tubular-bone beads	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1459. Glass beads	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1459a. Olivella (type) shells		+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1460. Haliotis-shell (puidmu) pendants	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1461. Men wear nothing	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
1462. Men's shirt	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1462a. Of deerskins: 1	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1462b. 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
1463. Of mt.-sheep skins: 1	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1463a. 2	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
1464. Of antelopeskins: 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1464a. 2	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
1465. Skins front and back	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
1466. 1 skin, poncho style	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1467. Shirt tied at neck	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1468. Opening down front, thong for lacing up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
1469. Sleeves: elbow length	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1471. Fringed	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1471a. Flaps over upper arm, fringed	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
1472. Sleeveless	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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	Ts	K1	K2	Ks	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1473. Decoration: paint	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1474. Bone-bead pendants	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
Skirts														
*1475. 1 skin around waist	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1476. For women	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1477. Of buckskin	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1478. Of mt.-sheep skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1479. Of mt.-lion skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1480. Fringed	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
*1481. 2 skins, sewed sides	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1482. For women	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1483. Knee length	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1484. Fringed	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1485. Of deerskin	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Of mt.-sheep skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1487. Of antelopeskin	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1488. Small front apron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1489. For women	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1490. For men	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1491. Of skin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1492. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1493. Of shredded bark	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1494. Braids on cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1495. Worn with back apron	·	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1496. Worn under dress	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1497. Large back apron	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1503. Vegetable-fiber skirt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1504. For women	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1505. Of shredded bark	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1506. Twined bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1507. Grass	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1508. Breechclout (G-string type)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1509. For men	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1510. For women	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1511. Of buckskin	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1512. Fur	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1513. Bark	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1514. Woven vegetable fiber	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1515. Leggings	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1516. Leggings: for men	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1517. For women	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1518. Of skin, sewed	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
1519. Fur	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
1520. Tule	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1521. Sage, twined	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1522. Juniper	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1523. Length: hip to ankle	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1524. Hip to knee	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1525. Knee to ankle	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
Footgear														
*1526. Habitually barefoot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
*1527. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1528. Soft upper	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1529. Hard sole	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1530. Badgerskin sole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1531. Sole flat	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

[p.394]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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W
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291 ●
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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
1532. Sole molded to foot	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1533. Heel seam	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1535. Ankle height	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1538. Tongue added	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
*1538a. Olivella-shell beading	.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	*–	*+	+
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
1542. Seam up heel	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543. Seam up toe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
1545. Uppers added	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546. Ankle height	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547. Calf height	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1549. Hard sole added	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
1550. Tongue added	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552. Badgerskin	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1553. Ground-hog skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	*+	+
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558. Deer hair	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1559. Rabbit hide	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	*–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
*1561. Woven-bark overshoe	–	–	–	–	*–	+	+	–	+	+	+	*+	+	–
*1562. Sandal	–	+	–	*–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1563. Leather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–
1564. Bark	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–
*1564a. Tule and rushes	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
1567. Oval shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1568. Tennis-racket shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1570. Sinew	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1572. Withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1573. Sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
[286]
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W
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481

GAMES

N
A
524

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
*1577. Ball Race (wutakoi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1579. And return	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+
1580. Goal: line on ground	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
1580a. Paired posts	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1583a. 5	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1583b. 8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
1583c. 12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1586. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	–	+	–	*+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 395]

N
342 constructions changed from domed to conical, as Kelly, 104, suggests, or whether both kinds were built at the same time. I believe house forms were not stable but depended upon the available materials and whim of the builder. Inasmuch as the framework was chiefly willow, dome-shaped houses were probably more common.

W
[342] 580-581. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

582. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265): Domed willow shade. At: In old days all Paiutes had was willow half dome or willow half circle with end leaning toward center. There were no flat roofs.

583. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265). Ki: + (Kelly, 105, pl. 18,c); however, my informants said only brush enclosure was known formerly.

587. "Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical." "A very thick thatch of dry piñon needles was applied, and this sometimes covered with earth" (Curtis, 15:70, also pl. 78).

589. K: Picture of Pyramid Lake Paviotso dwelling (Lowie, 204, fig. 6). At: In old days some people would, at times, build no permanent winter camp. PS remembers his family wandering all winter much as they usually did only in summer. He did not remember why, yet thought it was to hunt. Although clothing was scant and often

N
● [291] wet, PS did not remember being cold. Nights were spent huddled around a fire with only the shelter afforded by a few sagebrush piled as windbreak. Ki: Dome-shaped winter houses were said to have formerly existed (Kelly, 104).

600. Kū, To, Tō, Sa, Pa, Tg: House was built of tule "mats" which were made by binding masses of tules between 2 or 3 pairs of sticks. The Tagö made also woven mats.

606. Wd: - (SC).

607a. To: - (LP).

613. At: A ring of willows was sometimes placed around fire to keep grass used to sleep on from catching on fire.

615. At: Paiutes used only tripod-type house after white people came. Wd: Tripod-type house used to be covered with buffalo skins. After buffalo left, grass and tules were used.

622. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264). Ki: Conical houses borrowed from north (Kelly, 104, pl. 18,b). Some denied any shelter besides the shade or windbreak for aboriginal times (Kelly, 106).

628. To: - (LP).

629. Ki: + (Kelly, 104).

N
[224] 631. Wd: - (BJ). Informant said buffalo had been seen near Saddle Butte, but Wada never hunted them. Ki: Tule mat sewed and twined (Kelly, 104, pl. 19,c).

633. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264).

638. Wd: - (SC).

640. To: + (BS).

643. Wa: Door was of woven willows, that is, of basketry.

653. Owens Valley: + (Steward): Mountain house used in fall and winter had 2 upright poles and ridgepole. [p.430 (A)]

N 235 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [285] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

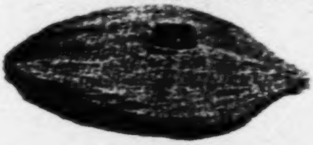
N [172]

Basket Forms

N 235 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idīwa, kawono.

N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

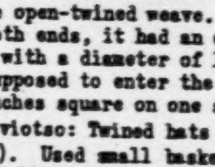


● N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868.) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.



Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.494(W)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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302 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground piñon nuts.

1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

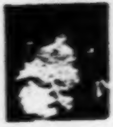
Headgear

N
● 291

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). Tö: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering piñon nuts.

N
[285 177]

1406a. Tö: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Küpa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)



1416a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: − (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on caps).

1426. Tö: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N
[284]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W

1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

A
[291]

1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). K2: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. KS: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. Tö: The Tövusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: − (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W
[291]

1461. Wa: − (Smith, notes).

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[291]

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[p.436(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

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291
1481-1483. Paviotso: "The more prosperous wore skirts reaching to the knees" (Curtis, 69).

1488-1497. Paviotso: "Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind" (Curtis, 69).

A
[291
281]
1493. AE: A shredded-bark apron was part of shinny costume, its only use.

1503. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 53). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): fiber skirt used by poor people.

W
[291]
1508. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Leggings

1516-1517. Paviotso: Men wore fringed buckskin leggings; women wore no leggings (Lowie, 217).

1517. Ki: + (Kelly, 109).

Footgear

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1527. "Two-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; additional top or tongue might be added to either type (Loud, pl. 21). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 47).

[172]
1538a. Lovelock Cave: Moccasins beaded with Olivella were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 21).

1539. "One-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; tongue, top, or sole may be added. Wd: + (BJ). Ki: Kelly, 110, figures a moccasin in construction, and remarks it is like Wissler's pattern 8.

1540. Wd: - (SC).

1549. Wd: - (SC).

N
[171]
1554a. Small moccasins with hair on found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 22,e).

1555. Ki: Kelly, 109 (pl. 27), describes and pictures bark moccasin. (Figured are John T. Reid specimens.)

1556. Wd: - (BJ).

1560. Kü: + (AL); she said badger hide toughest material for soles, and that hair left inside to keep feet warm.

1561. To: + (BS). Wd: - (SC).

N
[171]
1562. Sandal a sole with strings or straps to hold it on the foot. Kü: + (AL). Although many sandals were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, pls. 22, 23), GN insisted that "the Paiute didn't wear shoes like Jesus wore. I've seen pictures of Jesus." Paiutes mostly went barefoot in old days and traveled at night to avoid hot ground, GN said. AL said she saw old Indians wearing sandals of tule, grass, and rush.

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[illegible]

[P.436(a)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi ; NS5

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281
294

1564a. Lovelock Cave: About 80 tule-and-rush sandals were found (Loud, pls. 22, 23, and p. 55). Paviotso: Sandals worn (Lowie, 218; 207, fig. 5).

1565. Wd: - (SC).

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524
525

GAMES

Ball Race

1577. Paviotso: Called wu'to'goin (Lowie, 262). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

A
[524]

1580a. AE: Willow arch.

1587a. Pa: Footgear determined by racers, but all wore the same.

1591. Pa: Runners raced in relays; in most bands all runners together.

1593. Sa: - (JM).

Football

1595. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: "Men played a football game (watci'muin)" (Lowie, 262).

Shinny

1596. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): nazi''tsaka.

A
[524]

1621. AE: Referee has to see that sticks are carried properly. While running, sticks must be held vertical.

1623. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

Hoop and Pole

1626. Culin describes the Pyramid Lake and Bannock hoop-and-pole games. At Pyramid the pole was 19 inches long, but the Bannock pole was much longer. At Pyramid the hoop was 2 3/4 inches in diameter (Culin, 495, 499). Hoop and pole called paci (DG) or baici (DM) in southern part of area, and nowikonoi (PS) in the northern. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: Called ipai'ciin. "If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored" (Lowie, 262). Wa, AE: Old-time Washo and Achomawi thought to have played hoop-and-pole game, although none of the Indians of these bands interviewed could tell any details of game.

A
W
[524]

1635. Owens Valley: Course 50 feet long (Steward, 287).

1642. Ts: Pole through hoop wins bets and sometimes gets double pay. Sa, Tg, At, Wd, Ki: After one person has his pole through hoop, others get a throw. Those who do not get poles through hoop forfeit their poles and so cannot play until they get new ones. No bets.

1647. When a player threw his pole through hoop, the others were eliminated if they did not also throw their poles through. Ki: Kelly, 171, reports the hoop-and-pole game as it was described

[p.437(N)]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received).

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648

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[511]
[291] ●

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868).

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649
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143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5.

K
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101
222

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102).

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

N
648

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon 1,").

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131 also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty 101 huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). [231] In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411] ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course [648] of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco [262] on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, [291] the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses [231] or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411] bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648 in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721 being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181] friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, [177] thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with 343 344
rye grass and tule mats.

CLOTHING

1. Sagebrush Clothing (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had 291
heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and
women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts
were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and
twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them.
He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush
stockings.

2. Badger Skin Aprons. These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One [281]
informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron
was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side
tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and
reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin.

3. Women's Skin Dress (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following 291
differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top 281
and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the
bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form
sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was
sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a
trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the [301]
bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on
the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin,
and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells
and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the
seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom
of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that
before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes
left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. [171]
Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress.

4. Men's Clothing.

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were
used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and
that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an
opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the
neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the [301
bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells 602]
threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother
if he was unmarried.

291 *Belt.* A buckskin strip about one inch wide tied in front held up both the breechclout and leggings.

Breechclout. Was made of fawn skin. Hetty said some men used to wear a double apron of badger or deer skin.

Leggings. Thigh length Plains type never decorated, or short type which was knee length and wrapped around, tied in two places, and sometimes sewed to the moccasins. The latter type was sometimes of badger with the hair left on and worn in very cold weather with the fur side in. A third type of legging came just above the knee and was sewn along the side, slipped on like a stocking and held in place by a separate piece of buckskin worn as a garter. A puttee type legging was also mentioned.

Moccasins. Similar to Surprise Valley Paiute (pp. 109-113). No "tule shoes" reported.

HAIRDRESS

302 Long hair was admired in both men and women. Women parted their hair in the middle and wore it loose or braided, and tied in back. (Dick Jonas alone said only men tied their braids back.) The ends of the braids were sometimes wrapped with buckskin. Men parted their hair on the side, let the hair hang loose, braided a little on each side, or in two or three big braids. Men sometimes had bangs and pompadours. Only one informant mentioned women with bangs. Both sexes greased their hair.

The porcupine tail brush and rye grass root comb were similar to those described by Isabel Kelly (p. 113). A willow comb, made of two inch pieces of willow twined together by three rows of sinew, was also reported.

FACE PAINTING

Red, yellow, white and black face paint were mentioned as used by both men and women on a grease base—usually bear fat. The forehead was most frequently painted, usually with long stripes and marking along the hair line, less commonly with dots and circles. A red circle on the forehead and chin, and two dots on each cheek was reported as a common design. Older boys often drew lines down the nose, put three or four horizontal stripes on the cheeks, and painted the chin red. Women often made three lines of white or yellow dots on either side of the nose. Painting the entire face red and then marking with white was mentioned. The part was sometimes painted, and hand prints made on the hair. Men sometimes painted their bangs.

TATTOOING

304 Jenny thought tattooing was not practiced in the old days. The technique was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly (p. 116). There were no specialists. Red tattooing was mentioned.

DEPILATION

302 Men removed facial hair with their fingers. Both men and women sometimes plucked their eyebrows, particularly during courtship.

EAR PIERCING

304 The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix.

BLANKETS

281 *1. Rabbit skin blankets.* The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off.

[291] Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders.

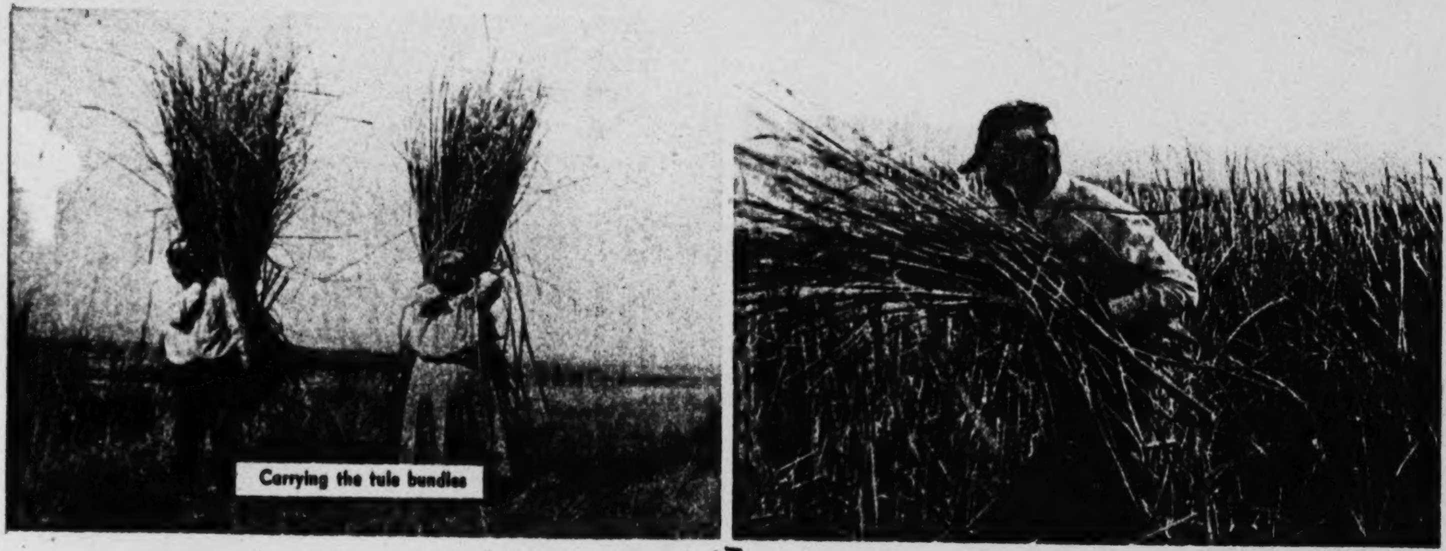
2. Other Blankets. Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

SKIN DRESSING

[412] Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers reported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire.

BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

415 285 [412] *1. Baskets.* Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but



Carrying the tule bundles

[End Plate 1A]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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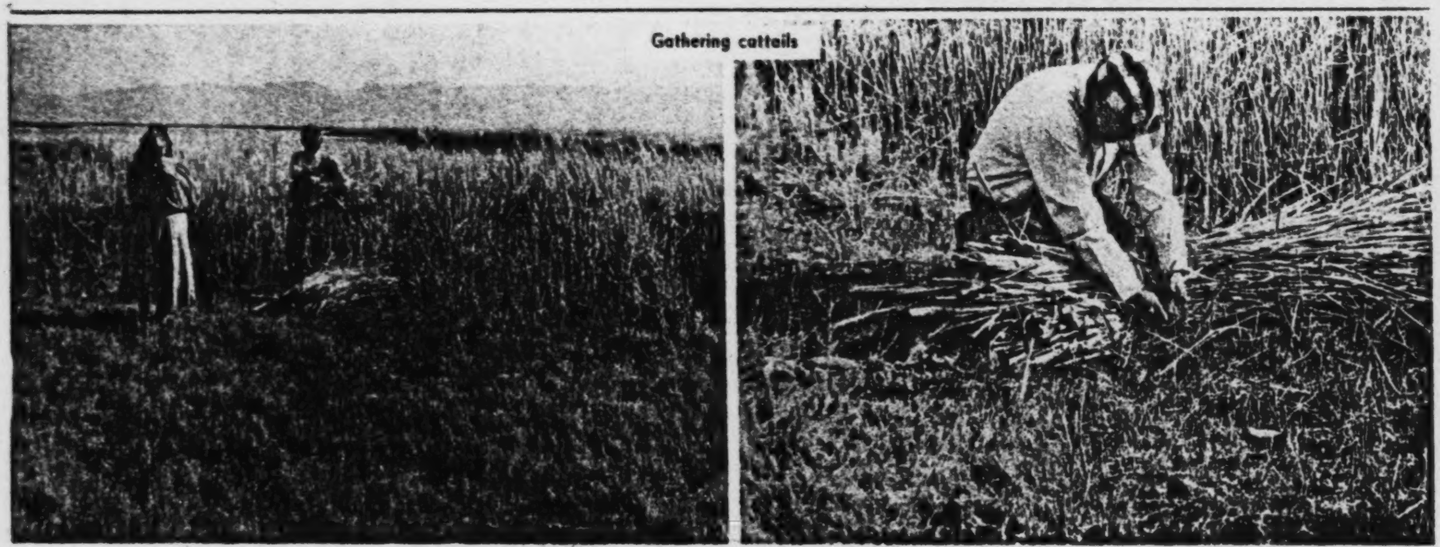
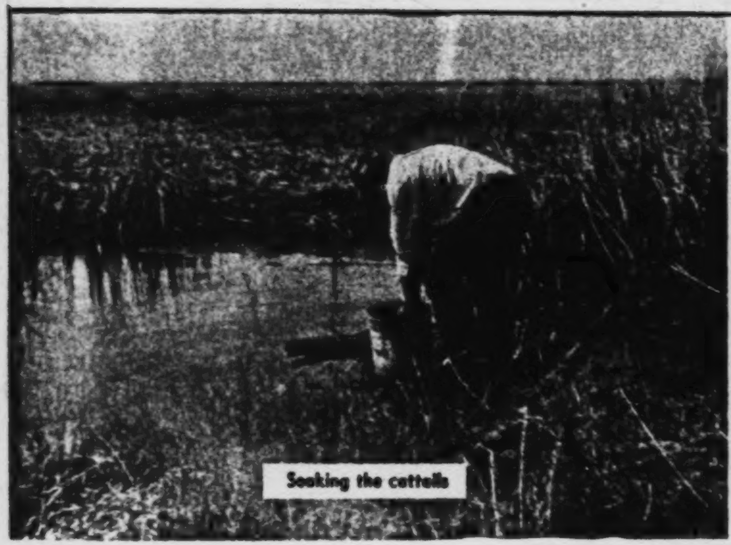
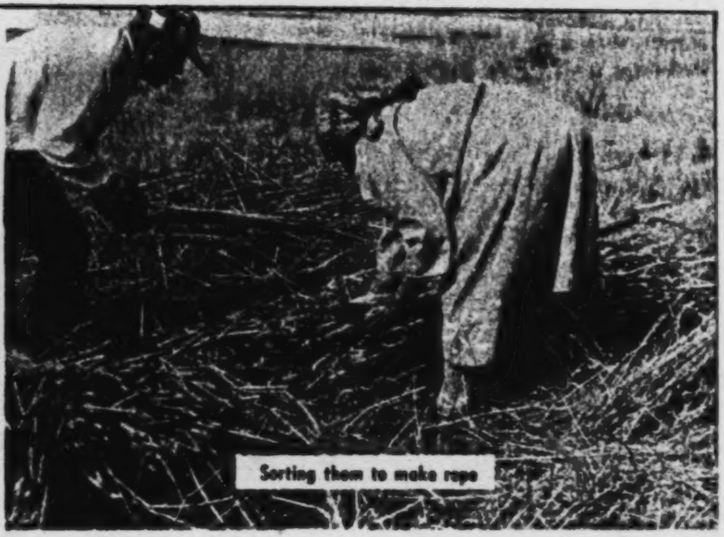


Gathering cattails

[End Plate 1 B]



Soaking the cattails



Sorting them to make rope

[End Plate 2A]

[415]

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Twisting them to make rope

Tying the tule bundle

[End Plate 2B]

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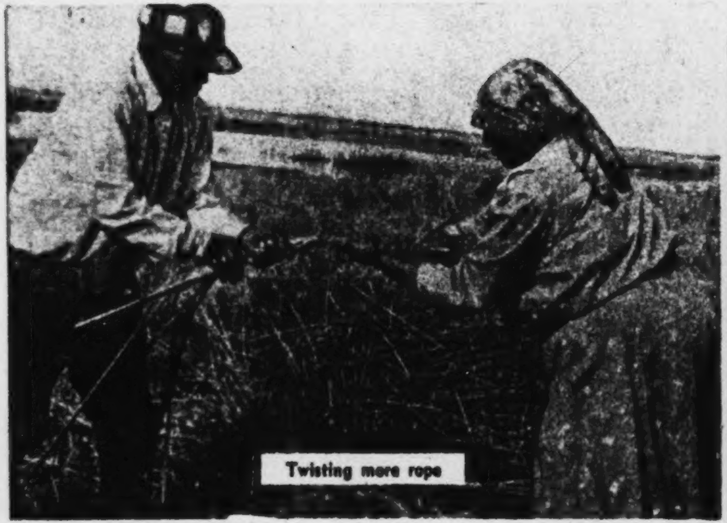
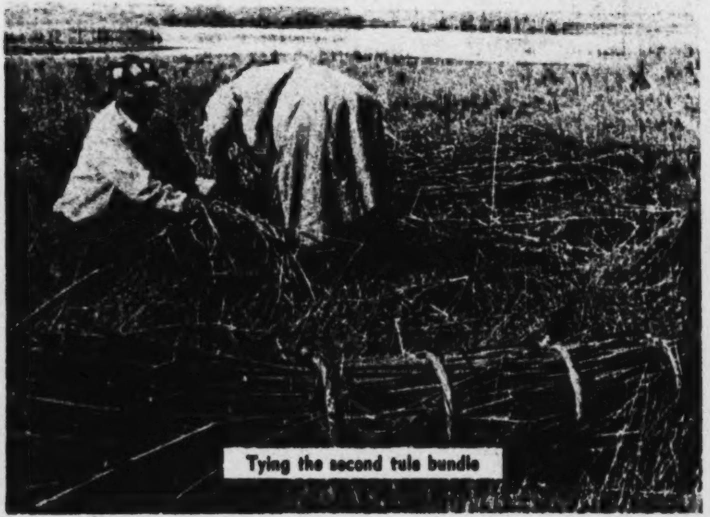
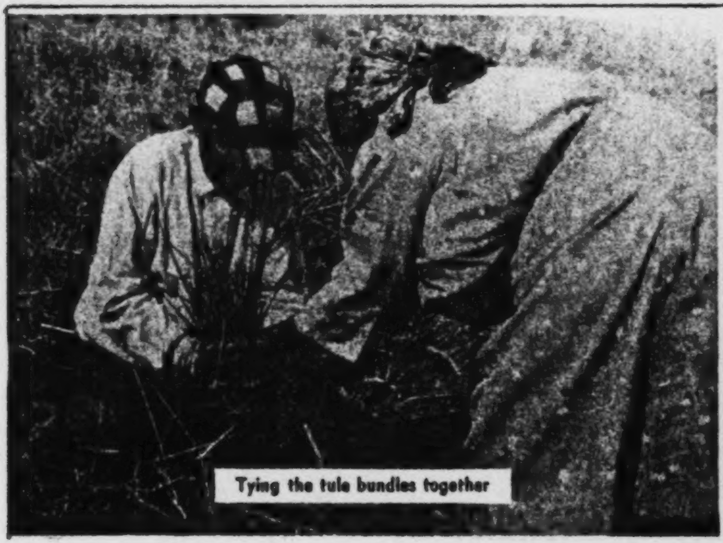


Twisting more rope

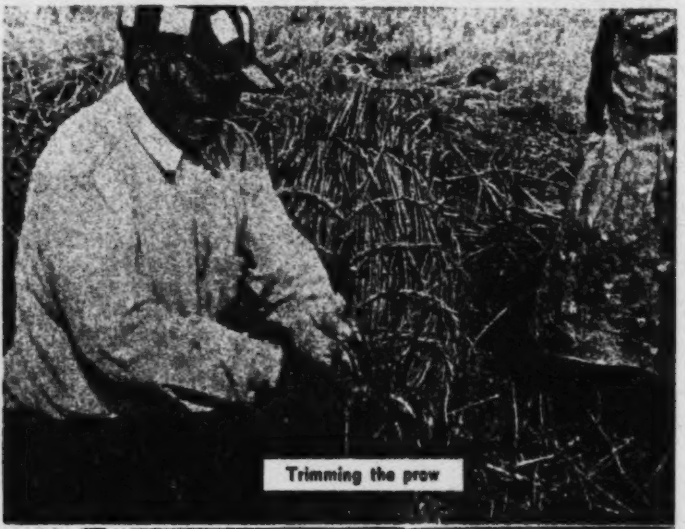


Tying the second tule bundle

[End Plate 3A]



Tying the tule bundles together



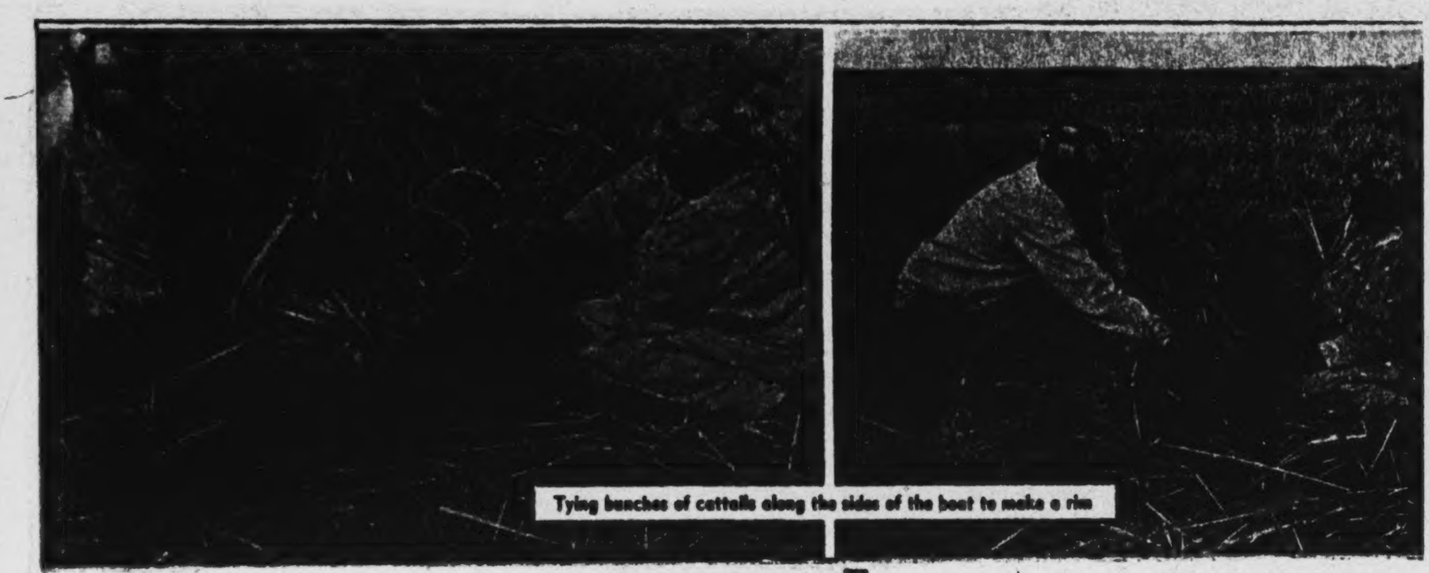
Trimming the prow

[End Plate 3B]

Tying the stern with a cattail rope

Trimming the stern to make it round

[End Plate 4 A]



Tying bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat to make a rim

[End Plate 4B]

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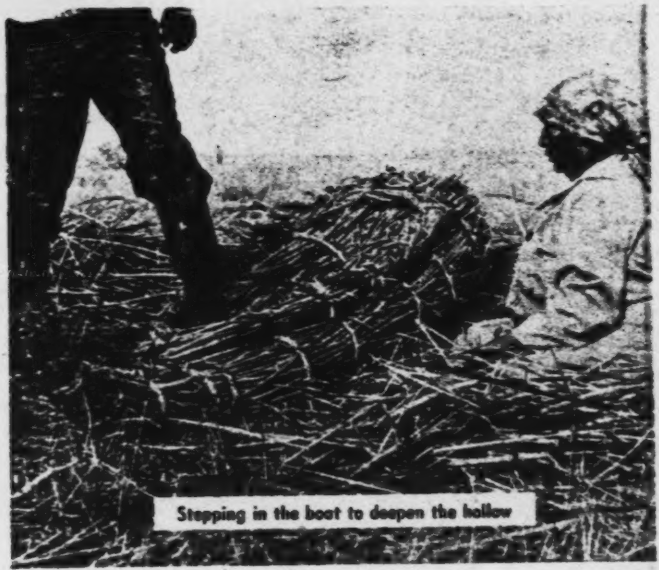

Stepping in the boat to deepen the hollow

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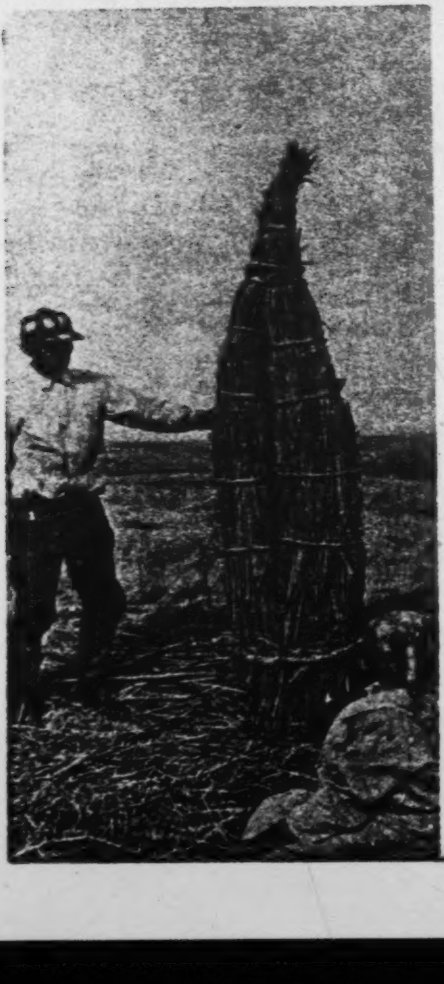

[End Plate 5A]

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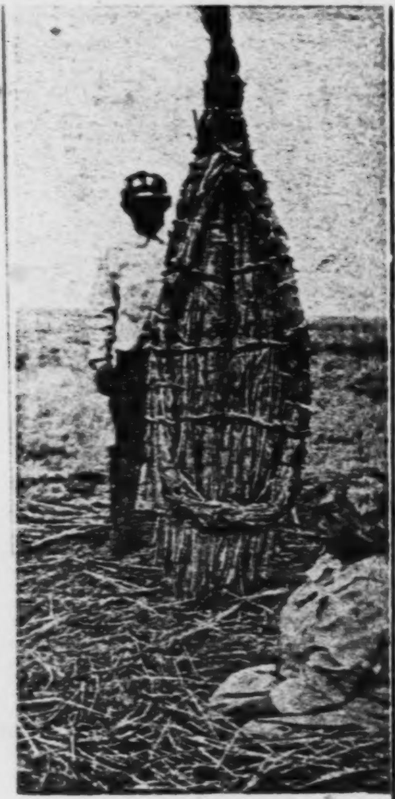
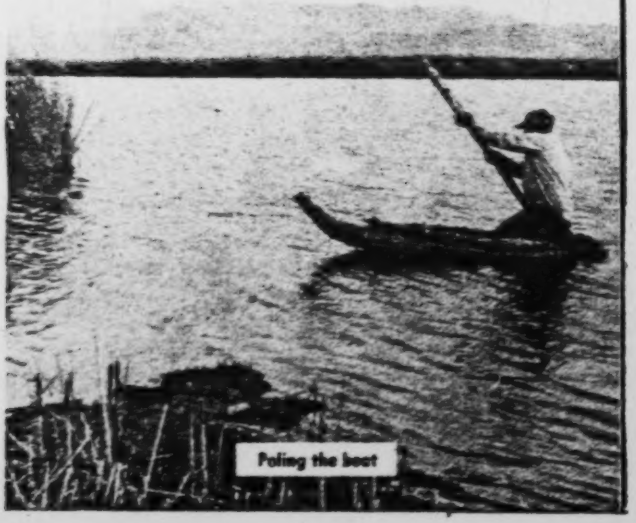


The completed boat

[End Plate 5 B]



Poling the boat

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Gathering cattails

[End Plate 6A]

Putting the willow poles in place

Tearing the strips of denim

[End Plate 6B]

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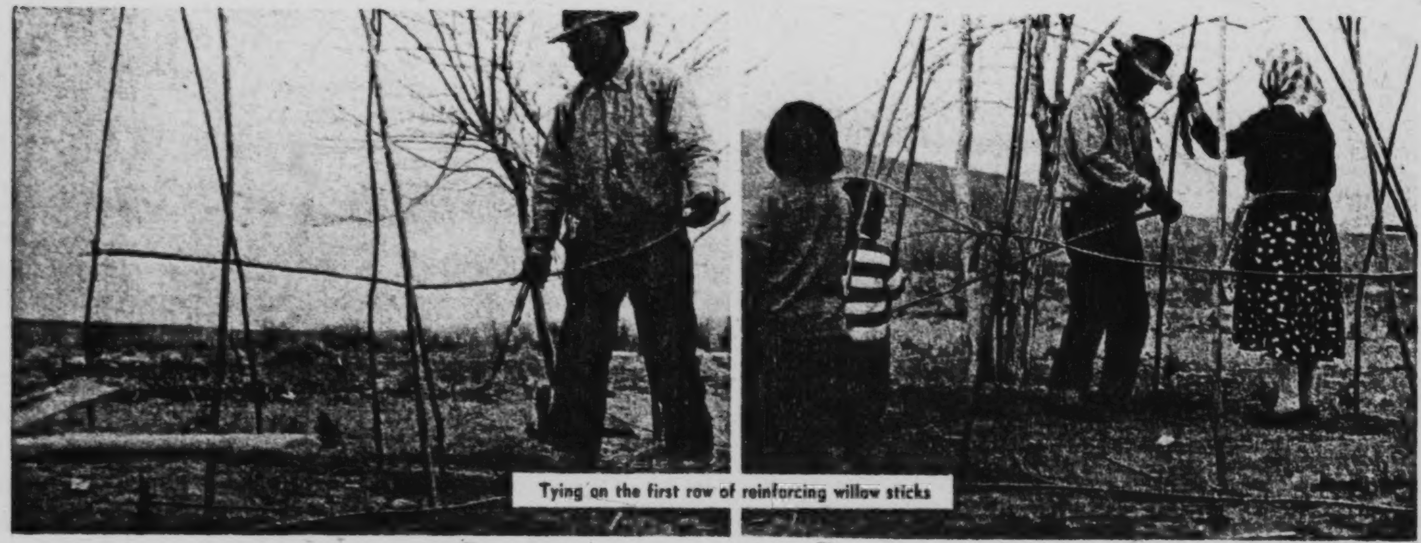
10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Tying on the first row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End plate 7A]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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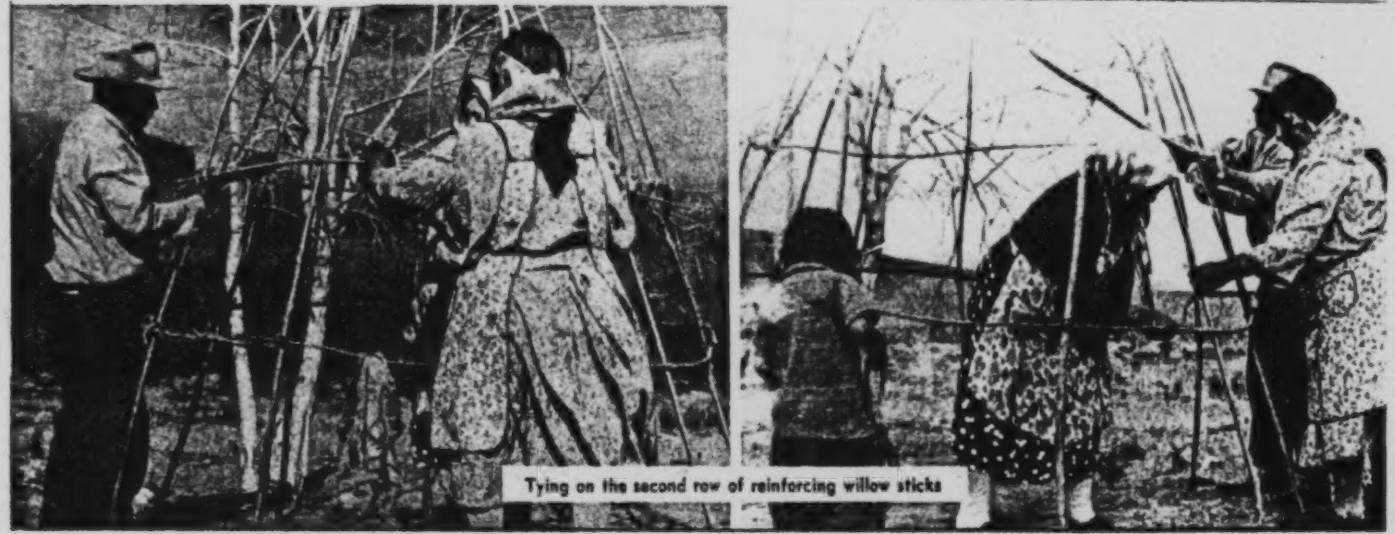
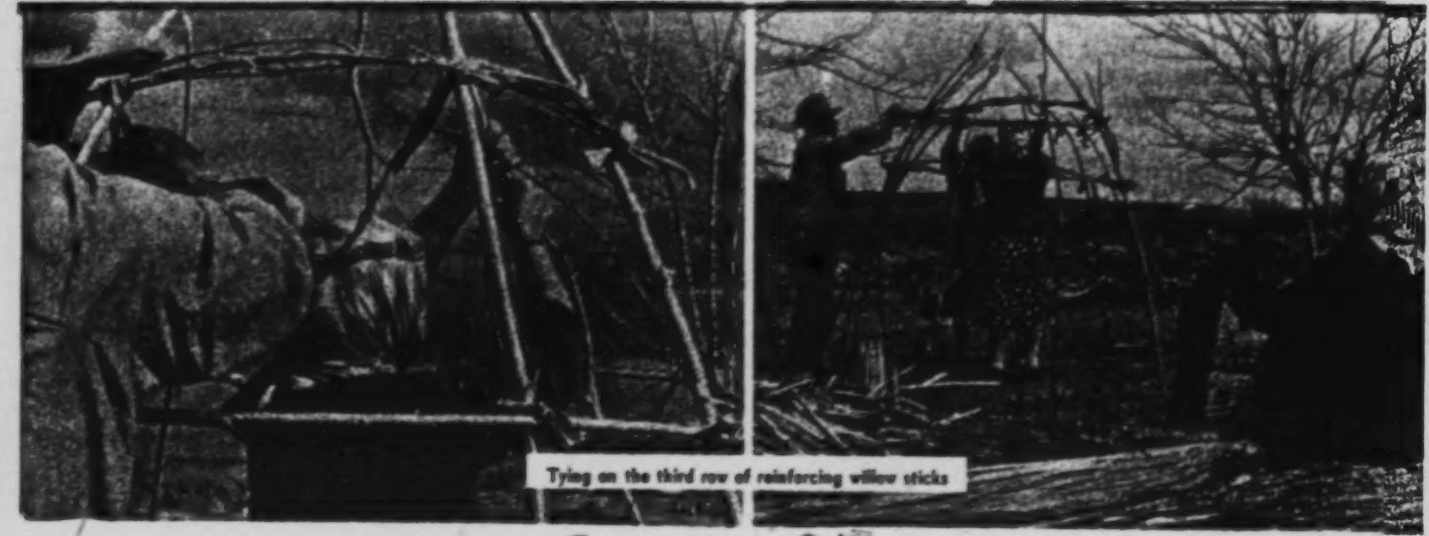


Tying on the second row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 7B]



Tying on the third row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 8A]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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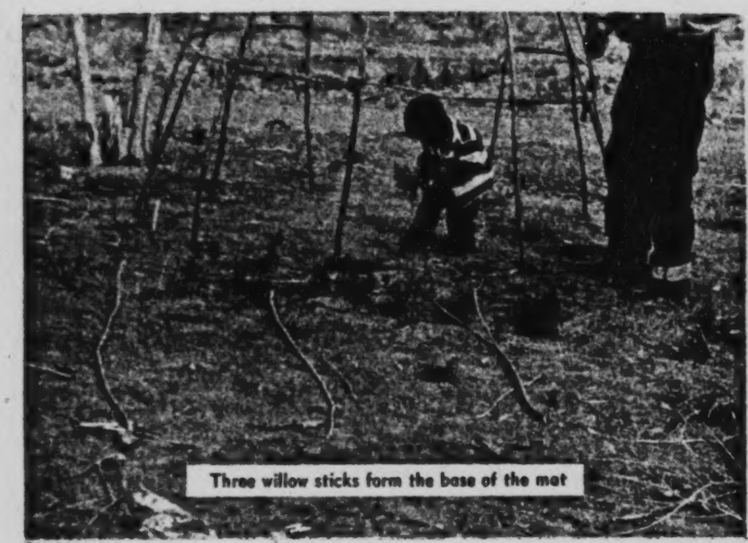
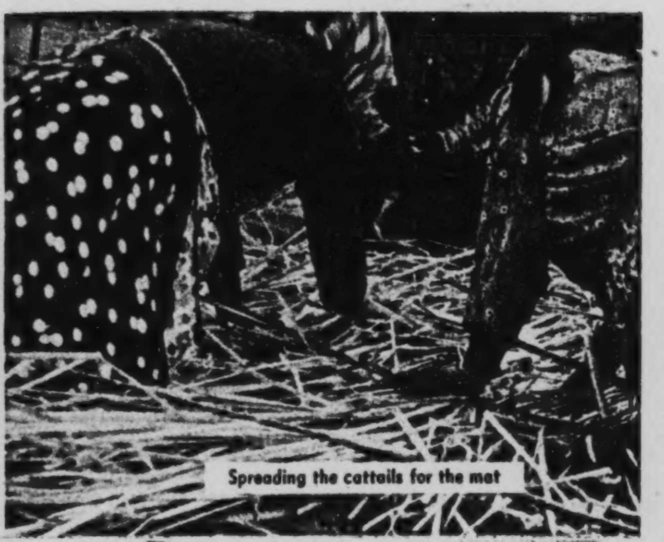


Three willow sticks form the base of the mat



Spreading the cattails for the mat

[End Plate 8B]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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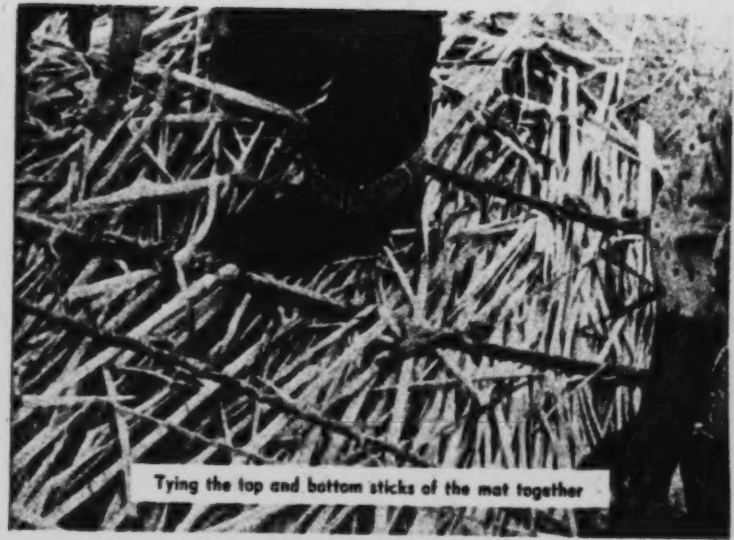
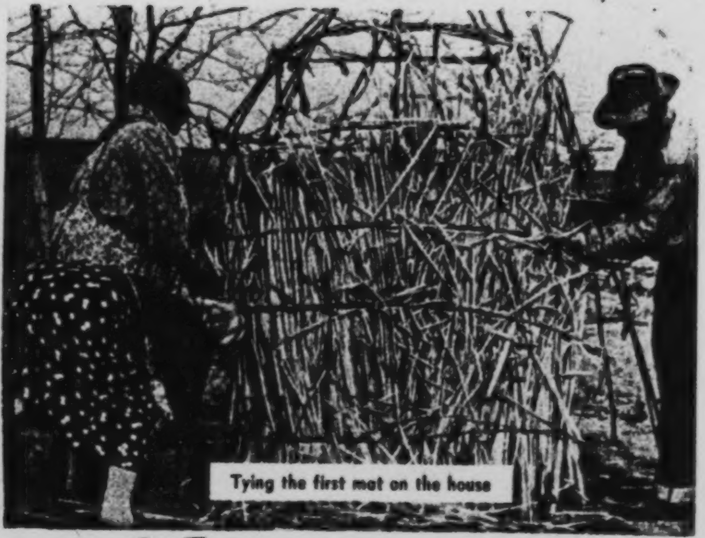
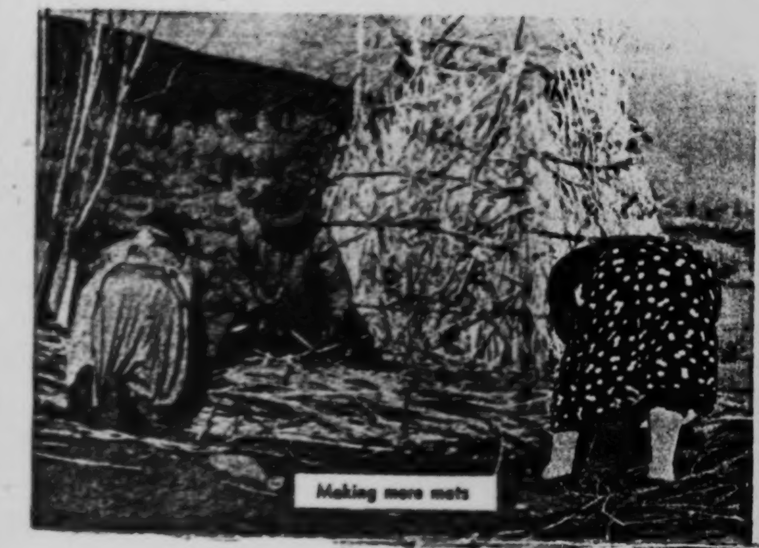


Tying the top and bottom sticks of the mat together

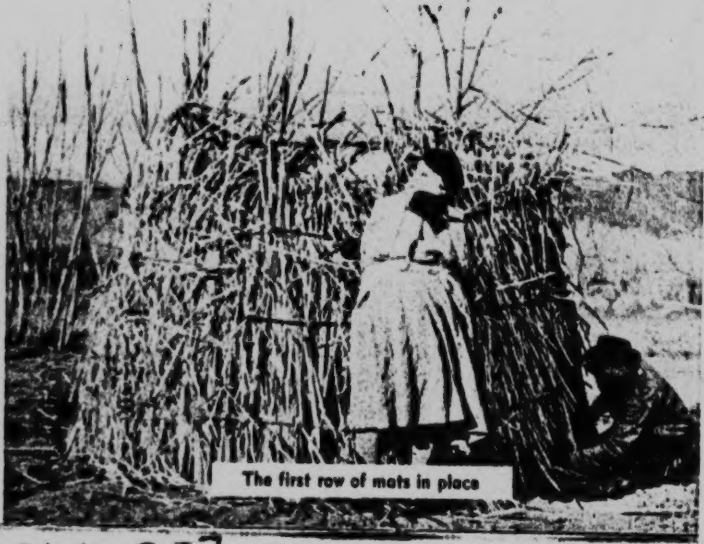


Tying the first mat on the house

[End Plate 9A]



Making more mats



The first row of mats in place

[End Plate 9B]

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, 159
"shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower."

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort 159
of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type characteristic 291
of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress
as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is [177]
apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and
heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in
red leather leggings and a pair of mocassins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side
was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was [302]
brushed smoothly back from her forehead."

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the 159
outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco 648
on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accomplish much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West.

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be determined 159
if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement.

PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000 in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342 winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361
Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342
Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is ***Kuyuitekade*** meaning "*Kuyui*
(*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built [101]
of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a
man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291]
while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket
which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [513]
a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright
willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at [782]
the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal
containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [415]
bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342 in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. [136]
The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156–57).

PLATE 3

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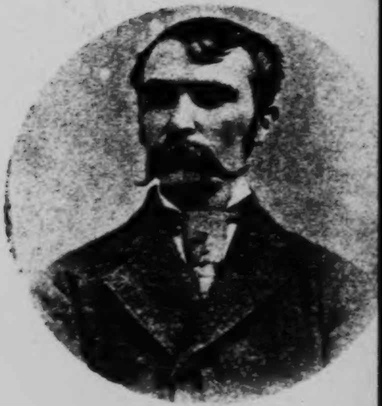

PLATE 4

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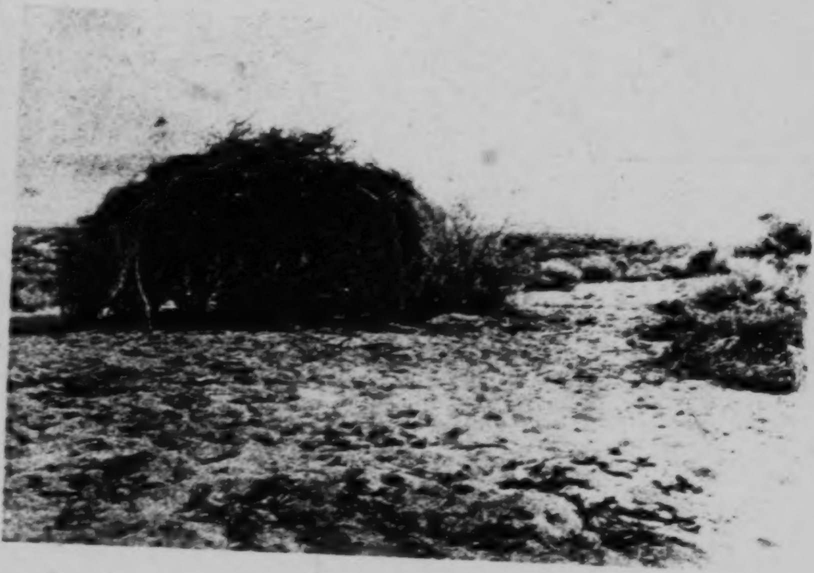

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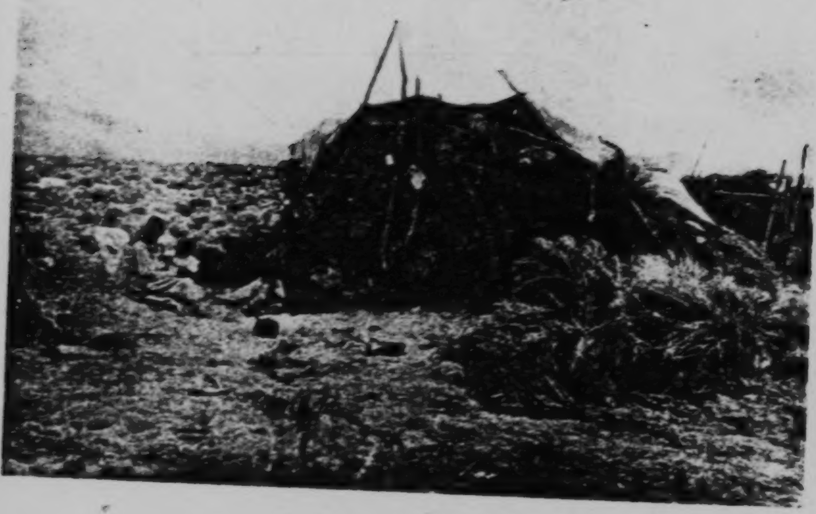
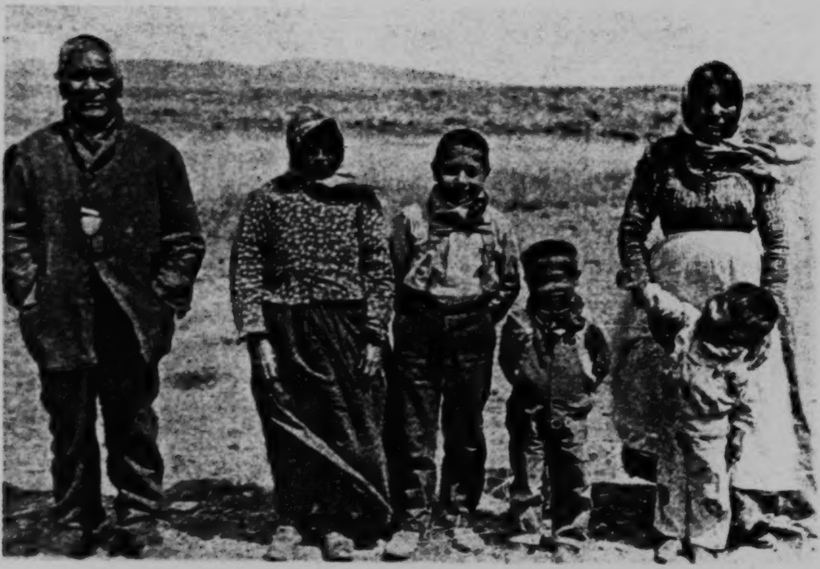


PLATE 6



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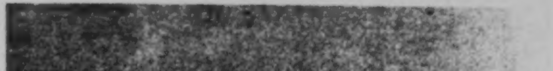

342

PLATE 7

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● 291
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PLATE 9

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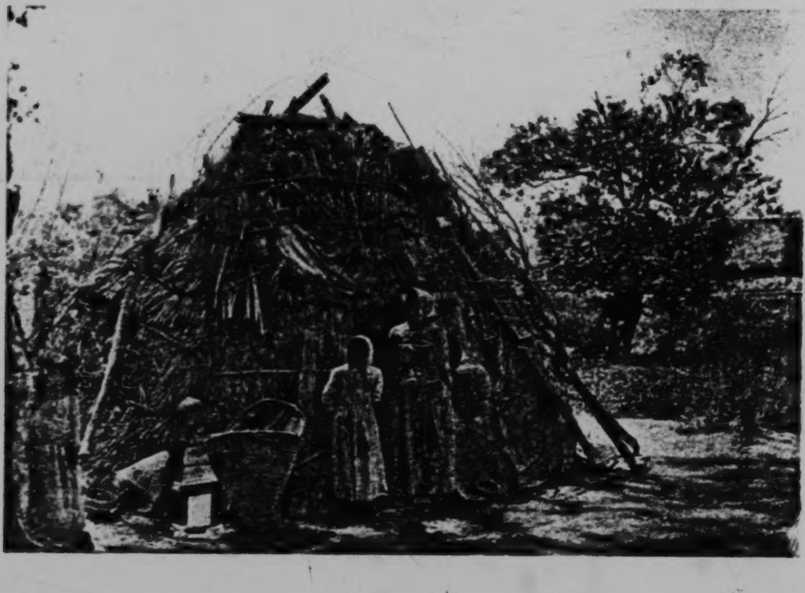
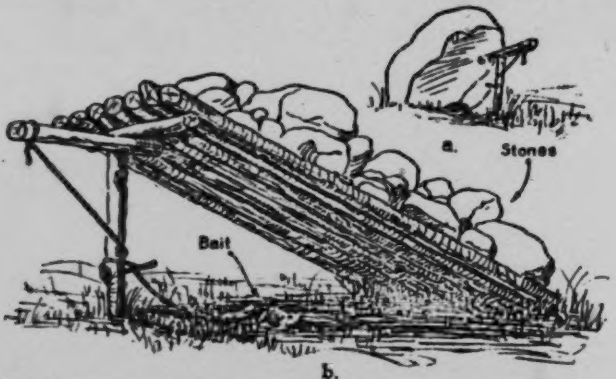
● 291
482



The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than words of how the weight was released. 224

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east. Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin. 291. [136] [172] 291 [172] [178] [231] [136] [224]



224

Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill. 224

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for [731]
> the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who
> sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were
> unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen
> along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large [251]
> numbers and tons of them are dried for later use.

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to 237
constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel
(osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches 301
said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the [226]
Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, [262]
the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and [439]
would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for
olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women [756]
wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787]
The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella*
biplicata, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may [192]
be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water
Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called
potE.

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of 824
plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute
equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[40] is also given whenever it is in
anywise similar.

pamahape, bog-rush, *Juncus*. Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wûp.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten. [262]

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris*. Gosiute name, saip.

sawipi, awapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata*. Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wä pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[40] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

.824 [285] sebI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to se in composition; for example se-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sihopi, sihupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] sune, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-ne is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] [262] [226] taEpi, greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook (chotetoma) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] [302] [291] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, taima, is gathered, inclosed in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] [411] [172] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*. The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wokwokobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

woyapuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] [227] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida. [193] Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described 825 the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 773 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1/1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipō or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1/1] [See Category 116, End Plate 68 -- Analyst]

Frontispiece

142
291
302
854
115

KITTY JOAQUIN
1954

[Facing P. i, A]

Wadátkuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of 283
the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that
tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that [114]
her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to
a lack of experience.

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but 285
were made with a twined weft element and were called
túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u}
(heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat
was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house
(káni) as noted in a preceding section.

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs 227
of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, [501]
as mentioned in a section above.

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the 291 ●
Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the
hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease [281]
removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin
blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets
when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave
it the name pongadziwik^{ya}.

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn
together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin
was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer
to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held
the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and
were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece
moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They
reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys
Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin
said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The
soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers
were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for
moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty
and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins.
Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were [824]
made of tules and bark.

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they [292]
were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po',
was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [881]

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[881] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237]

Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab[1] (after naká, "ear")
[304] and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pishuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name mumútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbõ' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

Wadatkuht

[P. 88]

Plate 1

115
● 291
142

a. Kitty Joaquin

b. Kitty Joaquin and her daughter Gladys

c. Lena Joaquin Calvin

d. Grant Servilican

e. Gladys Mankins, Kitty Joaquin, and Ike Northrup

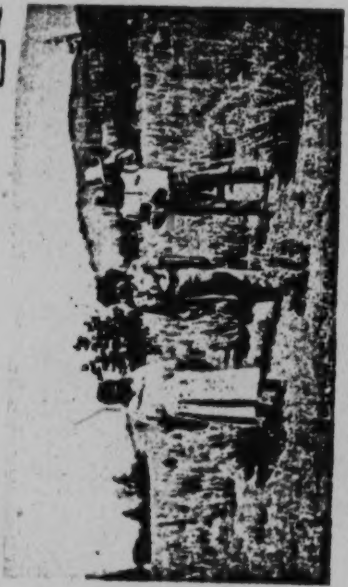
[End Plate 1]

Wadátkuht

[P. 89]

Plate 2

● 291
[115]



b. Kitty Joaquin, Gladys Mankins, and Ike Northrump at Matō

d. House pit at Matō

361

857

a. Village of Matō

c. Slide at Matō

[End Plate 2]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Wadatkuht

[P.90]

Plate 3

343
←

● 291
222
→

b. Frame of sweat house

d. Gathering [illegible]

415
291
←

133
→

a. Bedrock mortars at Hatá

c. Kukwaᵃ'tu or "Wind Hole"

[End Plate 3]

Wadátkuht

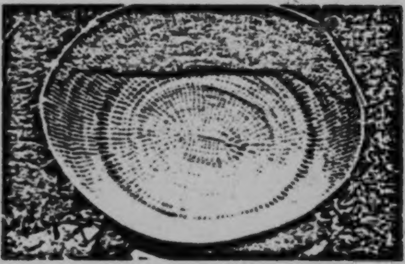
[P. 92]

Plate 5

285

[252]

a. Washing "wild potatoes" with yabia, "sieve"



b. Coiled basket

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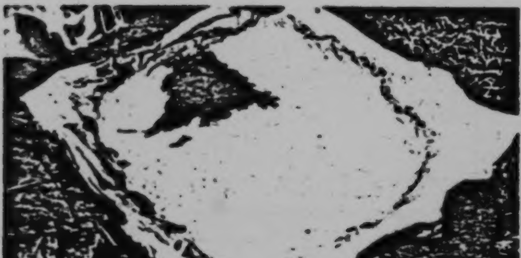
222

c. Digging "wild potatoes"

252



d. Leaching acorn flour

[End Plate 5]

Headgear

291 One would rather expect the basket hat from analogy with surrounding groups such as the Nevada Paviotso,[101] the Achomawi, and the Klamath, but informants, both from Bidwell and Beatty, flatly denied its use.[102] Joshua said that a few women wore basket caps secured from the Achomawi, but that other than these, they were not worn. Women either went bare-headed or covered the head with buckskin the way in which the bandana is worn today (pl. 21*a*). When a heavy load was slung from the head, a pad of sagebrush bark prevented chafing.

291 Men wore a fillet of deer, otter, or coon skin to which feathers
292 were sometimes tied. As far as I could determine, the eye shield[103]
was unknown, but visored caps were made of badger, wildcat, skunk,
or mink skin. A man who did not wear such a cap had to shield his
eyes with his hands "in order to see any distance." Children sometimes
wore a badger-skin cap. There was doubtless much individual
variation in headgear; some men made hats from wildcat heads.

HAIRDRESS

302 Both sexes wore the hair long. According to two informants,[104] men and women wore the hair in two braids, one over either ear. At chest level the braids were tied together with a buckskin thong and thrown back over the head "out of the way." Minnie Anderson of Bidwell and Lizzie Godowa of Beatty still preserve this mode of hairdress. Daisy said that women wore two braids, one over either shoulder, and that men dressed the hair similarly save for the fact that they twisted instead of braided it. It was twisted for a distance, wound with buckskin, and the ends allowed to hang loose. Nowadays all men wear the hair clipped short. Dr. Sam said that the Silver Lake women wore their hair in two braids while the men had three, one either side of the head and one down the back. Men cut bangs and combed them into a pompadour. Nannie Ochiho reported a three-braid coiffure for women.

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[101] Lowie, SE, 217.

[102] Tom Anderson did report the basket cap, but he was born in Nevada, and the information presumably applies to his own band.

[103] Which is of tule among the Klamath. Barrett, plate 17, figure 6.

[104] MA, JB.

301 "Shells from the ocean" (haliotis), called naka'goabi (naka', ear; goabi, shell), were secured from the Warm Springs Indians. The shell was filed into shape by being rubbed on a stone and was pierced with a bone awl. The shell was attached to the ear with sinew. Daisy Brown asserted that nothing else was ever worn in the ear, but complete reliance on a foreign product seems unlikely, and Joshua is probably correct in his contention that "stuff for earrings could be found on the edges of lakes. It was broken and worked with sand or rubbed on a rock."

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES

SKIN DRESSING

281
462 Skin dressing is one of the few old arts which flourishes today. Practically all the work is done by women, although men are acquainted with the process and are said to assist upon occasion. Virtually all the middle-aged women and most of the younger ones are thoroughly versed in the art. There is considerable traffic in buckskin gauntlets, but these are the only articles produced commercially. 292 Buckskin dresses and other kinds of clothing are sometimes made for wear at the fairs, but they are scarce and bring very fancy prices.

281 The skinning is always done by a man; "women don't know how." According to Piudy, the belly is first slit from mouth to crotch and the insides of the fore and hind legs cut upwards to meet the ventral cut. The hoofs are sometimes left on. A cut is made around the back of the neck, eliminating the face parts altogether.

My most complete account of skin dressing follows:

> To skin[112] a deer, cut up the inside of the legs, starting with the back legs. Then cut up the belly. When you are going to use the hide for gloves, cut from the lower lip to the ear, around the ear, and around the back of the head. Indians cut around the ears and horns and leave them on the head.
>
> Soak the hide in water which covers it. Lean a smooth stick against the house, and put the hide over it, catching it between the pole and the house. Clean the inside of the hide with a draw knife (horse ribs used formerly). Work the knife with both hands, downward, toward you. Then turn the hide and scrape off the hair the same way.
>
> Next put the hide in water and work it to get off the blood. When it is white, tie it to a post or tree and wring it. Then hang it on the clothes line.[113] It is

---

[112] Piudy's account should be taken in preference to this, because feminine informants are less familiar with the skinning.

[113] "They didn't peg down a hide; they dried it from the limb of a tree" (P).

was reported by Piudy, "Take the stem (wood) of sagebrush and twist it with bark. Then light the end and it will keep burning. Keep waving it." 372

The eyeshade was not used, but people traveling in the snow smeared charcoal under the eyes to prevent blindness. 293 751

292
481

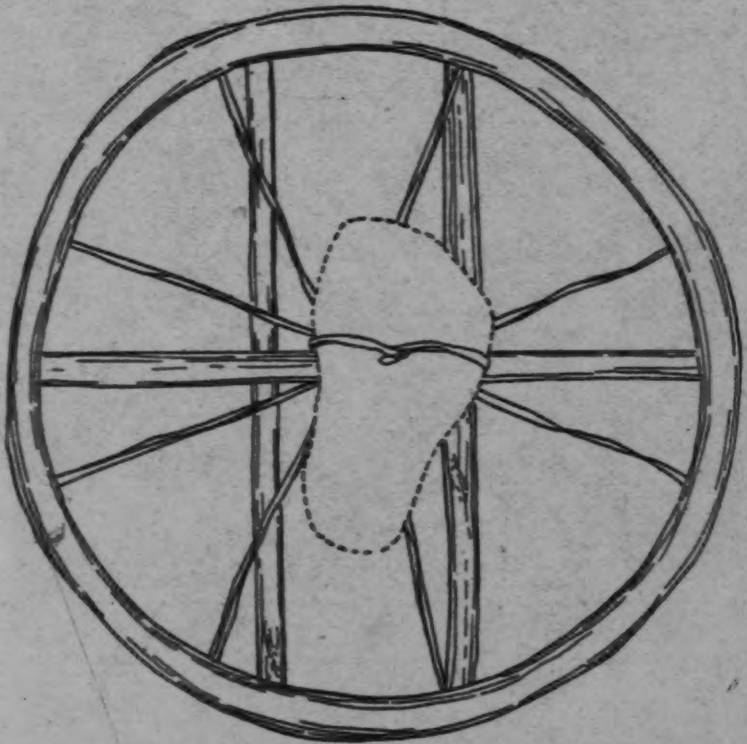

Fig. 10. Snowshoe. Redrawn from a sketch by Charlie Washo.

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes (sikū') were made by men "because they knew how." Women did not wear snowshoes. The frame was sometimes of willow, but usually of service, and was round. Small sticks of the same wood were used in lieu of netting. According to Daisy, two sticks were crossed at right angles and the ends lashed to the frame. The foot was placed over the center, and a thong passing across the instep was tied at either side to the stick. This could not have been very secure, but she denied the use of additional fasteners. Pindy said that the foot was tied three times from toe to instep and

● 292 481 once about the heel. Daisy remarked that the Klamath snowshoe figured by Barrett[177] "would get all out of shape because they used skin instead of sticks."

The diagram in figure 10 is from a sketch by Charlie Washo. It calls for three crossing sticks instead of two and for radiating thongs of deer hide.

[789] Nellie Townsend said that formerly snowshoes were boiled to bring rain and that nowadays they were fried instead of being boiled. This was called "killing the snowshoes." Other informants seemed unfamiliar with this practice.

501 *Balsa.*—The balsa (sai'-saki') was used on the lake when hunting ducks and young geese, but not for fishing. A single bundle of tules was kept alongside on which to place the birds killed. Two informants said that the balsa was sometimes used "up north" to cross streams. It was not required in the Surprise region.

The balsa consisted of two bundles of tule (saib^{a}) tied at the ends with the same material[178] or with bark twine. Both ends were turned up so that the craft could proceed in either direction. The balsa was always made by the men. For a single individual it was about four feet long; larger ones held four or five people, a "whole family."

Various methods of propulsion were reported. Pindy thought that the balsa was punted with a long pole. According to Joshua it was paddled (*not* punted) with a willow ten or twelve feet long. Daisy claimed that "they had no oars, paddles, or poles. They just used their hands and feet, and they used to get pretty wet." Pindy thought that the last mentioned system was used only by persons unable to swim.

Some said that the balsa was not used a second time, but was discarded and a new one made; others, that it could be used again if removed from the water.

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[177] Plate 17, figure 1.

[178] A specimen which Lowie purchased at Fallon was tied with toib^{i}, cat-tail. SE, 249.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
173] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
A 1333. To: Bought from California. AE: Only
[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads
on dress. Obtained from California Indians W
of Achomawi.

1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung to wear were the only bone beads.

W [301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N [172] 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl. 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

● N 292 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.
N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face
302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
246 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red
[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
A 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,
[135] SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green
[322] and blue.
N 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abun-
[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of
Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John
T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny
powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another
mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-
N rial as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is
[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena,"
which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil
A spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got
from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from
[439] the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2
302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of
otter fur" (Curtis, 61).

1382. Ki: – (Kelly, 115, but she cites De Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).

1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed braiding style before white people arrived.

W [302] 1387. Wa: – (Smith, notes).
N 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
[172] 1396. To: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

paid in silver which is placed in a cup of water until the doctoring is completed. 755
If a woman is ill, it is customary for some woman relative to take the money to the 756
doctor; if a man, a male relative. Occasionally when a doctor is on some case, he will treat the minor or chronic ills of other persons for a reduced rate, charging only one dollar for such service.

The choice of doctors is limited. In the old days, when the camp groups were scattered, it was usually necessary to send someone in search of a doctor and there was little opportunity for choice if the matter was pressing. Today, when the community is localized and there are two doctors, the family will choose the one they trust most—the one who has been most successful in treating the family. If the disease is unusual, however, and one in which the other doctor is reputed to be particularly versed, they may summon him instead of the family doctor. For example, some doctors have a reputation for being particularly adept at working on unconscious people. If the symptoms have lingered for a long time and doctorings have not been successful, the family may postpone further treatment until they can get some visiting doctor from another locality or band.

The doctor, after he has been summoned and paid according to his specifications, sets a time and a place for the doctoring. In the old days, it seems to have been customary to construct a special house for the ceremony. If the weather was clement, a sagebrush enclosure sufficed; when this was impractical, a thule or cloth house was set up. Nowadays, the doctorings are held in the ordinary wooden dwellings, usually the home of the patient. A stove replaces the old fireplace which was located in the center of the dwelling. Formerly, the patient was placed on one side of the door and the spectators sat in a circle inside and close to the walls of the house, leaving the central space around the fireplace clear. In so far as it is possible, the same arrangement is attempted in the frame house, although the position of the stove usually necessitates a slightly different organization.

Doctorings usually take place soon after sundown and last late into the night, sometimes until dawn. There were a few exceptions to this recorded. In one instance the doctoring took place in the day time because the patients were drunk in the evening when the doctor had said he would work, and, since he was leaving Burns the following evening, he agreed to work in the morning.

It is considered important to have a large company present for each doctoring. [844
All adults, except pregnant or menstruating women, are permitted to attend. It is 843]
claimed that such women cause the patient to sweat, and, when they attend the meetings despite the taboo, they are thought to cause some doctors to become hoarse and have difficulty in speaking. Children are not allowed. In the old days when the camp groups were small, every one in the community who was able usually attended; but now, when the community is much larger, the people who participate seem to be limited to the members of the patient's family and clique.

In the old days, the doctor had no distinctive costume. He wore a breechclout [292]

755 756 [292] and moccasins and occasionally a skin shirt. Nowadays the doctors wear American clothes. For some reason, however, American shoes are not allowed, and furthermore, doctors do not permit anyone to enter a house where a curing is in progress unless he wears moccasins.

[293] The doctor usually carries a pipe with special tobacco and a feather from the tail of an eagle or sagehen. Individual doctors may have other types of paraphernalia but the majority have only these items.

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Sometimes the doctor asks his power to show itself in some way, so that he and the spectators may know of its presence. For example, a doctor with power in clouds might ask them to make known their presence by sending rain, or another might ask the lightning and thunder to come. Some doctors perform tricks to demonstrate the presence of their power. One doctor walked on live coals. Another was reported to have cooled a red hot stove with his body. As he danced around the stove, occasionally leaning his body against it, he told the people that if the stove cooled it was a sign that his power would cure the sick man.

The appeal to the power is always accompanied by vigorous dancing. While singing and between songs the doctor dances around the fire, pausing now and then to rest and smoke his pipe, which is passed among the spectators at other times. A few doctors have assistants who dance with them.

755 Water is often sprinkled around the room at some time during the ceremony. I do not know the explanation for this except that water is recognized as a purifying agent and is spoken of as being like the human breath.

Sucking is part of nearly every ceremony. The doctor often sucks out some foreign object and thus effects a cure. He spits the object out of his mouth and shows it to the people. He then mixes it with dirt in his hands, rubs his hands together, and the object disappears. Sometimes he vomits the object into a pan of earth to make it disappear. In the case of the bullfrogs, the doctor sucks them from the patient's body and then drives them out of the house.

This is the basic pattern which varies according to the special rituals of the doctor and the nature of the disease which is being treated. It is difficult to say just which part of the ceremony is for the purpose of diagnosis and which for curing. As in other aspects of the culture, the Paiutes did not make general statements and I was forced to deduce the theories from an analysis of the reports of the treatment of concrete cases. For example, sucking is sometimes for the purpose

PLATE 1

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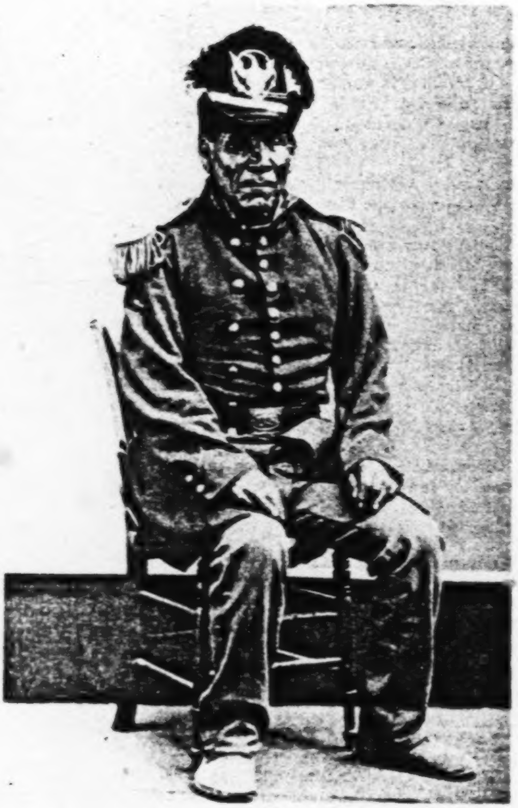
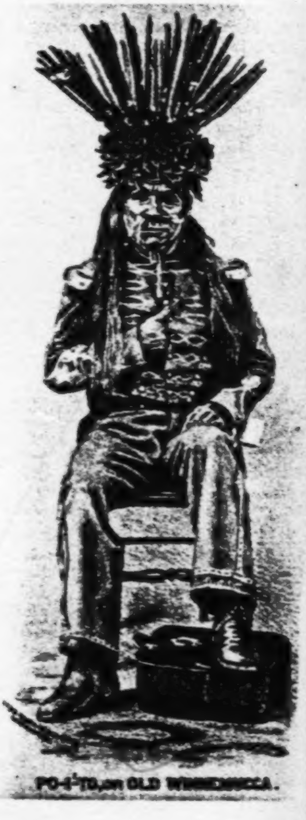
142
301





PO-I'-TO, OR OLD WINNEMUCCA.

PLATE 2

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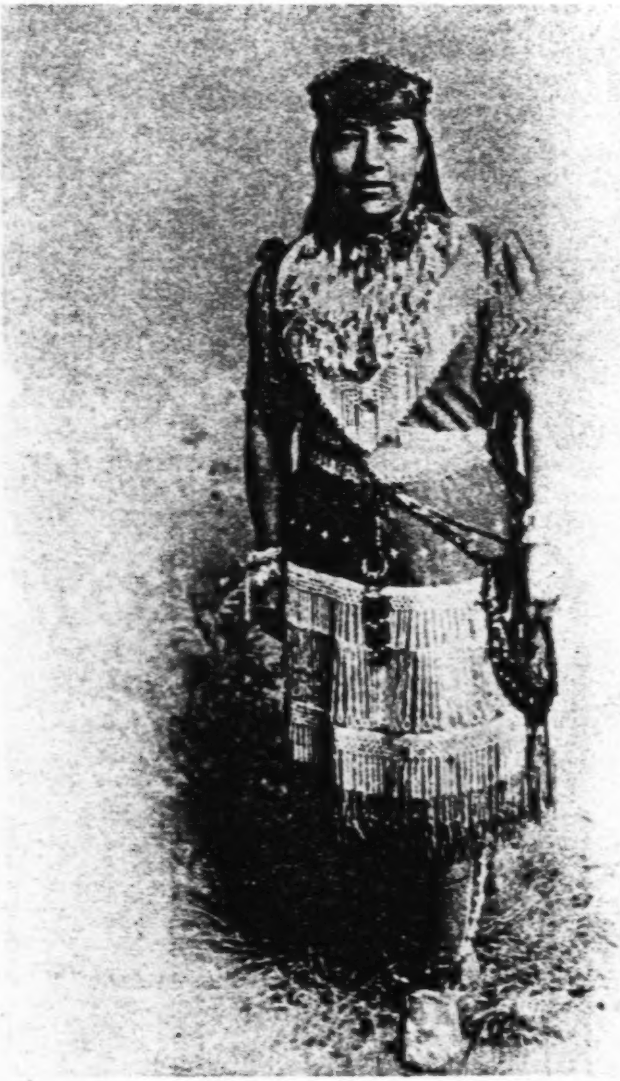

Wadátkuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section. 285

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
● [292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[881] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237]. Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab[1] (after naká, "ear")
and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
[304] which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pizhuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

was reported by Piudy, "Take the stem (wood) of sagebrush and twist it with bark. Then light the end and it will keep burning. Keep waving it." 372

The eyeshade was not used, but people traveling in the snow smeared charcoal under the eyes to prevent blindness. 293 751

292 481

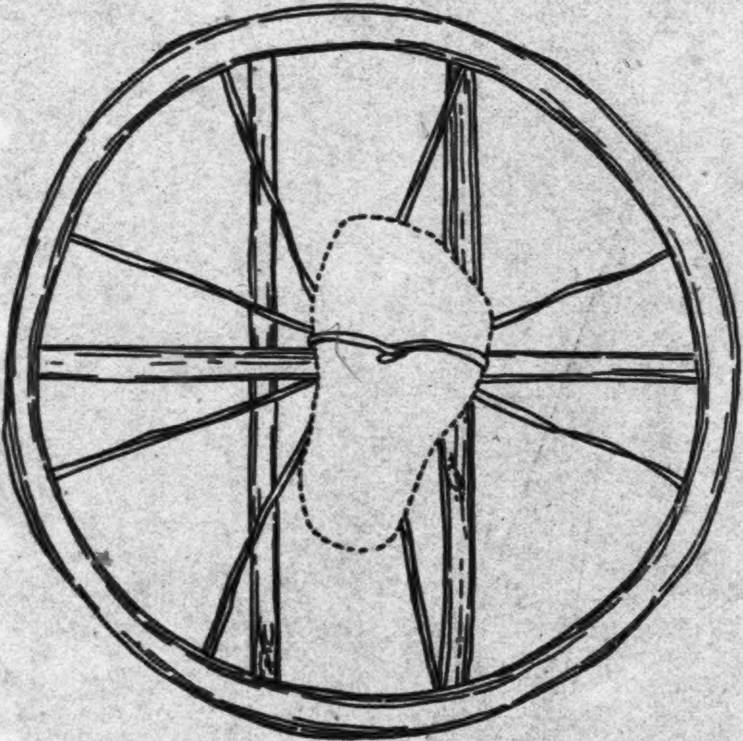

Fig. 10. Snowshoe. Redrawn from a sketch by Charlie Washo.

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes (sikü′) were made by men "because they knew how." Women did not wear snowshoes. The frame was sometimes of willow, but usually of service, and was round. Small sticks of the same wood were used in lieu of netting. According to Daisy, two sticks were crossed at right angles and the ends lashed to the frame. The foot was placed over the center, and a thong passing across the instep was tied at either side to the stick. This could not have been very secure, but she denied the use of additional fasteners. Piudy said that the foot was tied three times from toe to instep and

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291 the tail was cut off, not turned down. The skirt hung evenly around the bottom; it was not cut in points. The dress reached halfway between knee and ankle; the sleeves were about elbow length.

294 Sewing was done with an awl (witiũ') of mountain-sheep horn and sinew (ta"mu) from the back of the deer. Seams ran down the sides and on the shoulders, leaving a central opening large enough to admit the head. Joshua stated that in order "to look pretty," the side seams were fringed about an inch in depth and that the bottom was sometimes fringed, but never the sleeves. According to Daisy, the lower edges of the sleeves and skirt were fringed. Fringe was applied across the breast and encircling the hips as in the modern dress shown in plate 20*a*, *b*. The chief difference from that seems to be that in the old days the fringe did not extend across the shoulders in the back. Beads were sometimes strung on the fringe. The dress shown in plate 20*a*, *b* has been lengthened by the addition of a flounce.

294 531 Informants[77] were unanimous in averring porcupine-quill decoration, but unfortunately it was not possible to determine the exact nature of the work. Of course, no specimens have survived. All agreed that the quills were dyed yellow by being boiled with a lichen (*Evernia vulpina*) found on dry junipers. The quills were soaked in warm water until soft and the points broken off to make all a uniform length. They were flattened before being attached with sinew. I understood from several accounts that they were caught at one end only and were allowed to hang like fringe, but this is probably incorrect. Daisy Brown said that one obtained two colors by dyeing some quills and leaving others natural color. The quills were arranged in the desired design and stitched. Protruding ends were cut off and raw edges covered with a narrow strip of buckskin. The woman's dress bore extensive quill decoration. According to the different versions it was placed around the bottom and down the shoulders; on the sleeves and down the side seams; down the shoulders but never along the side seams; around the bottom, down the shoulders, and on the breast; around the bottom and in a yoke extending from the chest over the shoulders and around the back.

291 Beneath the buckskin dress a woman wore a belt with a strip of skin passing between the legs. It was similar to the man's breechclout, but somewhat wider, and bore the same name, nati'.

In winter a woman added a blanket of rabbit skins or of sagebrush bark. It was worn cape-like across the shoulders and was pinned on the chest with a small twig.

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[77] JB, MA, TA, DB, NO, MP.

Leggings

There seems to have been a considerable variety of legging styles which in native terminology fall into two types, the full length (kusa') and the knee length (witsa'wasa'konũp^{a}; witsa', calf of leg; wasa'konũp^{a}, tied below the knee).[80] Full length skin leggings attached to the belt were worn when hunting. They were seamed on the outside of the leg and "if a woman had time and wanted her husband to look nice, she might fringe the seam." 291

The shorter legging sometimes consisted of a mat-like piece of buckskin wrapped about the leg and tied on; sometimes of buckskin strips wound puttee-fashion and tied with string. Still a third type of short legging was of tailored deer skin with the seam on the outside. These various knee-length styles all bore the same name and were worn by both sexes.[81] Women wore them in winter and when digging roots, but not about camp. When at home a woman substituted a "long moccasin" which reached about half-way up the calf. A man wore leggings the year round. For him the short legging must have been inadequate under most circumstances, for he wore no covering between it and the buckskin shirt.

Footgear

The soft-soled deer-hide moccasin was the usual foot covering for both sexes, either traveling or at home. I do not recall seeing a single person, child or adult, barefooted.[82] Sandals were not worn; in default of hide, a moccasin was twined of tule or of sagebrush bark. Charlie Washo could remember old people who wore "tule shoes," but sagebrush bark seems to have been preferred. As Minnie Anderson put it, "Tules are no good for shoes. Sagebrush is nice and warm even if it gets wet." Sagebrush moccasins (watsi'-moko'; watsi', sagebrush-bark, moko', moccasin, nowadays shoe) were worn when going after water. Except for material, the model (pl. 27*b*) made by Minnie is identical with a Klamath specimen figured by Barrett.[83] When traveling or when hunting afoot in winter, grass or shredded sagebrush bark was stuffed inside the moccasin. 291 294

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[80] Translation by NH.

[81] Although Lowie, SE, 217, states that Paviotso women did not wear leggings.

[82] Informants repeatedly said of the Achomawi, "They were poor dressers. They never even wore shoes." When they killed a Paiute they are said to have taken his moccasins for their own use.

[83] Plate 17, figure 2, and plate 19, figure 2.

294 The moccasin was usually of deer skin, and a pair made from the thick neck part would last all summer. When the sole wore through a new one was added. Moccasins of badger skin lasted a little longer than those of deer skin; they were made with the hair side out and were especially good for winter wear. Dr. Sam mentioned moccasins of raccoon hide.

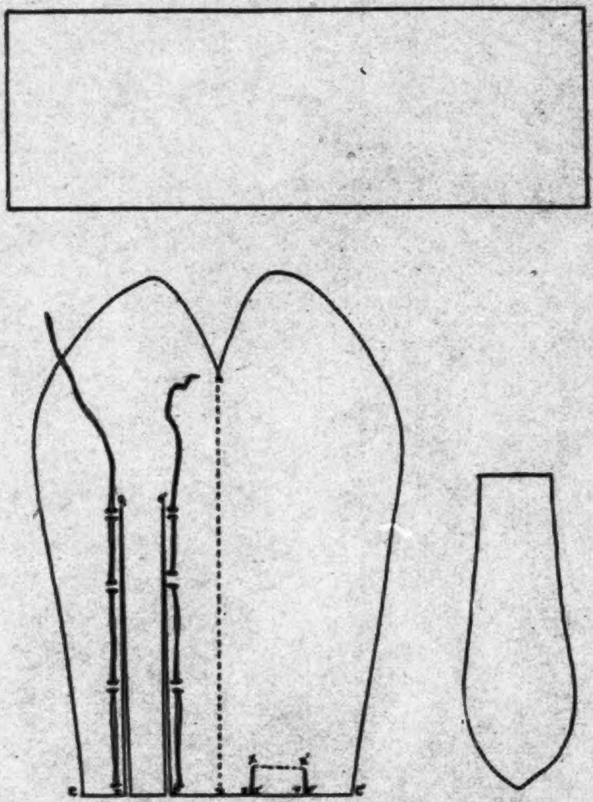

Fig. 1. Moccasin pattern.

It will be seen from figure 1 that the cut of the moccasin corresponds to Wissler's Pattern 8.[64] Informants deny having made a front-seamed moccasin. The hide is doubled on line *AB*, and the foot is placed on top with the folded edge of the hide along the inside of the foot. The outline is then traced, following the contour of the foot except at the back where the heel is cut straight across. A full inch margin is left. Still doubled, *AC* and *AC'* are stitched together. Two parallel slashes are then cut down the upper face, producing a very long and very narrow tongue, and two short slashes are made in the sole-half at *EE'* and *FF'*. The back seam is next sewn by joining *D'E* and *DCC'F* (*C* and *C'* already merged by virtue of the first seam). This leaves trailer *E'F* which is stitched along the dotted line to *XEF'X'*. It is caught from the inside and allowed to hang free as shown in the sketch[85] (fig. 2). Next, a straight strip four or five inches in width is cut. It is twice the length of the tongue slash and is sewn as a cuff to *GDD'G'*. A wider cuff was cut for the "long moccasin" sometimes worn by women. It is said to have reached about halfway up the calf. The cuff might be pinked around the edge, although none of the specimens I noted was so finished.

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[64] Blackfoot, figures 78 and 142.

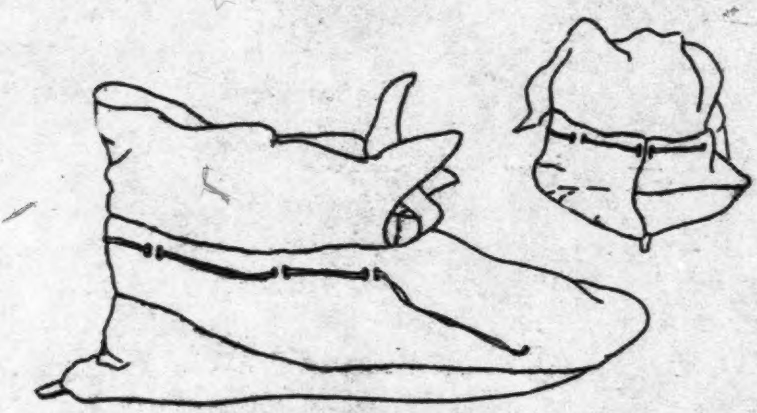

Fig. 2. Buckskin moccasin.

The narrow tongue formed by slashes *DG* and *D'G'* is normally replaced by a wider U-shaped one. It will be noted that the sole and upper are cut identical in size[86] and that the insertion of a two-inch tongue provides the additional width required over the instep.[87] In order to accommodate this tongue, the slash in the upper is cut lower and wider. The tongue (called mutiʼkwispakaᵃ, on top) in figure 2 is not U-shaped, but is cut straight across the base. In this case, it does not give additional fulness.

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[85] Nannie Ochiho was wearing moccasins without trailers but stated that she had cut them off.

[86] De Angulo, 319, states that the upper is cut wider than the sole.

[87] "When the moccasin is tight, put in a tongue" (DB).

294 Slashes are made in pairs just below the cuff and a thong[88] run through. When putting on the moccasin one pulls on the tongue and wraps the cuff about the ankle, inside over outside. The thongs are crossed on the instep and caught through the first loop on either side. They are then brought back to the instep, crossed again, and caught through the next side loops. They are finally returned to the instep, recrossed, and wrapped about the ankle once or twice and tied. Sometimes there is but one perforation at either side, just below the cuff and alongside the tongue. A thong is run through these holes (under the tongue), crossed on the instep, carried back and around a couple of times, and tied at the back.

The two right sides are placed together, sewing is done on the wrong side, and the moccasin turned when finished. Some specimens have welt seaming, that is, a narrow and discrete strip carried in the seam between the two surfaces which are being joined. This gives a ridged effect which is well shown in the skin cradle-covering, plate 30a. The cuff, sole-upper, and back seams of Nannie Ochiho's moccasins were all welt sewn. Daisy Brown thought that this technique was unknown in the old days.

171
294 Welt seaming seems to be fairly general but has attracted relatively little attention. Teit[89] mentions it for Thompson; and Mason,[90] for Kutchakutchin, Naskapi, Sitka, and Shoshone specimens. A Klamath-Modoc moccasin[91] collected by Barrett has welt seaming, and Dr. Spier tells me that it is also found among the Okanagan. Although Wissler does not mention it for the Blackfoot, his figure 78, and possibly figures 90 and 91, suggest a welt seam. Judging from the few Plains specimens available, it does not seem characteristic of that region, a fact which may or may not be of significance. A check of museum specimens would determine if the distribution is primarily northern and if the welt technique tends to associate itself with any particular moccasin pattern or patterns.

The analyses of Wissler and Hatt leave little to be said concerning moccasin patterns, but their distributions may be extended somewhat. Wissler[92] notes Pattern 8 for the Western Cree, Thompson, Nez Percé, Sarsi, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Northern Shoshone.

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[88] One selected at random measured 62 inches in length.

[89] Thompson, 210.

[90] Primitive Travel and Transportation, 346, 348, 352, 353.

[91] Cat. no. 1-12447.

[92] Blackfoot, 128, 142, and distribution table, 151; also Wissler, Costume Decorations, 106.

To these, Hatt[93] adds the Chippewa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Salteaux, 171
and Sioux of the Upper Missouri. He also notes a specimen from 294
northern Utah. By virtue of Teit's recently published paper,[94] the Plateau distribution can be extended to include "all the interior Salishan tribes," and specifically the Coeur d'Alene, Okanagan, Flathead, and Spokan. For the Shuswap, Teit[95] states that "a few people of the southern bands wore moccasins sewed on one side like the most common kind used by the Thompson tribe." Spier and Sapir[96] note Pattern 8 for the Kalispel and state that it is the prevailing style on the Yakima reservation today. Pattern 8 is also known from the Klamath,[97] and de Angulo[98] reports it for the Modoc and Achomawi as well as for the Surprise Valley Paiute.

The above distribution is a northerly and westerly one but the situation is complicated by the presence of several different moccasin types and by chronological considerations. The absence of Pattern 8 among certain Plateau groups, namely Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Wishram,[99] also requires explanation. The style is traditionally old among the Blackfoot, Thompson, and Coeur d'Alene, and recent among Spier's Klamath and Okanagan.[100] Unfortunately I have no data concerning its age among the Paiute. When asked, informants invariably replied that it was the old-time form. I do recall being shown a modern specimen which, as nearly as I can remember, accorded with Wissler's Pattern 10. In response to a leading question, my informant said that it was probably a "white man's moccasin." At the time I was not aware of the situation to the north and did not press the point further.

Mittens

Gloves were unknown in the old days, although at present they 291
constitute one of the principal articles of native manufacture. Dr. Sam said that when women were traveling they sometimes wore buckskin "mittens." Piudy said that women tied a rabbit skin, fur side in, on either hand. A similar arrangement of wildcat hide covered the whole of both arms, muff fashion. Neither the "mitten" nor the "muff" has a native name.

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[93] P. 179.

[94] Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, 72, 234, 334.

[95] Shuswap, 506.

[96] Wishram, 207.

[97] Spier, Klamath, fig. 21*b*.

[98] P. 319.

[99] Teit, Lillooet, 219; Teit, Shuswap, 777; Spier and Sapir, 207.

[100] Wissler, Blackfoot, 128; Teit, Thompson, 209; Teit, Salishan Tribes, 72; Spier, Klamath, 209; and Spier, in conversation.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
A
281
[294]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ta	K1	K2	Bb	To	T8	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	I1	AE
1473. Decoration: paint	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1474. Bone-bead pendants	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
Skirts														
*1475. 1 skin around waist	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1476. For women	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1477. Of buckskin	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1478. Of mt.-sheep skin	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1479. Of mt.-lion skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1480. Fringed	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
*1481. 2 skins, sewed sides	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1482. For women	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1483. Knee length	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1484. Fringed	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1485. Of deerskin	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1486. Of mt.-sheep skin	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1487. Of antelopeskin	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1488. Small front apron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1489. For women	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1490. For men	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1491. Of skin	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1492. Fringed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1493. Of shredded bark	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1494. Braids on cord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1495. Worn with back apron	·	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1496. Worn under dress	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1497. Large back apron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1503. Vegetable-fiber skirt	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1504. For women	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1505. Of shredded bark	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1506. Twined bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1507. Grass	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1508. Breechclout (G-string type)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1509. For men	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1510. For women	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1511. Of buckskin	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1512. Fur	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1513. Bark	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1514. Woven vegetable fiber	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1515. Leggings	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
*1516. Leggings: for men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
*1517. For women	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1518. Of skin, sewed	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
1519. Fur	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1520. Tule	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1521. Sage, twined	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
1522. Juniper	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1523. Length: hip to ankle	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1524. Hip to knee	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1525. Knee to ankle	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Footgear														
1526. Habitually barefoot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
*1527. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1528. Soft upper	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1529. Hard sole	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1530. Badgerskin sole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1531. Sole flat	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

N
W
A
291
281
294

N
[286]

N
A
[286]

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N ●
W
A
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294 ●

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1532. Sole molded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1533. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1535. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1538. Tongue added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1538a. Olivella-shell beading	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1545. Uppers added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1559. Rabbit hide	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
*1562. Sandal	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-
1564. Bark	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-
*1564a. Tule and rushes	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1570. Sinew	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
[286]
N
W
461

GAMES

N
A
524

	Te	Kl	K2	Kü	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1577. Ball Race (wutakoi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1579. And return	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1583c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1586. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 291 1481-1483. Paviotso: "The more prosperous wore skirts reaching to the knees" (Curtis, 69).

1488-1497. Paviotso: "Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind" (Curtis, 69).

A [291 287] 1493. AE: A shredded-bark apron was part of shinny costume, its only use.

1503. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 53). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): fiber skirt used by poor people.

W [290] 1506. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Leggings

1516-1517. Paviotso: Men wore fringed buckskin leggings; women wore no leggings (Lowie, 217).

1517. Ki: + (Kelly, 109).

Footgear

N 291 281 ● 294 1527. "Two-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; additional top or tongue might be added to either type (Loud, pl. 21). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 47).

[172] 1538a. Lovelock Cave: Moccasins beaded with Olivella were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 21).

1539. "One-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; tongue, top, or sole may be added. Wd: + (BJ). Ki: Kelly, 110, figures a moccasin in construction, and remarks it is like Wissler's pattern 8.

1540. Wd: - (SC).

1549. Wd: - (SC).

N [172] 1554a. Small moccasins with hair on found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 22,e).

1555. Ki: Kelly, 109 (pl. 27), describes and pictures bark moccasin. (Figured are John T. Reid specimens.)

1556. Wd: - (BJ).

1560. Kü: + (AL); she said badger hide toughest material for soles, and that hair left inside to keep feet warm.

1561. To: + (BS). Wd: - (SC).

N [171] 1562. Sandal a sole with strings or straps to hold it on the foot. Kü: + (AL). Although many sandals were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, pls. 22, 23), GW insisted that "the Paiute didn't wear shoes like Jesus wore. I've seen pictures of Jesus." Paiutes mostly went bare-

N [181] foot in old days and traveled at night to avoid hot ground, GW said. AL said she saw old Indians wearing sandals of tule, grass, and rush.

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo ; NT20
Achomawi; NS5

N
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281
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1564a. Lovelock Cave: About 80 tule-and-rush sandals were found (Loud, pls. 22, 23, and p. 55). Paviotso: Sandals worn (Lowie, 218; 207, fig. 5).

1565. Wd: - (SC).

N
524
525

GAMES

Ball Race

1577. Paviotso: Called wu'to'goin (Lowie, 262). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

A
[524]

1580a. AE: Willow arch.

1587a. Pa: Footgear determined by racers, but all wore the same.

1591. Pa: Runners raced in relays; in most bands all runners together.

1593. Sa: - (JM).

Football

1595. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: "Men played a football game (watci'muin)" (Lowie, 262).

Shinny

1596. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): nazi''tsaha.

A
[524]

1621. AE: Referee has to see that sticks are carried properly. While running, sticks must be held vertical.

1623. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

Hoop and Pole

1626. Culin describes the Pyramid Lake and Bannock hoop-and-pole games. At Pyramid the pole was 19 inches long, but the Bannock pole was much longer. At Pyramid the hoop was 2 3/4 inches in diameter (Culin, 495, 499). Hoop and pole called paci (DG) or baici (DM) in southern part of area, and nowikonoi (PS) in the northern. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: Called ipai'ciin. "If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored" (Lowie, 262). Wa, AE: Old-time Washo and Achomawi thought to have played hoop-and-pole game, although none of the Indians of these bands interviewed could tell any details of game.

A
W
[524]

1635. Owens Valley: Course 50 feet long (Steward, 287).

1642. Ts: Pole through hoop wins bets and sometimes gets double pay. Sa, Tg, At, Wd, Ki: After one person has his pole through hoop, others get a throw. Those who do not get poles through hoop forfeit their poles and so cannot play until they get new ones. No bets.

1647. When a player threw his pole through hoop, the others were eliminated if they did not also throw their poles through. Ki: Kelly, 171, reports the hoop-and-pole game as it was described

[p.437(N)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo . NT20
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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).

301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.

172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).

1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).

A 1333. TO: Bought from California. AE: Only
[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads on dress. Obtained from California Indians W of Achomawi.

1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung to wear were the only bone beads.

W [301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172] 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl. 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N 302 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).

177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.

N 302 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).

● 216 [172] 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."

A [135] 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill, SE of Alturas.

1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).

N [322] 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green and blue.

N [135] 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abundance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the material as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite."
N [776] I suspect it is the same as that listed by Steward as "galena," which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil spirits, especially bad dreams.
A [439] Ki: Yadupi got from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 302 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of otter fur" (Curtis, 61).

1382. Ki: − (Kelly, 115, but she cites De Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).

1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed braiding style before white people arrived.

W [302] 1387. Wa: − (Smith, notes).

N [172] 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).

1396. TO: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

Piudy and Daisy had not heard of blue paint, but one informant stated that it occurred in the same place as red paint; another, that it came from the water (a mud ?). Certainly it was not in general use. One or two mentioned a black paint, possibly to be identified with the blue. Joshua stated that it was made from pine pitch. When asked concerning it, Daisy said, "We didn't use pitch. That's what the Achomawi used when they were mourning." 302 386

ORNAMENTS

Beads (tsomi'bi) were made from swan-wing bones, fawn hoofs, deer-toe bones, and rabbit-foot bones. Rabbit feet were placed in hot ashes in order to dry the bones for bead making. Beads were either attached to the dress or strung and worn about the neck and wrists. A necklace frequently consisted of alternate beads and juniper berries. Women wore beads more than men. 301 ●

Flat disk beads, apparently clam shell, were highly prized. "Beads like this are called kwinū'gaᵃ, and we had them for beads a long time ago. They are high priced beads. I paid fifty cents apiece for these, and they even traded a horse for a short necklace of them. The Warm Springs Indians used to come here and bring them" (DB). Piudy spoke of "beads which came from the northeast. If a man thought he was rich he wore some around his wrist." [439]

Finger rings were unknown in the old days. Piercing the nasal septum seems to have been unusual even in early times, but in a Paviotso tale[110] Coyote sticks an ornament through his nose. Minnie Anderson could recall having seen "just one old man with feathers in his nose." 301 304

Ear lobes were often pierced in infancy in order to secure health and longevity for the baby or, according to another account, to prevent its crying.[111] The piercing instrument was a sharp stick of rabbit brush, not a bone awl. Deer grease was smeared on and a small stick worn in the aperture to keep it open. Later this was replaced by a clean stick. A small strip of deer hide was tied in the hole; for some reason or other Minnie thought that shells and beads were never worn pendant from the ear. The Gidū'tikadᵃ pierced the ear only once, but Piudy could remember having seen a Paiute named Egan from "up north" who had holes all along the rim of the ear.

---

[110] Lowie, ST, 209.

[111] "Not all persons had the ears pierced. I don't know any reason for punching a baby's ears. I'm a man; you had better ask a woman about that" (P).

301 "Shells from the ocean" (haliotis), called naka'goabi (naka', ear; goabi, shell), were secured from the Warm Springs Indians. The shell was filed into shape by being rubbed on a stone and was pierced with a bone awl. The shell was attached to the ear with sinew. Daisy Brown asserted that nothing else was ever worn in the ear, but complete reliance on a foreign product seems unlikely, and Joshua is probably correct in his contention that "stuff for earrings could be found on the edges of lakes. It was broken and worked with sand or rubbed on a rock."

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES

SKIN DRESSING

281 Skin dressing is one of the few old arts which flourishes today.
462 Practically all the work is done by women, although men are
acquainted with the process and are said to assist upon occasion.
Virtually all the middle-aged women and most of the younger ones
are thoroughly versed in the art. There is considerable traffic in
buckskin gauntlets, but these are the only articles produced commer-
292 cially. Buckskin dresses and other kinds of clothing are sometimes
made for wear at the fairs, but they are scarce and bring very fancy
prices.

The skinning is always done by a man; "women don't know how."
281 According to Piudy, the belly is first slit from mouth to crotch and
the insides of the fore and hind legs cut upwards to meet the ventral
cut. The hoofs are sometimes left on. A cut is made around the back
of the neck, eliminating the face parts altogether.

My most complete account of skin dressing follows:

> To skin[112] a deer, cut up the inside of the legs, starting with the back legs. Then cut up the belly. When you are going to use the hide for gloves, cut from the lower lip to the ear, around the ear, and around the back of the head. Indians cut around the ears and horns and leave them on the head.
>
> Soak the hide in water which covers it. Lean a smooth stick against the house, and put the hide over it, catching it between the pole and the house. Clean the inside of the hide with a draw knife (horse ribs used formerly). Work the knife with both hands, downward, toward you. Then turn the hide and scrape off the hair the same way.
>
> Next put the hide in water and work it to get off the blood. When it is white, tie it to a post or tree and wring it. Then hang it on the clothes line.[113] It is

---

[112] Piudy's account should be taken in preference to this, because feminine informants are less familiar with the skinning.

[113] "They didn't peg down a hide; they dried it from the limb of a tree" (P).

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N W A 254

N W A [982]

N W A 304

● N W A ● 301

N W A 304

N W A [301]

N W A [844]

	To	Kl	K2	Kd	Ta	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Kt	AE
1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUTILATIONS														
1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1274a. With porcupine quill	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1275. With bone awl	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	−	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1277. When child	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1278. When youth	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1279. All males	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1280. Most males	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1281. Some males	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1282. All females	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1284. Some females	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1285. Men's ear ornament	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1285a. Anything	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
1286. Bead on string	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1287. Glass beads	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1288. Shell pendant	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1289. Stone pendant	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1290. Wooden stick	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1291. Bone tube	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
1294. Flint	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1295. Women's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Bone tube	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1299. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1302. Males	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Females	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1304. Men's bone nose pin	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1305. Women's bone nose pin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1306. Tattoo (navasigi)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1307. Cactus needle	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1307a. Porcupine quill	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1310. Grey colored	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1311. Done when: child	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1313. Any time	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1315. Arms	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1316. Legs	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1317. Body	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1318. Head-shape correction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1320. Done with hands at birth	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
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DRESS AND ADORNMENT	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1322. Necklaces (törakiapö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tocmi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1326. Dentalium (paboka)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (paidöma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1328. Animal claws	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1329. Bear	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1330. Wildcat	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1331. Animal teeth	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1332. Deerbone (tükasuma or tomitsö)	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
1333. Charred pine seeds	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	-	-	-
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339. Animal fur	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339a. Mouse	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1340. Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1341. Hoofs	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1342. Bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1342a. Quills	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	-	+

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Paint

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1343. Dry pigment applied	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1351. Hair	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wisa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1363. Yellow mineral (caröpi)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (ota)	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (puitcötaigwa)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1365. Specularite (yodupi) (galena?)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

N
W
A
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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ki	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Xi	AK
2622. To make piñon nuts grow	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2623. To produce rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2624. To bring deer	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2626. Center post to dance around	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2627. Dry cottonwood	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2628. Piñon	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2629. Juniper	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2629a. Any wood	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2630. Music: all dancers sing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2635. Dancing: women choose partners	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2636. Men choose partners	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2637. Dancing in [illegible] circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2639. Men and women alternate in same circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2640. Shuffle step	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2641. Hopping step	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2642. Clockwise direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
2643. Counterclockwise direction	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2644. Dance leader: special chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2645. Band chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2646. Messengers carry invitations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2647. Occasion for courting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2649. Clowns	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2650. Duration (days): 4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2650a. 5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2650b. 6	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2651. Camp circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2652. Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2653. Dance affirmed to be pre-white	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2653a. Introduction: about 1900	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2654. Corral of brush	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2655. Musical rasp	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2656. Resonator: washtub	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2657. Board	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2659. Musicians: 5 or 6	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2660. Dancing: women choose partners by touching with stick	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2661. Men pay partners	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2662. Dancing in lines	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2663. Dancing in couples	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2665. Chief urges dancers with stick	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2667. Dance stopped at a fall	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2668. Fallen person rubbed with rasp	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2669. Fallen person covered with blanket	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2670. Dance held same time as circle dance	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2672. Same chief as circle dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2673. Duration indefinite, usually 2 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2674. "South" or Exhibition Dance	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2675. Pre-Caucasian	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2676. Introduction: about 1900	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2677. Dancers' paraphernalia: eagle-down headring	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2678. Feather crown	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2679. Separate feathers on head	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2680. Yellowhammer band on head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2681. Yellowhammer band on chest	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2682. Feather necklace	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2683. Eagle-down-rope skirt	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2684. Breechclout	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2685. Wildcat fur hung on belt	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N
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4: Stewart E-3 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTRO
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV--STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 535

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Hd	Ki	Ac
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693a. 3 or 4	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693b. 5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a. 4 or 6	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709a. Several nights	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2710a. Several days	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2711. Crazy Dance (tonoongava)	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2711b. Special singers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712a. 2 sticks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713a. Men dressed as women	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2717. Shaman at center post	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2719a. 5 nights	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2719b. Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS														
Calendar														
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2721a. 4 season names	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Astronomy														
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2726a. Menstruating women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N [701]

N [302]

N [534]

N [534]

N A 535 668

N W A 805

N W A 821

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SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). W [224] Wa: Running noose for deer present (Smith, notes).

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N [231] 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 796[25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N [301] 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. N [787] Pa: There is a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

[p. 422 (B)]

N
226 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens
227 Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. K1, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N
262
825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

A
[262]
A
[787] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü´iya). TS: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N
[832] 297k. K1: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

● N
[501 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

777
832] 297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N
[136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. K1: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu´ts^{u}) hunted near Eaglsville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W
[226] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 426(A)]

754 [578] him, the safest thing to do may be to admit guilt, repent, and bathe so that the victim will recover. If a person is so terrified by the accusation that he flees from the band or stays away from all the relatives of the sick person, his action is taken as proof of his guilt.

It will be remembered that a person who has bad power is believed to be able to make others sick by thinking evil thoughts about them. He may use his power intentionally or unintentionally. If he uses it intentionally he may do it in one of the following ways: he may think aggressive thoughts about the victim; he may tell his victim to expect sickness and death; he may throw his power into his victim by hitting him with a stick or stone; or he may put his power in his victim's food, either directly or by biting something which the victim is going to eat. Any one of these things may be done to one of the victim's relatives, rather than to the victim himself. It is believed that the latter procedure will hurt the intended victim even more than injuring him directly.

When a sorcerer is angry, he may unintentionally kill someone in one of the following ways: he may think bad thoughts about the individual without being aware of his thoughts; in a fit of temper, he may express aggressive wishes about an individual without the intention of injuring him; or he may dream bad dreams about an individual. In the latter case, the victim may have dreams in which the sorcerer's power appears.

[114] It is very hard for an ethnographer to get a list of the sorcerers in a community. It was seen in an earlier chapter that as many as seven per cent of the community were accused of sorcery at one time or another. An even larger percentage were rumored to be "mean thinkers." It is also hard to determine the attributes of such persons, but an analysis of actual cases will give a better understanding of these attributes.

Of the eight people accused of sorcery on whom I have adequate material, three were recognized by all informants as being sorcerers. There was no unanimity of opinion on the other five.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter have already been mentioned; the former in connection with the accidental death of his young son, and the death of Polly, the latter in connection with the death of Mr. M.

Mrs. Porter's mother, father, sister, and brother were all said to have been mean, bad people who had power. Her father had beaver power. He wore beaver [301] claws in his ears and it was said that when his power was working on someone, the victim could feel the claws around his neck. I have no specific evidence as to what kind of power Mrs. Porter's mother had or how she used it, but she was evidently domineering and selfish as she prevented one of her daughters from marrying. Mrs. Porter's sister had power, and her brother had power in snakes and was blamed for several deaths. In short, all of Mrs. Porter's family were said to be bad and her husband had also come to be known as a sorcerer. There is no evidence that

343 344
layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with rye grass and tule mats.

CLOTHING

1. Sagebrush Clothing (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had 291
heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings.

2. Badger Skin Aprons. These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One [281]
informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin.

3. Women's Skin Dress (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following 291
differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top 281
and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the [301]
bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. [171]
Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress.

4. Men's Clothing.

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the [301
bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells 602]
threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried.

PLATE 1

177
292
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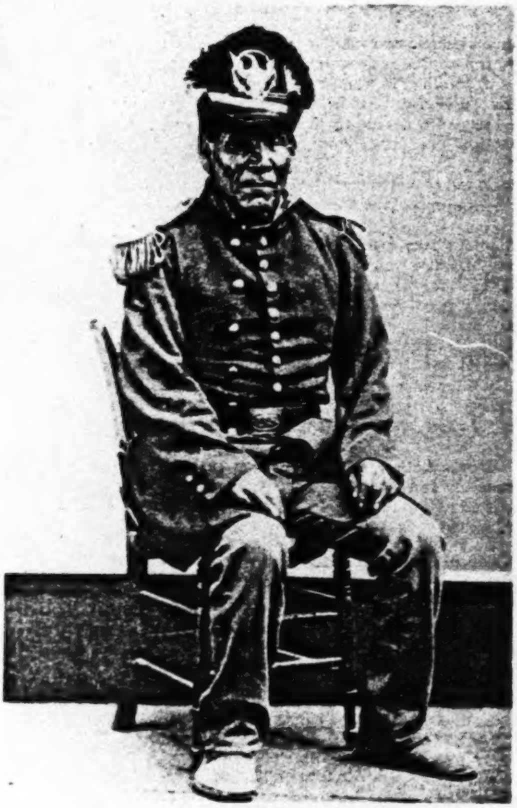
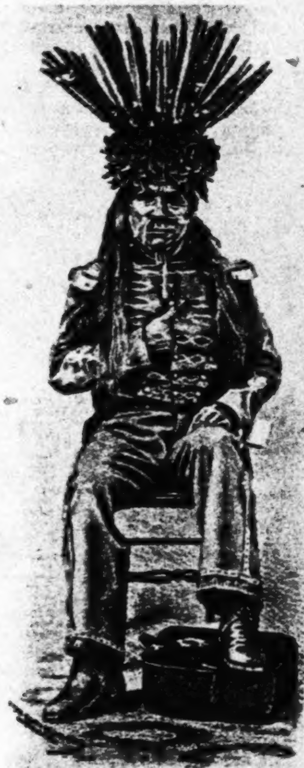
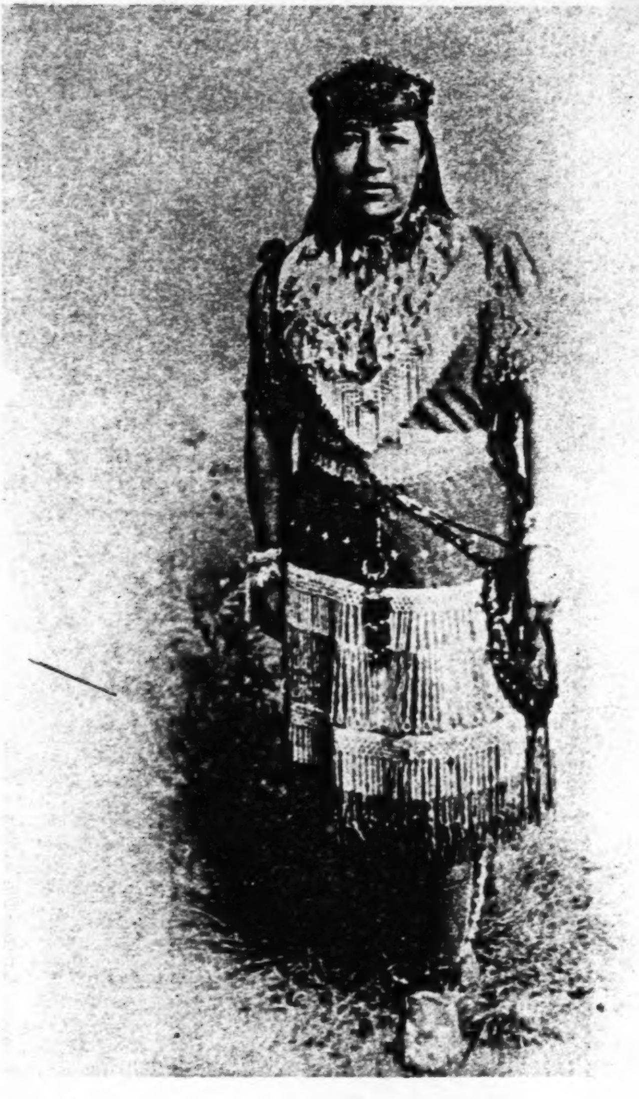
● 301





PO-I-TO, OR OLD WINNEMUCCA.

PLATE 2



292
301 ●
302
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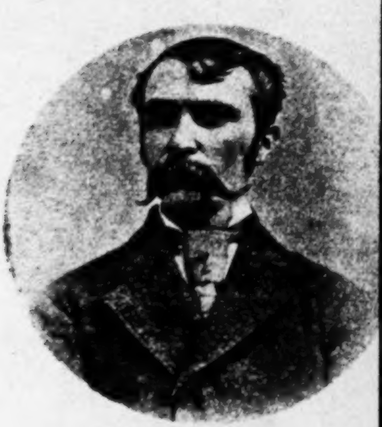
PLATE 3

142
● 301
291



6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and 226
commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 825
inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from
back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.*

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for [731]
> the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who
> sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were
> unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen
> along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large [251]
> numbers and tons of them are dried for later use.

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to 237
constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel 301 ●
(osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches
said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the [226]
Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, [262]
the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and [439]
would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for
olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women [756]
wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787]
The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella*
biplicata, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may [192]
be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water
Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called
potE.

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of 824
plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute
equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[46] is also given whenever it is in
anywise similar.

pasahaps, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wăp.

pipohE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute saaib, saip. [262]

sawipi, sāwapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal pad- [291]
ding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to
burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wă pi, juniper. [372]

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[46] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[881] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
● 301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab[1] (after naká, "ear")
[304] and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pishuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

Headgear

291 One would rather expect the basket hat from analogy with surrounding groups such as the Nevada Paviotso,[101] the Achomawi, and the Klamath, but informants, both from Bidwell and Beatty, flatly denied its use.[102] Joshua said that a few women wore basket caps secured from the Achomawi, but that other than these, they were not worn. Women either went bare-headed or covered the head with buckskin the way in which the bandana is worn today (pl. 21e). When a heavy load was slung from the head, a pad of sagebrush bark prevented chafing.

291 Men wore a fillet of deer, otter, or coon skin to which feathers
292 were sometimes tied. As far as I could determine, the eye shield[103] was unknown, but visored caps were made of badger, wildcat, skunk, or mink skin. A man who did not wear such a cap had to shield his eyes with his hands "in order to see any distance." Children sometimes wore a badger-skin cap. There was doubtless much individual variation in headgear; some men made hats from wildcat heads.

HAIRDRESS

302 Both sexes wore the hair long. According to two informants,[104] men and women wore the hair in two braids, one over either ear. At chest level the braids were tied together with a buckskin thong and thrown back over the head "out of the way." Minnie Anderson of Bidwell and Lizzie Godowa of Beatty still preserve this mode of hairdress. Daisy said that women wore two braids, one over either shoulder, and that men dressed the hair similarly save for the fact that they twisted instead of braided it. It was twisted for a distance, wound with buckskin, and the ends allowed to hang loose. Nowadays all men wear the hair clipped short. Dr. Sam said that the Silver Lake women wore their hair in two braids while the men had three, one either side of the head and one down the back. Men cut bangs and combed them into a pompadour. Nannie Ochiho reported a three-braid coiffure for women.

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[101] Lowie, SE, 217.

[102] Tom Anderson did report the basket cap, but he was born in Nevada, and the information presumably applies to his own band.

[103] Which is of tule among the Klamath. Barrett, plate 17, figure 6.

[104] MA, JB.

All braiding was three strand. I was unable to verify the statement that women wore the hair loose over the shoulders.[105] Matrons and girls were not distinguished by hairdress. 302

Deer tallow was frequently used as a dressing, particularly by unmarried youths. Skunk grease never served this purpose.

Two kinds of hair brush (wuna'tsᵃ) were used, grass root and porcupine tail. The former was made of some kind of roots gathered in the creek or of rye-grass roots. Roots long enough to be doubled on themselves were selected, bunched, wetted, doubled over, and tied. When dry they were cut even at the end and the butt wrapped with hide. The porcupine-tail brush was called zagwü'd-wuna'tsᵃ (zagwü'd, porcupine). The skin was removed, stuffed with grass or shredded sagebrush bark, and allowed to dry. It was bent slightly and the edges sewn together. The quills were evened by burning. 302 412

A brush illustrated on plate 32a is about seven inches in length. The stuffing is untwisted sagebrush bark, doubled lengthwise, and wrapped with the same material. The filler is held in the skin covering by a cat-stitch lashing of sagebrush bark in two-ply twine. The sewing strand is knotted at the start and at the finish is secured in the transverse bark wrapping.

Youths and girls plucked the eyebrows for aesthetic reasons.[106] Ordinarily they used the finger nails. One would lie down and ask a friend to perform the service. The beard was also plucked. Informants insisted that men were beardless in the old days. 302

TATTOOING

Tattooing (naba'wits; also pawi'ts, the verb) was indulged in by both men and women but primarily by the latter. Nowadays the Paiute rarely tattoo the face,[107] although they may have done so in the old days. I have seen but one woman so tattooed; she bore four or five vertical marks on the chin and a diagonal line running down from each corner of the mouth. Informants state that Paviotso at Nixon and Reno tattoo the face, usually with vertical chin markings; the Gidü'tikadᵃ more frequently decorate the upper arm or forearm with simple motifs such as straight lines. Young girls and women may be seen today with initials, etc., on the arm. 304

Children were not tattooed; tattooing apparently had no connection with puberty and might take place either before or after mar-

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[105] Reported by de Angulo, 319.

[106] "They learned this from the whites" (P).

[107] "The Gidü'tikadᵃ didn't like that kind; they said it spoiled them" (DB).

304 riage. A person tattooed himself, which meant that a paid functionary was eliminated. The desired design was painted in charcoal from a sagebrush fire and the skin punctured with porcupine quills or with a rabbit-bone splinter.

FACE PAINTING

● 302 386 Both men and women painted the face; it was "just like powder with white people." Pigment was applied to the cheeks in stripes or other simple designs and was used on any dress occasion, particularly for dances but also for war. Red or yellow paint was most common; one or two old women still use red paint (picü'pi), apparently as an article of daily toilet. White paint was prepared but was not used for facial decoration prior to the Ghost Dance.[108]

Red paint and yellow paint (oha'^{pi}) were derived from yellow ochre. A deposit is said to occur on the bare hill behind the Harrison Brown ranch at Beatty; Bidwell informants state that it can be found in Big valley to the north of Mount Bidwell, or far to the southeast. When collected the earth was yellow and was used raw as a paint of that color. It was also rubbed on discolored hides to restore the original shade. Yellow paint was obtained from various other sources as, for example, yellow spots (?) on the wild rose. It was simply gathered and smeared on. My informant had not heard of using cat-tail pollen for yellow paint.[109]

For red paint, the ochre was placed in a hole in a rock and a fire kindled on top. The coals were raked off, and after the ochre had cooled, it was brick red. It did not require pounding but was placed directly in a small buckskin storage container (pl. 32*d*). Red pigment was not mixed with fat; grease of any kind was smeared on the face and the paint then added.

A soft brownish-tan material which appears to be chalk rock was used for white paint (tüho'ño^{hi}). The Surprise Valley source was a deposit on Bidwell mountain. The rock was crushed, soaked in water, and drained, whereupon it appeared white. It was stored in cake form and resembled tailor's chalk. It was moistened with the tongue before being applied to the face.

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[108] "They used white paint on the face at the time of the Ghost Dance, not before. They painted the face red and put white designs on top. They knew red paint before that" (P). This is of particular interest in that the use of red and of red and black paint seems to have spread with the Ghost Dance. Spier, Havasupai, 207.

[109] Cf. Loud and Harrington, 158, for the Nevada Paviotso.

302 386 Pindy and Daisy had not heard of blue paint, but one informant stated that it occurred in the same place as red paint; another, that it came from the water (a mud ?). Certainly it was not in general use. One or two mentioned a black paint, possibly to be identified with the blue. Joshua stated that it was made from pine pitch. When asked concerning it, Daisy said, "We didn't use pitch. That's what the Achomawi used when they were mourning."

ORNAMENTS

301 Beads (tzomi'bi) were made from swan-wing bones, fawn hoofs, deer-toe bones, and rabbit-foot bones. Rabbit feet were placed in hot ashes in order to dry the bones for bead making. Beads were either attached to the dress or strung and worn about the neck and wrists. A necklace frequently consisted of alternate beads and juniper berries. Women wore beads more than men.

Flat disk beads, apparently clam shell, were highly prized. "Beads
like this are called kwinü'ga^{a}, and we had them for beads a long time
ago. They are high priced beads. I paid fifty cents apiece for these,
and they even traded a horse for a short necklace of them. The Warm [439]
Springs Indians used to come here and bring them" (DB). Pindy
spoke of "beads which came from the northeast. If a man thought he
was rich he wore some around his wrist."

301 304 Finger rings were unknown in the old days. Piercing the nasal septum seems to have been unusual even in early times, but in a Paviotso tale[110] Coyote sticks an ornament through his nose. Minnie Anderson could recall having seen "just one old man with feathers in his nose."

Ear lobes were often pierced in infancy in order to secure health and longevity for the baby or, according to another account, to prevent its crying.[111] The piercing instrument was a sharp stick of rabbit brush, not a bone awl. Deer grease was smeared on and a small stick worn in the aperture to keep it open. Later this was replaced by a clean stick. A small strip of deer hide was tied in the hole; for some reason or other Minnie thought that shells and beads were never worn pendant from the ear. The Gidü'tikad^{a} pierced the ear only once, but Pindy could remember having seen a Paiute named Egan from "up north" who had holes all along the rim of the ear.

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[110] Lowie, ST, 209.

[111] "Not all persons had the ears pierced. I don't know any reason for punching a baby's ears. I'm a man; you had better ask a woman about that" (P).

714 tion of arrow or bullet proof shirts, but "in the old days bullets were soft, and the Indians had tough skins. The bullets did not hurt them; they just burned a little, the same as when a horse is hit." Warriors ● [302] sometimes painted the face red and put feathers in their hair. For the most part, facial paint seems to have been used on festive rather than martial occasions.

712 Rock walls erected for protection against the enemy were called na'a'kwi-nobi (na'a'kwi, shooting; nobi, house, camp). They were of sufficient height to allow a seated person to shoot over the top. These are doubtless the "fences" to which Sapir's Wishram informant has reference.[248]

Scalping

727 As regards scalping, opinions are divided. All agree that the Klamath, Warm Springs, and Achomawi scalped readily. Minnie Anderson said that her uncle was scalped by the Warm Springs Indians, but that the Paiute did not scalp. Nevertheless, Joshua's statement is convincing:

> I have never seen a scalp, but when a Paiute killed an Achomawi, he cut around the forehead and the back of the head and pulled off the hair. In those days they wore long hair. I don't know where they learned to scalp. They took full-sized ones, cutting back of the ears and around the edge of the hair.

And upon another occasion:

> Some wore scalps (tüwo'ks) If we found Warm Springs, or Achomawi, or Klamath Indians on our land, we watched them and told everybody. Someone said, "Shoot them; shoot them and scalp them." Maybe we killed one or two.

In this connection Joshua also reported the scalp dance. Dr. Sam was not certain that his Paiute band used to take scalps, but he was inclined to think so. On the other hand, Piudy affirmed:

> Other Indians scalped but not our Paiute. They took them on a line with the eyebrows and pulled them off. We just killed an enemy; we did not cut off his hands or feet.

It may be significant that the Wishram do not mention scalping by the Paiute. Tom Anderson denied both scalping and mutilation of the dead; "but when the Shoshone killed the Paiute they cut them all to pieces."

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[248] Wishram Texts, 217.

At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians 764
(Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of them "in any old way"[1] the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the Lemhi.[2] The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration; relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom, furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse, some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration. When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms, her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently
killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our de- 765
ceased friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was
buried she would weep." When her uncle died, the widow and also 765
Sarah's parents clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and 302
legs, this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The [304]
widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower like-
wise cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain [587]
unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length[3] and her face was not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other

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[1] Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

[2] Lowie, 215.

[3] A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.

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women until relieved of these restrictions by her father-in-law or mother-in-law. Sarah mentions signal-fires used to announce the death of a chief.[1]

A Wind River Indian who died was dressed up in his best clothing, painted, carried to the mountains, and deposited in a cleft or cave, which was blocked up lest the corpse be attacked by animals. This practice continued until recent times. Formerly the mourners would go off to one side and stay in a rude shelter. The women cut their hair short, gashed their legs, and removed their leggings for several days. When the hair had grown long again, the mourner returned home and the mourning period ceased. If a man died, one of his horses was taken to the grave and killed there so that his soul could ride away on it. Corpses were taken out by the door. If a person died in a house, the house was abandoned. A tipi was either buried with the owner or appropriated by a friend not related to the owner, for if a relative kept it he would die from the same cause. It was believed that if one member of a family died of some special cause, e.g., disease, the next would die for the same reason; for example, if one child was killed, all children would be killed. If a Shoshoni had been killed by the enemy, the people tried to recover his body; if they had slain an enemy, they would drag the corpse away and leave it exposed.

Wilson also describes cleft burial as the normal form. He speaks of a specific case in which a boy was mourned by the whole camp for five days. The corpse was put into a crevice together with bedding and various utensils, and three horses were killed and buried with the deceased.[2]

BERDACHES.

A Shivwits informant recollected hearing people speak of a man who never hunted and though not dressing like a woman acted like one and had a feminine voice. He would lead the women with a basket when they went seed-gathering and roasted seeds like them. He was married to two men, sleeping with each on alternate nights. In myths such persons are called *ma+dï'pots*.

Among the Southern Ute Panayʊts remembered hearing his father tell of a berdache (*tuwásawits*), who owned a great many horses. Possibly as many as half a dozen boys would stay there and have him cook for them. One morning when the berdache rose early one of the boys was lying on the side as she was stirring the ashes and " she" touched his

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[1] Hopkins, 21, 41, 66, 70, 120.
[2] Wilson, 85, 195.

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the 291 Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves. Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually wore only the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometimes donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest. As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it that way.

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their [302] ● shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the women a basket-cap (also like the Pits).

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same [171] as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a [281] single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added : one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly Californian mocassin.

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain and snow.

WEAPONS OF HUNTING AND WAR.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of 411 the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different : the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the [171]
arrow on the right hand side.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	Ts	Kl	K2	Hm	Yo	To	Pu	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1322. Necklaces (törakiapö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (pnidöwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1328. Animal claws	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1330. Wildcat	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1331. Animal teeth	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1332. Dewclaws (takasoma or tomitsd)	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1333. Charred pine seeds	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	−	−	−
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339. Animal fur	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339a. Mouse	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1340. Beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1341. Hoofs	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1342. Bones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1342a. Quills	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1351. Hair	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wiza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oaröpi)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (puitoštaigwa)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

N
W
A
301
237

N
A
291

N
A
[321]

N
W
A
202 ●
286

N
W
A
[785]

[p. 391]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achumawi NS5

N
W
A
302

Hair Dressing

	Ta	K1	K2	K3	To	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1366. Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367. Grass bundle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1368. Rye-grass-root bundle (wai'ava)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1369. Rabbit-brush bundle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1370. Men's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1371. Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372. Bangs loose	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1373. Coiled on head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1374. Tied up on head	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1375. Bangs	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1376. Front lock sticks up	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1377. Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379. Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379a. Sea-otter (pasuga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381. Women's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382. Bangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1383. Tucked under basket hat	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1384. Tied back of neck	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1385. Middle hair part	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1386. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387. 1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388. Bangs	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1389. Tied on top of head	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1390. Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1390a. Bone tubes	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Red paint	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1392. Red paint in part	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1393. Marrow	−	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1394. Mud against lice	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
1395. Braids fur wrapped	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396. Washing: with plain water	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1397. With white clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1398. Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400. Depilation: of beard	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401. Of eyebrows	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1402. Of pubic hair	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1403. With stone flake	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	+
1404. With fingernails	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1405a. Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1405b. Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

N
W
A
[515]

Headgear

	Ta	K1	K2	K3	To	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1406. Woman's basketry hat	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408a. Men's bark hat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. Men's fur cap	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411. Fawnskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412. Antelopeskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1415. Muskratskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416. Beaverskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416a. Badgerskin	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417. Wildcatskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418. Coyoteskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1420. With quail tufts	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
1421. With other feathers	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. With horns	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1423. Hair net	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

N
A
[285]
N
W
A
281
291

[p.392]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

N
W
A
844

N
W
A
[202]

N
W
A
[846]

N
W
A
844
846

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kk	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2184. Hot stones for warming ground	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2185. Pit warmed	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2186. Husband gets firewood	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Delivery: mother kneels	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
2188. Mother lies flat	−	−	·	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2191. Strap tied around waist	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194. Midwife usually is: husband	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2195. Person with special power	−	−	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2196. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2197. Any female relative	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	·	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
2199. Grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a. Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2200. Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	−	−	·	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	·	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
2203. Afterbirth (noa'pö): buried	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	·	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2205. Thrown in brush	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2207. Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
2208. Treatment of mother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2212. Salt taboo	+	+	·	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2213. Work taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2214. Uses scratching stick	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2215. Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2216. Paints self	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2217. Gives away old clothes	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2221. Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2222. Steamed when born	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2224. Bathed every morning	−	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2225. Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	−	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	·	·	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2227. Tied with string	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
2229. Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2229a. Placed in sack with yadüpi	+	+	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2232. Placed in antelope wallow	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	·	·	·	·		+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2236. Buried shady side of sage	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2239. Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	·	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2240. 1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241. 2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242. 3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243. Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2245. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N W A 855

N W A 881 784

N W A 881 [302]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Ty	Wd	Kl	Al
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2295a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296a. Toward north	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2297. Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2300. Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2300a. Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
2304. First Menstruation (mbadaxomani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2307. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2307a. 30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2308. In family house	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2309. In special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2310. Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any woman	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322. Cold water forbidden	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323. Talking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2324. Laughing forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2325. Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
2328. Combing hair forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330a. Run once in special ceremony	·	+	·	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335a. "Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2336. Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
2336a. Use special cup	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340. Bathe daily	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2341a. Every 5 days	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	-
2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2345. Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
2347. New clothes	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2348. Delousing by mother	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2349. Delousing by attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTR0
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693a. 3 or 4	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693b. 5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a. 4 or 6	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709a. Several nights	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2710a. Several days	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*2711. Crazy Dance (tonomugwa)	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2711b. Special singers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712a. 2 sticks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
*2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713a. Men dressed as women	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nugwa)	+	+	•+	-	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	•-	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2717. Shaman at center post	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
2719a. 5 nights	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.
2719b. Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.
MISCELLANEOUS														
Calendar														
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2721a. 4 season names	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-
Astronomy														
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-
2726a. Menstruating women cover selves	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
535

N
[301]

N
[302] ●

N
[534]

N
[534]

N
A
535
668

N
W
A
805

N
W
A
821

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo . NT20
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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W
[301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
A 1333. TS: Bought from California. AE: Only
[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads
on dress. Obtained from California Indians W
of Achomawi.
1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention
to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal
septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung
W to wear were the only bone beads.
[301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also,pl.
[172] 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N
292 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.
N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face
● 302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
246 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red
[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
A 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,
[135] SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green
[322] and blue.
N 1365. KH, To: Yadupi was obtained in abun-
[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of
Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John
T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny
powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another
mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-
N rial as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is
[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena,"
which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil
A spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got
[439] from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from
the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W
[302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2
302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of
otter fur" (Curtis, 61).
1382. Ki: − (Kelly, 115, but she cites De
Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).
1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair
from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before
that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed
W braiding style before white people arrived.
[302] 1387. Wa: − (Smith, notes).
N 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
[172] 1396. TS: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

Washo NTRC
Achomawi NS5

N
302 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground piñon nuts.

1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

Headgear

N
291

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). Tö: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering piñon nuts.

N
[285
177]

1408a. Tō: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Küpa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)

1416a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: - (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on caps).

1426. Tö: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N
[284]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W
A
[291]

1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). K2: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. Kü: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. Tö: The Tövusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W
[291]

1461. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W
[291]

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[p.436(A)]

The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snakebite. [843]

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778] beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302] ● tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533] to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise. "It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated by the shaman's power. [276] Finally he stops, sits by the patient and lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787 trance this takes place usually about this time. 755 Now he walks as if he were drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing, and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter, what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753] object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

755 he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

[774] When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

[264] About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

756
755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

[775] Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

752
755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

291 *Belt.* A buckskin strip about one inch wide tied in front held up both the breechclout and leggings.

Breechclout. Was made of fawn skin. Hetty said some men used to wear a double apron of badger or deer skin.

Leggings. Thigh length Plains type never decorated, or short type which was knee length and wrapped around, tied in two places, and sometimes sewed to the moccasins. The latter type was sometimes of badger with the hair left on and worn in very cold weather with the fur side in. A third type of legging came just above the knee and was sewn along the side, slipped on like a stocking and held in place by a separate piece of buckskin worn as a garter. A puttee type legging was also mentioned.

Moccasins. Similar to Surprise Valley Paiute (pp. 109-113). No "tule shoes" reported.

HAIRDRESS

302 Long hair was admired in both men and women. Women parted their hair in the middle and wore it loose or braided, and tied in back. (Dick Jonas alone said only men tied their braids back.) The ends of the braids were sometimes wrapped with buckskin. Men parted their hair on the side, let the hair hang loose, braided a little on each side, or in two or three big braids. Men sometimes had bangs and pompadours. Only one informant mentioned women with bangs. Both sexes greased their hair.

The porcupine tail brush and rye grass root comb were similar to those described by Isabel Kelly (p. 113). A willow comb, made of two inch pieces of willow twined together by three rows of sinew, was also reported.

FACE PAINTING

Red, yellow, white and black face paint were mentioned as used by both men and women on a grease base—usually bear fat. The forehead was most frequently painted, usually with long stripes and marking along the hair line, less commonly with dots and circles. A red circle on the forehead and chin, and two dots on each cheek was reported as a common design. Older boys often drew lines down the nose, put three or four horizontal stripes on the cheeks, and painted the chin red. Women often made three lines of white or yellow dots on either side of the nose. Painting the entire face red and then marking with white was mentioned. The part was sometimes painted, and hand prints made on the hair. Men sometimes painted their bangs.

TATTOOING

304 Jenny thought tattooing was not practiced in the old days. The technique was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly (p. 116). There were no specialists. Red tattooing was mentioned.

DEPILATION

302 Men removed facial hair with their fingers. Both men and women sometimes plucked their eyebrows, particularly during courtship.

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584 parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man, and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well, usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered consumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a hide tanned by her mother. [585] [431]

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends, wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the menstrual hut is used for courtship. [534] [302] [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers. [585] [848]

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586 the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684] person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives, or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version 844 of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with [843] coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose. A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A 846 mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives, who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She [784] uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready [854 to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red 302] paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life. Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a [784] scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is 854 wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[3] which has been previously constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

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[3] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants claimed that masturbation did not exist.[*]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little. When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels. In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often taking their younger siblings.

DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [304]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead are never mentioned.

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[*] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

755 clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own
[302] style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face
and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left;
the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range themselves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if
[844 they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are
843] required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

756 The number of songs and their length vary with different
533 shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

755 instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These prescriptions are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course of the curing rites.

→ When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the spec-
755 tators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire.
535 The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire. According to one description, at the end of the dance all must shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the
[776] house and these actions drive it away.

755 The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were
[825] to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness and loss of power.

755 The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəpᶦ) and white (i·bi),
● 302 is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are se-
[388] cured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry powder, and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted. There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are employed for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily decoration with these paints is also common on social occasions. Nevertheless, the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the recovery of the sick.

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, 159
"shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower."

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort 159
of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type charac- 291
teristic of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is [177]
apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in red leather leggings and a pair of mocassins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was [302] ●
brushed smoothly back from her forehead."

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the 159
outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco 648
on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accomplish much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West.

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be deter- 159
mined if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement.

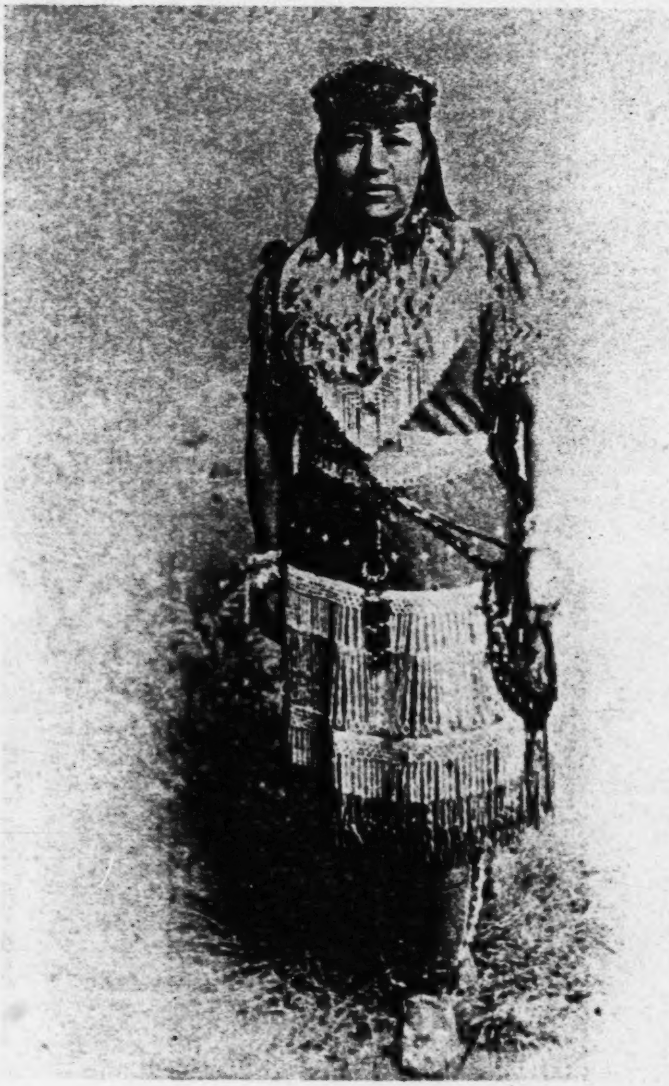
PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

PLATE 2



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302 ●
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.824
[285] sabI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to sa in composition; for example sa-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sikopi, sikupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] sane, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute sa-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] taEpi, greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-
like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook
[262] (chotetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in
the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch
[226] in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish
bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tin'-al-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, tsima, is gathered, inclosed
in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and
● [302] sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for
[291] sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from
the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*.
[411] The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow
points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was
[172] a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is
very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwekobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

woyupuie, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem
the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in
[227] making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum*
androsaemifolium, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Naiches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

Frontispiece

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291
302 ●
854
115

KITTY JOAQUIN
1954

[Facing P. i, A]

Wadátkuht

412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^{w}, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called sőukumtu'wa. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people
[137] on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht.

[302]
[237] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhds, or wunuhds^{u}.

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534
[821] Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^{u}, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

Metate and Muller

N 412 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 239).

830a. Ki: - (Kelly, 138).

N ●[303] 834. Tö: Paint was ground to a fine powder, mixed with water, shaped into a small brick and dried. Powder was scraped from the brick as the paint was needed.

A [356] 835. AE: Mortars and metates were left out so that the rain would clean them.

N [252] 844. Paviotso: Seeds ground on metate with a forward and backward motion (Lowie, 203, 204, fig. 2), but "a forward and sidewise motion" was also used (p. 215).

845. Most informants demonstrated a back-and-forth motion using both hands on the mano. However, the shape of some of the metates and the condition of their worn surfaces suggest that a rather indefinite rotary motion was used. Some manos were too small to be held in two hands, which would also indicate an irregular movement with one hand, probably rotary. I did not inquire whether one or two hands were habitually employed.

Mush Stirrer

847. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 246). Tg: Spoon of mt.-sheep horn and basketry ladle were used to stir mush. The looped stick used only to "fish meat from hot water." Wd: - (BJ).

Spoons, Dippers, Etc.

852. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b). Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b, g, i).

863a. Tö: "The old-timers never knew coiling. This just started with younger generation." It is possible that this is true for all Northern Paiute.

864. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 169).

N 415 866. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266). Steward, 269, cites Leonard's reference to pottery on Humboldt Lake which I criticized in note 338. Leonard visited Humboldt, Carson, Walker, and Mono lakes and refers to them collectively as "these lakes." Since he visited Mono Lake, and since we know they had pottery there, it would be safer to assume that is where he saw it.

867. Animal-stomach bag only used when other container lacking. Sometimes hunter will have no basket jug and then will use stomach of game.

868. Owens Valley: Steward, 273, translates osa, "water olla." Ki: Kelly, 124 (pl. 21,c), calls o'sa', "water jar." Kü: Loud, 65, (pl. 67), "basket water bottle." Same as 1096.

N 412

Knives

W [412] 870. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 277).

871. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[P.431(2)]

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 [411] For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[714] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

AGRICULTURE.

241 222 [413] They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

FOODS.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region [1]. But

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[136] [316] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

221
early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[*]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[*] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [221]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

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there are absolutely barren level playas. The size of the ridge was not ascertained, but from memory the writer would say it is 10 or 15 feet in height, several rods in width, and 10 miles long. It is covered with sagebrush and is visible 6 or 8 miles away. It was caused by a gravel wash in the Pleistocene lake. In fact Humboldt lake itself owes its existence to a gigantic dam of gravel wash, over a hundred feet in height, built entirely across the valley by the old lake.

15.—There are two caves to the south of the lake, opposite Ocala. On the ridge near the cave, marked 19 on plate 3, Natches said that there is a ''stone house.'' In the hill to the west of this is situated the other cave.

16.—Near Hazen on the side of Black butte there is a cave of considerable size called pusia-tipogI, ''louse-cave.''

17.—Soda lake, near Fallon, covers an area of 268 acres and is 147 feet deep. It has a crater rim built up above the level of the desert, so that the total depth of the old crater is 312 feet. Natches said that there was an old story that it once burst open in an eruption. This may be a historical tradition, as Russell shows that although volcanic activity began before the Dendritic stage of Lake Lahontan, its last outbreak is post-Lahontan in date.

18.—A mountain nine miles northeast of Wadsworth and famous for its supply of woodchucks is called waha-kutakwA, ''two-tips.'' The English name, Two Tips, is a translation.

19.—The southern end of the range in which Two Tips is located is called pahino-motanta, ''hot spring rock-point.'' The word for the rock deposited by hot springs is pahinopI.

[312]

20.—At present there are several hot springs at the base of Pyramid island, from which steam issues with a noise. The island is knob-like in form with an elevation of 320 feet, composed entirely of rock deposited by the hot springs. There is a tradition that there was formerly a hole in the top of the island which is now entirely filled by the steam deposit.

Wadàtkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies
[131] immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra
Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern
terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000
acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake
[137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The
timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending
[312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the
Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply
of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in
Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area
are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc
[137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this
vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan
River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the
region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many
of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the
ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and
Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during
Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area
of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this
lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water
fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base
[137] (i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves
[262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht
relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced
the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered
[136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides
the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The
latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to
have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears
occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly
sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht
had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they
utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily
into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map,
Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were
[133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous
regions to the south and to the west of their own territory.
[221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gathering
[137] forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered
regions outside their recognized territoy.

Wadátkuht

175 648 [464] From about 1880 on the Honey Lake Paiute began increasingly to work as agricultural and domestic laborers for the white settlers, but pursued their old way of life in a modified form. The hunting and gathering cycles of pre-contact times was modified to include seasonal work on the ranches, primarily centered about haying. Many traditional camps and villages were abandoned due to a decrease in population and in order to take advantage of closer contact with particular ranchers from whom the Indians could receive certain benefits. A glimpse of this post-contact type of settlement pattern is given in a following section.

According to Kitty Joaquin the Maidu people were anxious to have peaceful relations with the white people and urged the Paiutes to follow the same policy. The Paiute people, however, distrusted and feared the white people (tai'bo'^{o}) who were coming into their country. They wanted to be rid of these strangers. The first (sic) group of white men were soldiers who camped in a draw low on the mountain slope between Litchfield and the Gibson ranch which is located [312] several miles east of Litchfield. As there is a spring in that locality it was a good place to camp.

[177] Kitty stated that the soldiers gave the Indians soap, flour, canned milk, tomato sauce, clothes and shoes. The Indians used the soap to make soup and put the muskmelons into the earth oven to cook. Kitty could not help but laugh as she told of the unsatisfactory results of both these experiments.

A short time after the white people came to Honey Lake Valley a band of Wadátkuht people, including Joaquin (Kitty's father), was on a hunting trip to Eagle Lake (Kitty stated on another occasion that they had gone to the lake to escape the soldiers). A group of soldiers, augmented by a number of Maidu men, were also in the vicinity. Hog-die Jim (Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}..."Feces to wipe"), Joaquin's uncle, was afraid that the soldiers and the Maidu would attack the Wadátkuht camp so advised Joaquin and the others to move their camp. Joaquin, however, felt that there was no real danger so was not willing to move camp. Hog-die Jim then took the dried meat, a rabbit skin blanket and all the horses and left.

The soldiers and the Maidu attacked Joaquin's camp and killed everyone except a baby in a cradle board, two women who jumped into the lake and swam to safety, a half-grown girl, and Joaquin. Joaquin, too, jumped into the lake to

Wadátkuht

103 133 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudakʷ ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudakʷ. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch" in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring provides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28. [312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter [224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley. In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline [172] Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht. Evidence in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pówhanun° ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain, Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and [224] Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular significance because deer were hunted here.

Wadátkuht

103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children'
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (típugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designa-
tion for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp
at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife.
This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing
more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how
much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise lo-
cation was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it
was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south
of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately
one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson,
a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is
Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sóhud^{a} as

Wadátkuht

103 Ike Northrup visited the site with the author but knew nothing concerning its occupation.
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7. Pagúshuhad ("Warm Spring"). This most eastern Wadátkuht winter village receives its name from a spring of warm water that pours out from the base of a series of spire-shaped rocks. It is said that east of this village there were no camps or villages until one approaches Pyramid [312] Lake. Lack of water is given as the reason for this region being unpopulated. This village is a desert village, being some 10 or 15 miles east of the timbered Sierra. It is located at the High Rock ranch east of Honey Lake and just west of the Nevada state line. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-88 (T29N/R17E/Sec. 36).

[412] Pagúshuhad was a winter village for Joaquin and his band of Wadátkuht. Informants report that there is a bedrock metate at this village site.

8. Ishuhpa ("Wolf Water"). This winter village was so-named because the spring here was a favorite place for wolves to obtain water. It is located about five miles northwest of Pagúshuhad, and similarly, has considerable archaeological evidence in the form of stone artifacts which have been recovered from the surface. The archaeological designation for Ishuhpa is Las-46 (T28N/R16E/SE¼ of Sec. 18).

9. Pam^{u} ("Hot Springs"). This name is given for both the hot springs at Amedee and at Wendel. The Amedee site has the archaeological designation of Las-99, the Wendel site, Las-28. Both of them were winter villages, although Ike Northrup said that the people could not remain at the Amedee Hot Springs in wet weather, or when the snow was melting, because the surrounding flat country became too muddy. They had to move to high ground about one mile to the east. This probably meant that the archaeological cave site, Las-90, approximately one mile east of Amedee was used when the area about the hot springs became too muddy.

10. Numúta ("Indian Hole"). Both Tommy Tucker Cave, Las-1 (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956), and Amedee Cave, Las-90, were given this name. It would seem that any cave utilized by these people might be given this same name. Amedee Cave was used by Kitty Joaquin when she was a small girl. She and her family (Joaquin's group, primarily) [172] camped there upon occasion. Recent archaeological excavation in this cave by the author has revealed numerous manos and

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

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Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites. [177]

The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained. [182]

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^{a} ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death. [312] [551]

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with [525] [172] [224]

302 All braiding was three strand. I was unable to verify the statement that women wore the hair loose over the shoulders.[105] Matrons and girls were not distinguished by hairdress.

Deer tallow was frequently used as a dressing, particularly by unmarried youths. Skunk grease never served this purpose.

302 412 Two kinds of hair brush (wuna'ts^{u}) were used, grass root and porcupine tail. The former was made of some kind of roots gathered in the creek or of rye-grass roots. Roots long enough to be doubled on themselves were selected, bunched, wetted, doubled over, and tied. When dry they were cut even at the end and the butt wrapped with hide. The porcupine-tail brush was called zagwü'd-wuna'ts^{u} (zagwü'd, porcupine). The skin was removed, stuffed with grass or shredded sagebrush bark, and allowed to dry. It was bent slightly and the edges sewn together. The quills were evened by burning.

A brush illustrated on plate 32a is about seven inches in length. The stuffing is untwisted sagebrush bark, doubled lengthwise, and wrapped with the same material. The filler is held in the skin covering by a cat-stitch lashing of sagebrush bark in two-ply twine. The sewing strand is knotted at the start and at the finish is secured in the transverse bark wrapping.

302 Youths and girls plucked the eyebrows for aesthetic reasons.[106] Ordinarily they used the finger nails. One would lie down and ask a friend to perform the service. The beard was also plucked. Informants insisted that men were beardless in the old days.

TATTOOING

304 Tattooing (naba'wits; also pawi'ts, the verb) was indulged in by both men and women but primarily by the latter. Nowadays the Paiute rarely tattoo the face,[107] although they may have done so in the old days. I have seen but one woman so tattooed; she bore four or five vertical marks on the chin and a diagonal line running down from each corner of the mouth. Informants state that Paviotso at Nixon and Reno tattoo the face, usually with vertical chin markings; the Gidü'tikad^{a} more frequently decorate the upper arm or forearm with simple motifs such as straight lines. Young girls and women may be seen today with initials, etc., on the arm.

Children were not tattooed; tattooing apparently had no connection with puberty and might take place either before or after mar-

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[105] Reported by de Angulo, 319.

[106] "They learned this from the whites" (P).

[107] "The Gidü'tikad^{a} didn't like that kind; they said it spoiled them" (DB).

● 304 riage. A person tattooed himself, which meant that a paid functionary was eliminated. The desired design was painted in charcoal from a sagebrush fire and the skin punctured with porcupine quills or with a rabbit-bone splinter.

FACE PAINTING

302 386 Both men and women painted the face; it was "just like powder with white people." Pigment was applied to the cheeks in stripes or other simple designs and was used on any dress occasion, particularly for dances but also for war. Red or yellow paint was most common; one or two old women still use red paint (picü'pi), apparently as an article of daily toilet. White paint was prepared but was not used for facial decoration prior to the Ghost Dance.[108]

Red paint and yellow paint (oha'^{a}) were derived from yellow ochre. A deposit is said to occur on the bare hill behind the Harrison Brown ranch at Beatty; Bidwell informants state that it can be found in Big valley to the north of Mount Bidwell, or far to the southeast. When collected the earth was yellow and was used raw as a paint of that color. It was also rubbed on discolored hides to restore the original shade. Yellow paint was obtained from various other sources as, for example, yellow spots (?) on the wild rose. It was simply gathered and smeared on. My informant had not heard of using cat-tail pollen for yellow paint.[109]

For red paint, the ochre was placed in a hole in a rock and a fire kindled on top. The coals were raked off, and after the ochre had cooled, it was brick red. It did not require pounding but was placed directly in a small buckskin storage container (pl. 32*d*). Red pigment was not mixed with fat; grease of any kind was smeared on the face and the paint then added.

A soft brownish-tan material which appears to be chalk rock was used for white paint (tüho'ño^{u}). The Surprise Valley source was a deposit on Bidwell mountain. The rock was crushed, soaked in water, and drained, whereupon it appeared white. It was stored in cake form and resembled tailor's chalk. It was moistened with the tongue before being applied to the face.

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[108] "They used white paint on the face at the time of the Ghost Dance, not before. They painted the face red and put white designs on top. They knew red paint before that" (P). This is of particular interest in that the use of red and of red and black paint seems to have spread with the Ghost Dance. Spier, Havasupai, 207.

[109] Cf. Loud and Harrington, 158, for the Nevada Paviotso.

302 386 Piudy and Daisy had not heard of blue paint, but one informant stated that it occurred in the same place as red paint; another, that it came from the water (a mud ?). Certainly it was not in general use. One or two mentioned a black paint, possibly to be identified with the blue. Joshua stated that it was made from pine pitch. When asked concerning it, Daisy said, "We didn't use pitch. That's what the Achomawi used when they were mourning."

ORNAMENTS

301 Beads (tsomi'bi) were made from swan-wing bones, fawn hoofs, deer-toe bones, and rabbit-foot bones. Rabbit feet were placed in hot ashes in order to dry the bones for bead making. Beads were either attached to the dress or strung and worn about the neck and wrists. A necklace frequently consisted of alternate beads and juniper berries. Women wore beads more than men.

Flat disk beads, apparently clam shell, were highly prized. "Beads like this are called kwinī'ga^{a}, and we had them for beads a long time ago. They are high priced beads. I paid fifty cents apiece for these, and they even traded a horse for a short necklace of them. [439] The Warm Springs Indians used to come here and bring them" (DB). Piudy spoke of "beads which came from the northeast. If a man thought he was rich he wore some around his wrist."

301 304 Finger rings were unknown in the old days. Piercing the nasal septum seems to have been unusual even in early times, but in a Paviotso tale[110] Coyote sticks an ornament through his nose. Minnie Anderson could recall having seen "just one old man with feathers in his nose."

Ear lobes were often pierced in infancy in order to secure health and longevity for the baby or, according to another account, to prevent its crying.[111] The piercing instrument was a sharp stick of rabbit brush, not a bone awl. Deer grease was smeared on and a small stick worn in the aperture to keep it open. Later this was replaced by a clean stick. A small strip of deer hide was tied in the hole; for some reason or other Minnie thought that shells and beads were never worn pendant from the ear. The Gidū'tikad^{a} pierced the ear only once, but Piudy could remember having seen a Paiute named Egan from "up north" who had holes all along the rim of the ear.

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[110] Lowie, ST, 209.

[111] "Not all persons had the ears pierced. I don't know any reason for punching a baby's ears. I'm a man; you had better ask a woman about that" (P).

At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians 764
(Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of
them "in any old way"[1] the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking
the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a
hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners
cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes
one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address
was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are
going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while
you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the
Lemhi.[2] The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration;
relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom,
furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their
appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so
that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it
was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse,
some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own
informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration.
When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms,
her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets
and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently
killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our deceased 765
friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel
so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them
is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet
living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was
buried she would weep." When her uncle died, the widow and also 765
Sarah's parents clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and 302
legs, this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The (304)•
widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it
across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his
father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower likewise [587]
cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain
unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length[3] and her face was
not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other

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[1] Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

[2] Lowie, 215.

[3] A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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	Ts	Kl	K2	K3	To	Tr	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	W2	Ki	AE
1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUTILATIONS														
1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1274a. With porcupine quill	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1275. With bone awl	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	−	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1277. When child	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1278. When youth	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1279. All males	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1280. Most males	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1281. Some males	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1282. All females	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1284. Some females	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1285. Men's ear ornament	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1285a. Anything	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
1286. Bead on string	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1287. Glass beads	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1288. Shell pendant	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1289. Stone pendant	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1290. Wooden stick	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1291. Bone tube	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
1294. Flint	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1295. Women's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Bone tube	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+
1299. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1302. Males	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Females	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1304. Men's bone nose pin	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1305. Women's bone nose pin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1306. Tattoo (mavasigi)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1307. Cactus needle	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1307a. Porcupine quill	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1310. Gray colored	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1311. Done when: child	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1313. Any time	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1315. Arms	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1316. Legs	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1317. Body	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1319. Head-shape correction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1320. Done with hands at birth	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 390]

N
283 string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise
[172] twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N
328

N
[114]

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N
854
482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W
[854
482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[304
756]

MUTILATIONS

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

N
● 304

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). KH: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GM). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W
[304]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(a)]

291 *Belt.* A buckskin strip about one inch wide tied in front held up both the breechclout and leggings.

Breechclout. Was made of fawn skin. Hetty said some men used to wear a double apron of badger or deer skin.

Leggings. Thigh length Plains type never decorated, or short type which was knee length and wrapped around, tied in two places, and sometimes sewed to the moccasins. The latter type was sometimes of badger with the hair left on and worn in very cold weather with the fur side in. A third type of legging came just above the knee and was sewn along the side, slipped on like a stocking and held in place by a separate piece of buckskin worn as a garter. A puttee type legging was also mentioned.

Moccasins. Similar to Surprise Valley Paiute (pp. 109-113). No "tule shoes" reported.

HAIRDRESS

302 Long hair was admired in both men and women. Women parted their hair in the middle and wore it loose or braided, and tied in back. (Dick Jonas alone said only men tied their braids back.) The ends of the braids were sometimes wrapped with buckskin, Men parted their hair on the side, let the hair hang loose, braided a little on each side, or in two or three big braids. Men sometimes had bangs and pompadours. Only one informant mentioned women with bangs. Both sexes greased their hair.

The porcupine tail brush and rye grass root comb were similar to those described by Isabel Kelly (p. 113). A willow comb, made of two inch pieces of willow twined together by three rows of sinew, was also reported.

FACE PAINTING

Red, yellow, white and black face paint were mentioned as used by both men and women on a grease base—usually bear fat. The forehead was most frequently painted, usually with long stripes and marking along the hair line, less commonly with dots and circles. A red circle on the forehead and chin, and two dots on each cheek was reported as a common design. Older boys often drew lines down the nose, put three or four horizontal stripes on the cheeks, and painted the chin red. Women often made three lines of white or yellow dots on either side of the nose. Painting the entire face red and then marking with white was mentioned. The part was sometimes painted, and hand prints made on the hair. Men sometimes painted their bangs.

TATTOOING

304 Jenny thought tattooing was not practiced in the old days. The technique was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly (p. 116). There were no specialists. Red tattooing was mentioned.

DEPILATION

302 Men removed facial hair with their fingers. Both men and women sometimes plucked their eyebrows, particularly during courtship.

EAR PIERCING

The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe 304
hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix.

BLANKETS

1. *Rabbit skin blankets.* The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then 281
tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off.

Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders. [291]

2. *Other Blankets.* Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

SKIN DRESSING

Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers re- [412]
ported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire.

BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

1. *Baskets.* Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar 415
in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. 285
They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a [412]
parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but

159 (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, appears to quote Sarah as stating her father was then about eighty years old. Sarah Winnemucca (1882, p. 252) states that both she and her father were born at the Sink of the Humboldt River (i.e., Humboldt Lake).

[55] The name Winnemucca has been given a variety of meanings. The Pacific Tourist (Williams, 1876, p. 191) says the word means "chief"; DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it means "charitable man." In 1931 Skinny Dave, whose mother was Sis Winnemucca (a daughter of Truckee John or *Wa-hee Winnemucca*, who was the brother of Chief Winnemucca)[1] and whose father was *Numana* (Captain Dave), told me that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Mubetawaka*, "man with hole in his nose," the name coming from the pierced nasal septum in which he wore a stick or bone about 4 inches long. This nose-pin can be seen in Plate 1, *right*. Thompson and West (1881, p. 151) say that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Po-i-to*. ● [308]

[177] The feather headdress which Winnemucca wears in Plate 1, *right*, is not an aboriginal Nevada form, but is clearly recognizable as a ceremonial headgear of the sort used by Central California Indians north of San Francisco Bay in a ritual called the *KUKSU* cult. Since he is known to have been in California, it may be presumed that Winnemucca secured this bit of ceremonial finery from across the Sierras.

The Winnemucca we have been speaking about, and who is shown on Plate 1, is often referred to as Chief Winnemucca or Old Winnemucca to distinguish him from his nephew *Numaga* or Young Winnemucca (DeQuille, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Young Winnemucca's picture is shown by Thompson and West (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 144), but they erroneously state (*ibid.*, p. 151) that he was not related to Old Winnemucca. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 60) correctly refers to Young Winnemucca as her cousin.

The death of Winnemucca rated some notice in the press, and the San Francisco Call of October 15, 1882 carried the story of his last illness. Winnemucca died at Coppersmith Station on October 21, 1882, and attributed his illness to having been bewitched by his young wife. Either on the night of his death or a few days afterward (the accounts are not in agreement on this point), the young wife and her three-year-old child were stoned to death as punishment for causing her husband's death. This incident, with the newspaper accounts quoted in full, has been presented elsewhere in publication (Heizer, 1955).

PLATE 2

Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah, whose father was Old Winnemucca and whose mother was a daughter of Captain Truckee, in some way acquired a fair education. She and her father correctly saw that the only hope for the Indians' survival lay in cooperation and submission rather than in war, and that only an informed public could help the Indians by bringing pressure upon the Department of the Interior to appoint honest Indian agents. Sarah's life is one of extraordinary interest, and is too lengthy and complex to be sketched here. In her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, she indicates her birth at about 1844, although a few years earlier she gave information appearing in the Virginia Enterprise (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, that she was then about thirty-one years of age, which would make her birth year 1848. She states in her book (*ibid.*, p. 70) that she was taken to San Jose, California, in 1860 to school, but stayed only three weeks because of objections raised by parents of Caucasian children also attending. The Virginia Enterprise (Jan. 14, 1879) says that she and two of her sisters (Mary and Emma, probably) stayed seven years in a "select school" in San Jose. She was married at least three times to white men; first to a man named Snyder who died on his way to Germany on a visit, next (in 1876) to a Lt. Bartlett, USA, with whom she lived only a short time, and then to a man named Hopkins whose name she still used when she published her book in 1883. Her Indian name is variously given; De Quille

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[1] The death of Chief Winnemucca's brother, Wa-hee Winnemucca, also known as Truckee John, occurred in 1859 at the hand of Augustus Moore, who shot Wa-hee for stealing a valuable mare which he owned and kept on his ranch in Truckee Meadows (Moore, 1878, pp. 15-19).

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[181] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, *Colaptes
cafer*), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab[1] (after naká, "ear")
and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
● [304] which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
[881] seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground *Olivella* beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pishuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

Wadátkuht

854 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so
826 used to being in it.

Punishing Children. If a child pretended to cry he was
861 apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her.

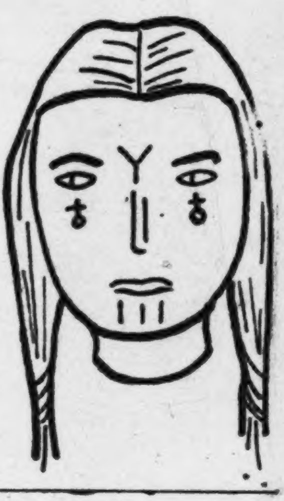
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

Sibling Rivalry. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as
593 typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and
[682] killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

● 304 **Tattoos**. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks.
[531] A tattoo was called naboidz.

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "lll" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



WadátKuht

that she should not cry.

881
From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem
that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologi-
cally for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch [413]
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eli- 881
gible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304 ●
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only [574]
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening.

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in 165
camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and 177
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{a}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medi- 757
cinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.

Wadátkuht

515 not indicate whether the other Wadátkuht shared his enthusiasm for a daily plunge into cold water.

881 Girls' Puberty Ceremony. When Kitty began her first menstrual period the family was working at the Will Dill place in the slough region of Susan River near where it flows into Honey Lake. From here she had to run to the round hill behind the Gibson ranch, a distance of four or five miles to the northwest.

The girls' puberty ceremony was called muhatanowani, from muha, "moon", and tánowani, "to run". It was also called punug. Each morning Kitty had to make her run to Gibson Hill and return on the run in the evening. While on the hill she had to work all day collecting sagebrush for
● [313] the fire. Her aunt, whose name was Beowuhbi, also was on the hill and remained there during the puberty ceremony. Each morning Kitty ran up to the top of the hill with approximately ten other girls who helped her gather sagebrush for the fire. Most of this fuel had to be left on the hill, but Kitty took a load back each night. The girls also gathered brush on their way back to the ranch, and around the ranch.

When Kitty returned to camp each evening the dancing would begin and she would have to dance all night. During the days she was able to get some sleep but was awakened by her aunt before she slept too long. She also got some food and water from her aunt when she got up on the hill each day. This kept her going, but no one was supposed to give her food back at camp. In fact she was guarded to see that no one
[856] slipped her any food. The reason a girl got so little water was so that she could, in later life, go a long time without
[826] it, a decided virtue under the existing desert conditions of the Wadátkuht environment.

During the dance each night Kitty wore a shredded sagebrush bark skirt and cape which she had made herself. The cape hung half-way to her knees. However, in deference to new standards brought in by the whites she wore the sagebrush clothing over her cloth dress.

Kitty had to dance all night without stopping. Other people would dance with her but as they got tired others would take over, but she got no rest. The dance ended before sunrise each day and she would leave for the run to the mountain with her escort of girls. These girls and young women had been through the puberty ceremony and were the

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] [193] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida. Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material 825 culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 773 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipŏ or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See Category 116, End Plate 68 -- Analyst]

To the north and to the south the range gra-
dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claim- 101
ed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather inde- 133
finite. It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131]
Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like
Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by CA8
both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by
both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit
Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different
groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits
did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must
have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and
Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that
intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [589]
both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [727]
home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed
to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them
them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of
culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between
these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely
separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact
that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful
chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their
ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother
to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good
deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101
through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 131
seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361]
eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as
Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River
territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316]
"mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of conten-
tion between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears
strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes,
Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed
from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war.
Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner
Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of
Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133
northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N W A 222

	Ts	Kl	K2	Bb	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
487. Spatulate end	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
488a. Point both ends	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuwoi)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
492. Conical seed basket (tümayuno)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
500. Wooden	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
501. Shin bone	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

N W A 241

	Ts	Kl	K2	Bb	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*506. Wild seeds irrigated	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	•−	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+

Seed Storage

N W A 251

	Ts	Kl	K2	Bb	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
527. Storage in cave	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−
528. Storage in rock crevice	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

Food Preparation

● N W A ● 317

N W A 251 252

	Ts	Kl	K2	Bb	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	−
530. Mineral from rocks	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
532. *Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*533. Roasted, entrails removed	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*538. Smoked	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
539. In house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	•−	−	−
540. Pulverized	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	−	−
*541. Mixed with seeds	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
*542. Mixed with berries	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
*543. Mixed with fat	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
545. Tripe eaten	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	−	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
552. Pulverized	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
553a. Only fish bones ground	·	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
554. Ground bone cooked	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
555. Vertebrae ground	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
556. Joints ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 376]

137 483a. Identification: Wyethia mollis Gray.

222 483b. Identification: Helianthus annuus L.

262 483c. Identification: Wyethia ovata T. and G. (Steward, 242). akö seeds used.

483f. Identification: Allenrolfea occidentalis Roem. kuhava seeds used. Habitat, extremely alkaline or salty places.

483g. Identification: Castilleia confusa Greene. taparogi bulb used. Habitat, protected dry spots of canyons or mountain sides.

[261] 483h. Identification: Eriogonum baileyi Wats. sanakö chewed as gum. Habitat, desert.

● [317] 483i. Identification: Atriplex. Sünü seeds eaten; were probably an important source of salt, although only one informant, PS, mentioned this fact. Habitat, sandy spots near salt or alkali-encrusted deserts; near playa.

[278] 483j. Identification: Tetradymia glabrata Gray. Kl: DG said this plant furnished an arrow poison from its bark. Habitat, dry desert.

[261] 483k. Identification: Chrysothamnus nauseosus Britton. At the top of the roots of sigup, Indian girls and women found small lumps of some secretion. These were collected and chewed as we chew gum. Habitat, favored desert areas.

[278] 483kk. Identification: Parosela polyadenia Heller. mogodöhupi used as medicine. Habitat, favored desert spots.

[263] 483m. Identification: Apocynum cannabinum L. wihowi bark made into excellent fibers for rope, string, etc. Habitat, moist rich soil of river bottoms.

483n. Identification: Oryzopsis hymenoides Ricker. wai seeds used. Habitat, dry sandy hills.

483o. Identification: Mentzelia albicaulis Dougl. kuha seeds used. Habitat, sand hills.

[276] 483p. Identification: Nicotiana attenuata Torr. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

483q. Identification: Rumex crispus L. pawia was considered native to Stillwater by LP, who said its seeds were eaten; PS said roots were used for medicine. Tidestrom, of U.S. Herbarium, in Flora of Utah and Nevada, said it (Rumex crispus L.) was introduced from Europe. Habitat, moist stream banks.

483r. Identification: Scirpus acutus Muhl. siavö furnished food in the form of seeds and root stock, also material for houses, cordage, footgear, and weaving. It was one of the most useful plants of the Northern Paiute.

483s. Identification: Typha latifolia L. toe roots eaten. The Indians around Stillwater were called Toe-dökado ("cattail or tule eaters") because they had little else to eat at certain seasons. When other food was abundant, toe was not eaten.

[286] 483t. Identification: Eleocharis palustris Roem. pamusivö used for weaving, bags, etc.

483u. Identification: Scirpus americanus Pers. avi, same uses as 483r.

[278] 483v. Identification: Artemisia tridentata

[F.428(8)]

N

137 Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc.
222 My informants insisted this was in pre-white
262 days.

[278] 483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DW, a Pakwi, called the same plant sunu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N
[278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DW: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N
W
[278
226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W
[262] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A
[222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N
505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

[249] 509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N
[342]
N
[764] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N
● [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

N 317 to Alkali Lake near Topaz, California, to get salt. They did not claim this lake, but obtained salt there without payment. No one seems to have owned the lake, although it might have been Washo, MW said. Pa: Salt obtained at Rhodes Salt Marsh south of Mina (Steward, 325). DV said Osavidökadö ("salt eaters") have been considered a separate band only since the building of the railroad through that country; before the railroad the country was used only as a place to get salt. At: Free salt not known before white people. Salt-brush, Atriplex, and sünü seeds were salty and that is all they used.

530. Sa: + (SL).

533, 534. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

538. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

539. Tg, Wd: "To dry meat faster a sort of sweat house was built and a fire was made inside" (DS). This was primarily only to dry faster; the smoking was incidental.

540. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [252] 542, 543. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

546. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

558. Sa, Pa, At: Feet dried with cords and skin were used in case of famine.

561. At: Earth oven used only for crickets.

562. Cooking in the thorax filled with water which was brought to a boil by means of hot stones is described by Kelly, 92.

568. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

N 266 577. K2: Once during a hard winter a Kuyuidökadö killed his daughter-in-law and ate her. The rest of the tribe disapproved and chased him away. Kü: "Not so many years ago, just before the white people came, a family lived high in the mountains during a hard winter. The mother couldn't get enough food, so one day the eldest son killed her, cooked her, and offered some of the meat to his younger brother. The younger one refused and the elder brother threatened to eat him next. The boy escaped, ran to Lovelock (saituka tuwiwarai), told his story. The Indians tried to kill the elder brother but he hid, then ran away" (GN). At: "In hard winters when food was gone those Indians who appeared weak, like they would die, were killed and eaten by the stronger ones" (PS).

HOUSES

N 342 Speaking of a Walker Lake lodge pictured in Mooney, Lowie (p. 221) says, "while round in ground plan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like." Informants were unable to give accurate descriptions of houses. When I showed them pictures of dome-shaped houses of the Pomo tule type, informants said that type had been used formerly, but upon seeing plate 3,c, Steward, a conical house, most of them said that type was also used. It is impossible to ascertain if house

[p. 429 (b)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
301
287

N
A
W
291

N
A
[321]

N
W
A
302
286

N
W
A
[785]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ak
1322. Necklaces (ükrakiapé)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tosmi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or bete)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (paheis)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (paidova)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1328. Animal claws	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1330. Wildcat	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1331. Animal teeth	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1332. Dewclaws (takusuma or tonitoð)	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1333. Charred pine seeds	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	-	-	-
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339. Animal fur	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1339a. Mouse	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1340. Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1341. Hoofs	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1342. Bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1342a. Quills	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	-	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1351. Hair	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigna)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wina)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1363. Yellow mineral (sarópi)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (paitoðtaigna)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+

[p. 391]

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

412

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was [411] carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver.

5. Special Knife-like Saw. A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was 372 usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported.

WEAPONS

1. Bow and Arrow. The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to 411 those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply [322] sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows.

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt [321] through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used.

2. Round Shields. Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika [281] using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika.

3. Slat Armor. Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

4. Tunic Armor. Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

5. Clubs. Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

Scarface Charlie reported elk horn clubs made from the end of the antler. Holes were drilled in the small end and a thong tied through and worn over the wrist. This was also used as a horsewhip. Dick Jonas said that only the Hunibuidika used these.

Scarface Charlie and Dick Jonas reported mahogany clubs which also had thongs tied through a hole in the end so that they could be worn on the arm.

FIRE MAKING

372 The Gidü'tikad^{a} had the composite fire drill as did their Nevada relatives.[159] The shaft (kudza') was of any kind of wood, the tip (sawa'gu^{dza}) of sagebrush. A charred tip[160] which I examined was conical and 3½ inches long. Its apex fitted into a 30-inch wooden shaft whose pierced end was strengthened with sinew wrapping. As a usual thing, however, the tip was lashed to the handle. The arrow shaft did not serve as a drill handle.

The hearth (wa^{i}) was usually of soft juniper and had "any number of holes," usually two to four. I saw one[160] two inches in width, fifteen inches in length, and tapering at either end. There were two holes along both margins; one hole had not been used. Sagebrush bark served as tinder, and a little sand or dry dirt was dropped in the hole to encourage friction. The drill was twirled between the palms; the resulting spark was turned at once into the channel where it was blown gently, igniting the tinder. It took about two minutes to produce fire. When women made fire, several took turns rotating the drill.

Fire-making apparatus was carried in the quiver or in a deerskin bag hung from the belt.

On short winter journeys fire was carried in a slow match of braided sagebrush bark.

WEAPONS

411
● 322 *Bow.*—Every man made his own bow (adi; now gun). The Achomawi are said to have used young oak,[161] but the Gidü'tikad^{a} always used juniper. A straight branch was cut at the end and split, the bark side of the limb becoming the back of the bow.[162] The limb was warmed and scraped. Informants insisted that the bow length was not measured; "they knew the length by looking." It was "not too long, about three feet. The Achomawi had the long bow." The bow was undecorated. It was nocked at either end and had a constricted grip wrapped with deer hide to protect the hand. The grip had no special name; "they just made it that way." The piece of buckskin which served as wrist guard was also unnamed.

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[159] Lowie, SE, 222.

[160] In possession of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Obtained from Fat George (Townsend).

[161] This evidently refers to the western groups or else implies traffic in the wood, since Kniffen (map 1) places the limit of oak slightly east of Fall river.

[162] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 161.

The self bow was used only by boys; adults used the backed bow. 411 Sinew from the leg of the deer was stronger than that from the back 322 and consequently was employed in bow-making. It was chewed until 237 soft and was then warmed and applied along the back of the bow with lengthwise strokes, running from the center to the ends. It was tied at the nocks. The sinew was attached with fish glue (za'gu) "from [381] inside the sucker. It looks like little white bags. Put it in the fire to make it soft and sticky. Put this glue on the bow and then put on the sinew." There was but one coating of sinew; it was applied in a thin layer so that it would dry quickly. Three hours to a full day were required, otherwise the sinew would peel. The bow was not bent until thoroughly dry.

The bowstring (paga^{ʔawi}) was always of two-ply sinew. The leg tendons were dried, shredded, and chewed. The strands were then overlapped and rolled on the thigh. The bow was unstrung when not in use, otherwise "it would lose its spring." One end of the string was fastened permanently and secured with pitch; the free end was noosed.

Arrows.—Arrows were of rose (tsia'b^{i}), currant (poho'nob^{i}), serv- 411 ice (wũkwũ'kobũ),[163] tũa'b^{i}, and possibly of young cat-tail (toib^{ü}).[164] 322 Piudy said that service arrows were used only by boys, but at Beatty I saw duck arrows of that material. Arrows were of three sizes: those for bear and elk were somewhat over three feet in length, perhaps nearer four; those for deer and antelope, about three feet; those for birds, "much smaller."[165]

Arrows for big game bore a zigzag groove. The shaft was twisted in the fingers while the channel was being cut. Such arrows were called bagu'b^{ü}; the channel proper was unnamed.

An arrow was smoothed by being rubbed between two grooved stones. It was warmed, then straightened in the teeth. The arrow wrench was not regularly employed; Piudy said, "I saw somebody use one once, but I don't remember who it was." Dr. Sam reported a perforated deer horn wrench for the Silver Lake band. He called it muka'nu, a name applied by Gidũ'tikad^{ü} informants to the horn flaker.[166]

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[163] Probably to be identified with Lowie's ugwe'qow^{e}, SE, 245.

[164] "The Achomawi had cane arrows" (P).

[165] The above mentioned duck arrows were about 15 inches long.

[166] The muka'nu figures in several tales as a rod of magical properties, for example, Kelly, tale 10b. There is much confusion concerning its translation, and several interpreters were unable to give any description, much less an English equivalent.

411 322 237 Arrows were invariably three-feathered, the sole exception being the rarely used unfeathered fishing arrows. Those for water fowl were always feathered; "an arrow without feathers would go no distance." Wing feathers (kwigi) of the sage hen, goose, swan, duck, or crow were split, leaving the very tip intact. They were attached with fish glue or with gum from the juniper or pine. Feathers seem to have been of fair length, five or six inches; if too long they were cut. They were attached about an inch from the end, leaving "just enough space so you could hold the arrow."

[324] The butt was nocked. The other end was slit and a stone point (taka') inserted and held with sinew lashing. There were three kinds of stone points, red (atsa'-taka'), white (toha'-taka'), and black (tuhu'-taka'). The last, black obsidian, was least valued because it broke too easily. The red, also obsidian, was said to "cost like buckskin" because of the scarcity of the stone and because a point could be used over again, even though it fell to the ground.

Arrows for birds and small game such as squirrels, rabbits, and groundhogs, were one-piece, sharpened at the end. They were dried in the sun or hardened in the fire, meanwhile being turned to prevent warping. I understood from Joshua that the shaft was sometimes bored and a greasewood point inserted, but as this was not confirmed by other informants, I may have misunderstood.[167]

According to Joshua, every man knew his own arrow. He decorated it with stripes of red, yellow, or blue, placed just behind the point and halfway down the shaft. Piudy differed as to means but not as to ends, saying, "You can tell your arrow by the feathers. Any kind of feathers could be used. Maybe I used duck; you used another kind. These Paiute never did paint the arrow." Identification of one's arrow was important as it affected division of the spoils.

In shooting, the bow was almost vertical with the arrow to its left. The release was primary, the arrow being grasped between thumb and forefinger, with the thumb superior. When shooting from ambush, the archer sometimes held the bow horizontally to avoid detection. The Achomawi are said to have held the bow horizontally.[168]

According to one informant, a person could "shoot hard from here across the street," a matter of fifty feet. Another informant thought that would be "pretty far." A well-shot arrow penetrated a deer three or four inches.

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[167] Although Lewis, SE, 245, mentions a greasewood point for rabbit arrows.

[168] Informant P.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 *Flute.*—The Gidū'tikad^{a} knew the simple flute, called woi'ñ. ● 322 Ku'nu"gib was also recorded as flute but seems rather to apply to a wood of which the flute was sometimes made. This wood was said to be "like a willow but growing in the mountains." More frequently the flute was of elder (hubu') stem from which the inner pith had been pushed. The flute was described as from twelve to fourteen inches long, cut slanting across the mouth end. In the old days it was never blown from the side or with the nose. According to Joshua, the instrument ordinarily had six holes, but formerly only four;[171] Piudy mentioned four holes, played by two fingers of each hand; Daisy and Charlie Washo reported eight holes, "just enough holes for four fingers of each hand." The flute was played only by men. Its use was entirely recreational; it was not used in courting. The bone whistle was unknown.

Rasp.—The notched stick is not Gidū'tikad^{a}. Dr. Sam described it for his band in connection with antelope charming, but Surprise Valley informants reported in its stead a plain stick wound with "string." Lowie[172] mentions the notched stick in the same connection for the Nevada Paviotso; but Sarah Winnemucca[173] is not explicit as to the kind of rasp used.

> My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound.

According to Joshua, "The notched stick is Shoshone; they use it in the Bear dance. It sounds like a washboard." Mettie Petty of Beatty said that it served her people as a dance accompaniment; Daisy Brown reported a similar use by the Nevada Paviotso.

Rattles.—Deer hoofs were sometimes tied about the knees when dancing. This practice had no special name. The deer-hoof rattle (witsa'baiya) was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Joshua described its manufacture as follows:

> Make (?) the hoofs all one size. Warm them and punch a hole in one corner. Run a string through the holes. Twist the string around a stick about 16 inches long. Then shake it up and down.

[439] Susie Archie knew of cocoon rattles which she said the Paiute bought from coast peoples.

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[171] Four is the customary number in California. Kroeber, Handbook, 824.

[172] SE, 303.

[173] P. 56.

Drum.—The drum (witu'a) is apparently recent. Pindy states that it came from the north and northeast at the time of the white advent. The late intrusion seems in keeping with the fact that the drum was rarely, if ever, used by shamans. According to several informants, tribes to the north employed the drum in doctoring. In recent times, the Gidü'tikad^{u} have used it as a dance accompaniment. It is the usual tambourine drum—hide stretched on a circular frame. 534 322

A modern specimen which I was allowed to examine[174] was about sixteen inches in diameter. The frame was chokecherry, although juniper is more usual. Horse hide (with the hair surface facing in) was stretched taut over one side. It was held by six thongs radiating toward the center of the under side from as many slits spaced evenly along the margin of the turnover. Each thong was slit a short distance from the end and pushed through the hole in the skin cover. The body of the thong was then brought through its own end slit, just as merchandising tags are attached. The six thongs converged in the center, but their fastening was obscured by several rows of cotton cloth in wrapped stitch. The radiating thongs constituted a handle behind which the single drum stick was thrust when not in use. The stick to this drum had been lost but was described as short and hide-wrapped on one end.

A band of red paint encircled the rim of the drum, but the face proper was undecorated.

Joshua said that the drum was sometimes painted red, sometimes yellow. The coloring was applied around the edge and in the middle, the latter perhaps in stripes.

DOGS

There is practically unanimity on the subject of the native dog, soko'puku. It was very scarce, very small, and looked "just like a coyote." It was of virtually no assistance in transportation, Dr. de Angulo's assertion that "they used dogs for packing"[175] being contradicted by all informants. One[176] admitted under pressure of persistent questioning that "if a dog were good and strong he might carry a pack, but most dogs were poor, and they were pretty scarce." Certainly the dog pack was very much out of the ordinary. The travois was unknown; Bige Archie asserted that it was introduced with the horse, but this was denied by all other informants. 231 [492]

Because of their scarcity, dogs could never have been very important as food. The majority denied ever eating dog, but two had heard of its being eaten in times of great shortage. [261]

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[174] In possession of Nellie Townsend, Fort Bidwell.

[175] P. 322.

[176] MA.

412

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver. [411]

5. Special Knife-like Saw. A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported. 372

WEAPONS

1. Bow and Arrow. The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows. 411 [222]

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used. [321]

2. Round Shields. Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika. [281]

3. Slat Armor. Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

4. Tunic Armor. Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

5. Clubs. Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

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INDUSTRIES.

000 *Stone Technique.* On the stone work of the Plateau Shoshoneans the following statement by Powell merits being rescued from its recondite source:—

> The obsidian or other stone of which the implement is to be made is first selected by breaking up larger masses of the rock and choosing those which exhibit the fracture desired and which are free of flaws; then these pieces are baked or steamed, perhaps I might say annealed, by placing them in damp earth covered with a brisk fire for twenty-four hours, then with sharp blows they are still further broken into flakes approximating the shape and size desired. For the more complete fashioning of the implement a tool of horn, usually of the mountain sheep, but sometimes of the deer or antelope, is used. The flake of stone is held in one hand, placed on a little cushion made of untanned skin of some animal, to protect the hand from the flakes which are to be chipped off, and with a sudden pressure of the bone-tool the proper shape is given. They acquire great skill in this, and the art seems to be confined to but few persons, who manufacture them and exchange them for other articles.[1]

Pottery. There were significant differences among the Plateau Shoshoneans with regard to their knowledge of ceramic processes. Early travelers speak with tantalizing vagueness of earthen jars among the Lemhi and their neighbors, stone-boiling being also reported.[2] On the
323 other hand, Wind River Shoshoni informants only mentioned man-made
285 soapstone pots and the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake very definitely denied
252 having ever made pots, saying that baskets were used for boiling food and pitched basketry bottles for storing and carrying water. However, Sarah Winnemucca notes the modeling in mud indulged in by children, who made herds of animals and then shot at them with bow and arrow.[3] The Paiute cooked in earthen kettles (*pambö'n^{e}*) made of hard clay (*wida^{e}*). According to one hardly convincing Moapa statement these used to be made by a *man* specializing in the art for the rest of his people. This is indeed contradicted by the Shivwits, who say their "mud buckets" (*pambö'ni*) were made by women, as we should expect. It proved impossible to have a pot made, but a brief description was given. The clay used was of a yellow color but became brownish-black on firing. Only two localities were believed to yield suitable material, one near the Colorado River and the other to the south of the Reservation on a mountain over which the Shivwits originally roamed, near the boundary line of Utah and Arizona. The coiled technique was employed and a piece of turtle shell served *to smooth* the vessels within and outside. They were pointed at the bottom so that they could be stuck into the

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[1] Powell 27-28.
[2] Lowie, 177, 188.
[3] Hopkins, 57.

000 ground, and a fire was built around them. All the pots were undecorated. After completing a vessel, a woman would fire it all night, then on the following morning if it were struck the sound heard would be like that of a metal kettle. The Ute also made earthenware containers. At Navajo Springs, Colorado, I was told that meat was formerly boiled in such vessels, being then served on basketry trays. On the Uinta River Powell found fragments of pottery[1] and Stansbury encountered similar remnants of the potter's art in the same general area.[2] Though Powell seems inclined to view these finds as vestiges of a higher civilization than that of the Ute, we may reasonably assign plain pieces of pottery found in this territory to the immediate predecessors of the historic Shoshonean occupants. Jim Duncan, a Uintah Ute, told me that among his people both stone-boiling with baskets and pot-boiling had been in vogue. The former method was repeatedly referred to by Ute informants. The pots were made by a few of the women and were purchased by the rest. Another informant from the same Reservation mentioned the fact that black earthenware vessels with decorated rim were dug up from time to [323] time in the vicinity. Thus, the Ute, Paiute and (if early accounts may [171] be trusted) the Northern Shoshoni made pottery, while the Wind River Shoshoni and Paviotso did not.

Specimens of Shoshonean pottery are to be seen in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

Preparation of Skins. The Moapa Paiute remove the hair with the bone or rib of a mountain sheep. They rub the brains on the flesh side, letting them remain for ten days or even a month so that they might soak through the hide. The skin is next soaked in water over night and wrung out next day, softened and allowed to dry. It is then quite soft. Sometimes they smoke the inside, but my interpreter declared that this was a custom started only a short time ago. Cow chips are used to make the fire, the skin is sewed up Shoshoni fashion (see below), and exposed to the smoke all day. After this process the skin is impervious to water, which just runs off it, and it never gets hard when drying after an exposure to rain.

The Shivwits use the sharpened shinbone of a deer to take off the hair. The hide was kept in warm water, then put on a smooth post and allowed to lie against a tree trunk, the hair being removed by downward strokes. Warm water is again used to soak the skin, which is wrung out

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[1] Powell, 43.
[2] Stansbury, 182.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
283

CORDAGE (twisted)

	To	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
1181. Material: milkweed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1182. Net (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1185a. Tule	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1188. Clockwise twist	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1190a. 3	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
[323]

	To	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
*1195. POTTERY	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
482

BURDENS

	To	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1231. Braided, 3-strand	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (hötonoqu)	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1234. On top of bark head pad	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand hold under strap	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1240. Bag (maro mokwa): deerskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kuruo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
854
285

CRADLES (tsa kihopö)

	To	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1255. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+

[p.389]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

● N 323 N [114]

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N 854 482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [854 482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

MUTILATIONS

W [304 736] N 304

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Ki: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [301]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(A)]

The Gidü'tikadᵃ employed a two-post frame for the weaving. 286
Informants said that the Nixon Paviotso used a frame of four uprights and two cross-bars.[144] With the two-post frame, the uprights, about five feet in height, were set as far apart as one could conveniently reach. The twisted skins were wound tightly from one post to the other, from bottom to top. The weft was twine (either wiha'bⁱ or sagebrush bark), thongs, or, more recently, strips of cotton cloth. The worker started a row of simple twine at the lower righthand corner and worked it to the top. According to Daisy, the wefts were tied here and a new row started at the bottom, otherwise the blanket would be wrinkled. Joshua thought that the twining was continuous, turning at the top and coming downward. Piudy reported an extra-length blanket made by pushing the completed part off the posts and winding more skins on the freed poles. One blanket ordinarily sufficed as bedding for two persons.

Sagebrush bark blankets are said to have been made in the same technique, but without the frame. Such blankets, like those of rabbit skin, were used as bedding and capes. Leggings were also made of sagebrush bark, presumably in open twine. A model of the old time sagebrush moccasin is seen in plate 27*b*. The start is identical with that of the first cradle (fig. 9). The wefts consist of untwisted sagebrush bark. At the termination of each row, the wefts are twisted into string and left as a loop for lacing. The hanging warps turn up over the foot as a tongue. The cord is crisscrossed, catching the loops on either side.

Bags for food storage were made of tule or of sagebrush bark, 285
presumably in open twine. They were described as "like those the 415
Modocs use only not as well made."

STONE WORKING

Stone archaeological remains are fairly plentiful, although not 324 ●
spectacular, and are ascribed to mythical pre-Paviotso inhabitants. Thus, "These stone things came from the stories. When animals were people they made them." Pestles are found near water, "because Nümüzo'ho (cannibal; literally people-grinder) was driven into the lake." Another cannibalistic being, Bahi'zoho, who was "animal but looked like an Indian," has mortars ascribed to him. Nümüna (people's father) is held responsible for petroglyphs and for footprints seen along lake shores.

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[144] Like that described by Lowie, SE, 228.

324 *Axe.*—In the old days there was nothing in the nature of an axe. Wood picked from the ground was the sole reliance. Chipped obsidians, more or less hoe-shaped, are found archaeologically and in local parlance are known as tomahawks. Informants state that similar objects were sometimes found and used in tanning, but were not manufactured by the Paiute. They were used unhafted and were rubbed on the inside of hides in order to soften them. They were called düda'-soñoyin (düda', rub; soñoyin, soften). Daisy remembered that Nora Henderson's grandfather was once far to the east and killed a foreign Indian who had one of these implements tied to his wrist as a weapon.

Another type of archaeological specimen to which the name tomahawk is applied is a flat quadrilateral with rounded corners. It measures about five inches in length and four in width. The sides are notched as though for hafting. Examination shows that whatever this might have been, it was not a cutting or hewing implement. It has no suggestion of a blade or of abrasions which would result from chopping. It falls into the category of those Californian notched stones doubtfully designated as sinkers, but in this case, explanation in terms of recent ethnology is not possible since informants deny the use of the fish net. These stones, like the others, apparently date from pre-Paviotso days.

324
415 *Metate.*—The metate (ma'ta') is a flattish, unsquared slab,[145] the face worn evenly and untroughed. It occurs archaeologically and today is used for grinding seeds and coffee. Some metates were found already made, but "anyone might make one." A suitable stone was selected, pecked, and rubbed down. It took a "long time." Daisy said that men did the pecking, but Piudy said that men searched for good stones which the women smoothed. The country abounds in potential metates, but they are said to be most plentiful on the slopes of Eagleville peak which is known as Ma'ta'gan, metate mountain.

The flat surface of a large boulder was sometimes used as a metate. At the Anderson place on Cowhead lake was one quite worn from such use. My informant, Minnie Anderson, ground some seeds on it by way of demonstration. Contrary to Nevada practice,[146] only one surface of the metate is used. This follows the explicit statement of an informant, substantiated by an examination of several speci-

mens. When not in use, the slab is leaned face downward against the wall of the house. On journeys a small size metate was carried in the burden basket. 324 415

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[145] "Sometimes they were oval" (DB). Beautifully shaped oval metates are collected from the Tule lake (Modoc) region; I have seen none from Surprise valley.

[146] Lowie, SE, 204.

The mano (tuau') is without special character; it is not beveled or rockered in any distinctive manner. Evidently any stone of suitable size was put to use with the metate.

Mortar.—My information concerning the mortar accords with that of Dr. de Angulo.[147] Strangely enough, considering the vast number to be found archaeologically, informants state that "they did not use them much."[148] They did not manufacture mortars, but if they happened upon one they might use it. In the absence of a mortar, any kind of rock served. Sometimes the mortar and pestle were cached "so that when we came around next time we knew where to find them." The pestles[149] are simply elongate stones, shaped through use as much as anything else.

Arrow smoother.—Two grooved stones (pa'a'bi; also poños-tüma'-nak^{a}; poños, arrow) are said to have been used in smoothing arrows. They were unsquared and resembled the Klamath specimen figured by Barrett.[150]

Pipe.—All agree that the old pipe (to'i'*e*^{a}) was stone with a wooden mouthpiece, but with this, agreement virtually ceases. Informants are about evenly divided between the tubular and the elbow pipe, three claiming that the latter is a "white man's pipe." 324 276

Minnie described a plain tube which was smoked with head tilted back; Pindy reported a tubular pipe which the user leaned back to light, but smoked straight. Billy Steve, when shown plate 22 of Barrett, picked figure 7, a bone mesh measure, as most closely approximating the old form—an undoubted indication of tubular shape. Nannie Ochiho agreed that the elbow pipe was "white man's" but said that the old Paiute pipe was more curved than the simple tube. Joshua agreed with her that the old pipe was intermediate between the straight and the elbow types.

When Tom Anderson was shown a tubular pipe he emphatically declared, "not Paiute," selecting figure 9, plate 22 of Barrett as "a Paiute pipe." Daisy Brown likewise declared for an elbow pipe. Dr. Sam of Beatty, when asked concerning pipes, brought forth one he had made years ago. I understood that his was in the old style manner, but as I was pressed for time, I may not have stressed the point of age sufficiently. The pipe he showed was carved in the shape of a mountain-sheep head, nose pointing downward. The bore entered the head back of the horns, turned elbow-wise, and ran through the neck. The wooden mouthpiece was attached at the butt of the neck. The whole very much resembled a miniature tomahawk pipe.

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[147] P. 321.

[148] "What would we use those for? We have no hard seeds" (P).

[149] "The pestle is called tüta'bin" (JB); "poda'n" (P).

[150] Plate 21, fig 9.

The specimen[131] illustrated on plate 32*b* was obtained from Fat George Townsend. The standing height is 2¼ inches. The perforation at the top is ¾ of an inch in diameter and that at the mouthpiece, a fraction less than ½ inch. The latter perforation is said always to be the smaller. The elbow bears an angle knob, oval in shape, and notched at the terminals of its long and short diameters. The total length of the stem is 2¼ inches, of which ⅝ of an inch penetrates the pipe. The mouthpiece bore is less than ⅛ inch across. The stem is decorated with a small band of the outer bark.

One of the strongest claimants[132] for the tubular pipe is from Nevada where the straight pipe is known.[133] There remains the evidence of Piudy and Minnie Anderson, both excellent informants and both well advanced in years. With the exception of Dr. Sam, other informants run at least five to ten years younger. It is possible that the straight pipe was replaced by the elbow form in early times, perhaps simultaneously with the advent of the whites. At this time a good many new traits seem to have filtered in. If this were the case, informants of sixty or sixty-five years might know only the later type. It is singular, however, that amateur archaeologists of the region seem not to have found any tubular pipes, but then pipes of any sort are rare enough. Furthermore, it is not inconceivable that these Paviotso shared the elbow pipe with the neighboring Klamath.[134]

The pipe could be made of any soft stone, but the favorite was reddish and was called atsa'-tüpi' (red-stone). The Bannock are credited with a shiny red-stone pipe,[135] doubtless catlinite.

Accounts of pipe manufacture vary. According to Joshua, stone was selected, heated, and chipped, then perforated with a bone awl. Piudy substituted deer horn for the bone awl, and he, as well as other informants, denied the heating. Minnie said that the stone was pecked to the desired shape and the cavity made by scraping with an obsidian knife. She illustrated by working a stick in the palm and then inverting and shaking the hand as though to remove dust and chips. Joshua, Minnie, and Piudy all denied the use of a drill. Nannie Ochiho described a drill made by lashing an arrowpoint to a horn shaft, but as she is considerably younger than the others, the drill may not be aboriginal. According to Minnie, "all the men knew how to make pipes."

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[131] In possession of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell.

[132] BS.

[133] Lowie, SE, 215.

[134] Spier, Klamath, 87; Barrett, Klamath, pl. 22, figs. 8, 9.

[135] JB.

The mouthpiece (na'bitsim^{u}) was made of rose. Minnie reported a hollowed elder stem; Daisy thought this material would be too soft, although it is known to have been used by the Klamath.[156] 276 324 ●

Chipped implements.—Chipped implements were largely obsidian. The stuff is scattered plentifully, and informants deny any particular source, saying that pieces were picked up "just anywhere." An enormous deposit occurs at the south end of Cowhead lake.[157] Quantities were evidently transported from here to the camps on the north shore where piles of rejects may be seen, but these may antedate Paviotso occupancy. As the lake recedes, many artifacts are found in the sand, and some excellent specimens, including knives and a bewildering array of points, have been found in the neighborhood. 412 324

Knives (wi'hi, applied to anything for cutting) were formerly two sizes. They were used for skinning and butchering and were carried in a sack at the waist together with the fire drill, or else in a buckskin sheath (wi'hi-mago"o; knife-container) attached to the belt. Some knives were hafted. Joshua said that his father's butchering knife had a bone handle a couple of inches long; Piudy said that the handle was of any kind of wood, not bone, and that service wood was strongest. Large blades which appear to be giant spearpoints were probably hafted knives.

Arrowpoints found archaeologically were used if in good condition. Most are notched at the base. Joshua had watched his uncle make arrowpoints. He warmed the stone on the coals then broke it into small pieces. These he worked in from the edge, using a pointed instrument (muka'nu) of deer or mountain-sheep horn. He wore no skin guard; sometimes he cut his hand, but "he was not afraid." Tom Anderson said that his grandfather held a piece of hide in his hand when making arrowpoints.

Scrapers were used in working hides, but I am not certain if they were actually made or if they were merely found archaeologically and put to use.

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[156] Spier, Klamath, 87.

[157] This means that they had ample material within their own territory without contesting the Achomawi right to Sugar hill. Kniffen (map 2) agrees in having Sugar hill indisputably Achomawi. Cf. de Angulo, 315.

411 Arrows were invariably three-feathered, the sole exception being
322 the rarely used unfeathered fishing arrows. Those for water fowl were always feathered; "an arrow without feathers would go no dis-
237 tance." Wing feathers (kwigi) of the sage hen, goose, swan, duck, or crow were split, leaving the very tip intact. They were attached with fish glue or with gum from the juniper or pine. Feathers seem to have been of fair length, five or six inches; if too long they were cut. They were attached about an inch from the end, leaving "just enough space so you could hold the arrow."

[324] The butt was nocked. The other end was slit and a stone point (taka') inserted and held with sinew lashing. There were three kinds of stone points, red (atsa'-taka'), white (toha'-taka'), and black (tuhu'-taka'). The last, black obsidian, was least valued because it broke too easily. The red, also obsidian, was said to "cost like buckskin" because of the scarcity of the stone and because a point could be used over again, even though it fell to the ground.

Arrows for birds and small game such as squirrels, rabbits, and groundhogs, were one-piece, sharpened at the end. They were dried in the sun or hardened in the fire, meanwhile being turned to prevent warping. I understood from Joshua that the shaft was sometimes bored and a greasewood point inserted, but as this was not confirmed by other informants, I may have misunderstood.[167]

According to Joshua, every man knew his own arrow. He decorated it with stripes of red, yellow, or blue, placed just behind the point and halfway down the shaft. Piudy differed as to means but not as to ends, saying, "You can tell your arrow by the feathers. Any kind of feathers could be used. Maybe I used duck; you used another kind. These Paiute never did paint the arrow." Identification of one's arrow was important as it affected division of the spoils.

In shooting, the bow was almost vertical with the arrow to its left. The release was primary, the arrow being grasped between thumb and forefinger, with the thumb superior. When shooting from ambush, the archer sometimes held the bow horizontally to avoid detection. The Achomawi are said to have held the bow horizontally.[168]

According to one informant, a person could "shoot hard from here across the street," a matter of fifty feet. Another informant thought that would be "pretty far." A well-shot arrow penetrated a deer three or four inches.

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[167] Although Lowie, SE, 245, mentions a greasewood point for rabbit arrows.

[168] Informant P.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133
276
281
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854

Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godowa, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

NIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 19

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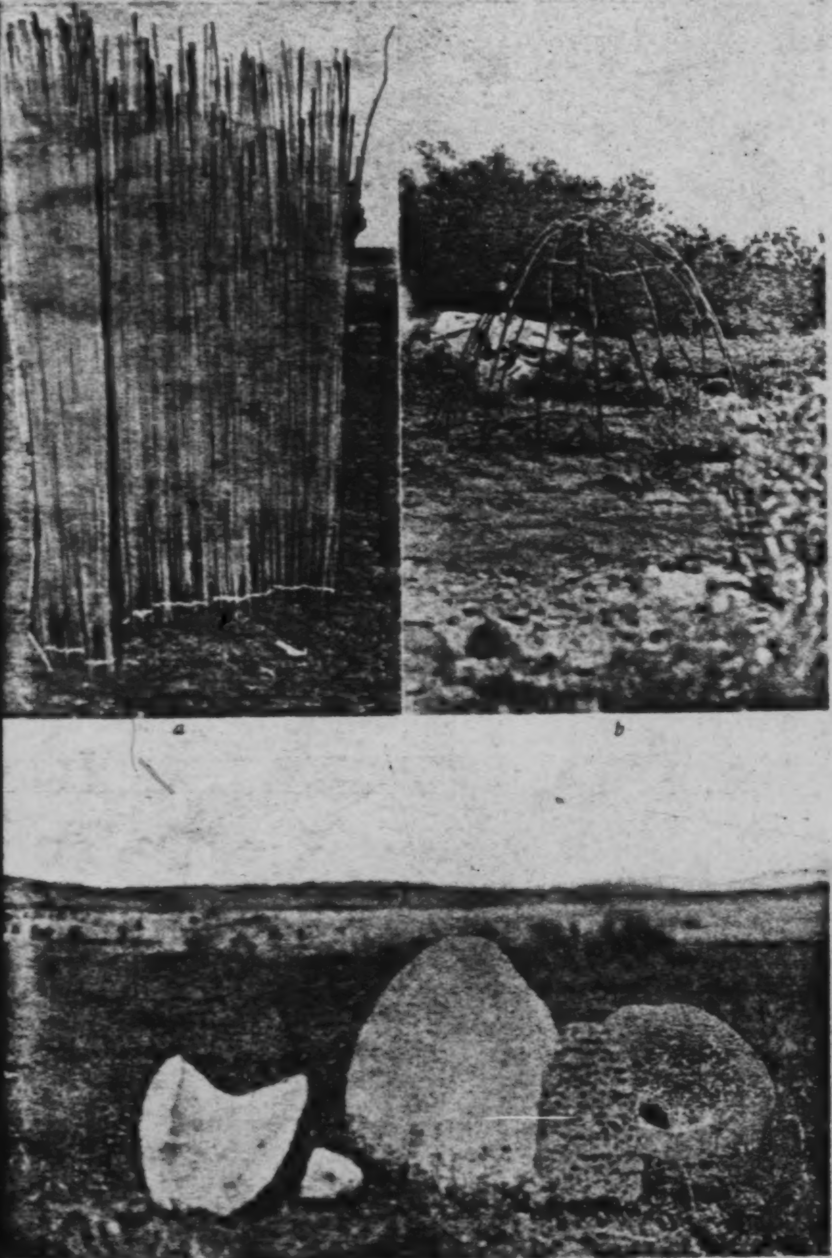
343


a b

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c

MATERIAL CULTURE

p. 210c

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tv	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
885a. Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
887. Scapula	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
888a. Tibia	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
889a. Radius	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
890. Cactus spine (mavu)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
892. Awl case: bark bundle	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
893. Buckskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Drill

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tv	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
895. Shaft with bone point	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
895a. Unhafted bone point	.	.	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
896. Shaft with horn point	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Various

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tv	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

FLINT FLAKING

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tv	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
903. Flint (tupie') flaker	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
909. Flint warmed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
910. Buckskin hand pad	+	−	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

SKIN DRESSING

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tv	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent cooked	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
927. Hide tied funnel shape	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
929. Juniper-bark smoke	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
930. Wood-chip smoke	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Done by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
932. Done by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
412

N
W
A
324

N
W
A
281

N
W
A
[462]

[p.383]

N 412 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).

W [412] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. Kü: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.

883a. Kü: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).

890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). Kü: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.

906. Tg: DS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.

909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.

N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).

935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).

N [172] ^ [411] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, ml AE: Sinew-backed

[P.432(A)]

WadátKuht

When shooting Ike held the bow vertically and used the primary release, that is to say, he gripped the arrow at the nock with his thumb and the second knuckle of his forefinger. He said that the Pit River men held the bow at a 45° angle, with the top of the bow to the left. 411

Kitty said that the quiver, called hugut^{na}, was a tanned wildcat, coyote or similar-sized animal skin which had been case skinned. The exterior of the quiver might be decorated with beads. Ike spoke of seeing a Pit River man with a coyote skin quiver. [415] [531]

Arrowheads were called daká, and according to Kitty were chipped with another piece of "flint". The use of stone against stone suggests percussion flaking, ordinarily not suitable for flaking delicate arrowpoints. [324]

With respect to slings Kitty was in no way familiar with them. Ike, on the other hand, was able to give a fair description of this weapon. It was called pagas^{i} tutabin^{o}, "String hit", and was made entirely out of leather. The leather patch was diamond-shaped, and one thong had a loop to go around the middle finger. The end of the other thong was held between the thumb and forefinger.

Stone Implements. Both the portable mortar and the bedrock mortar were used. The two names given for mortar are tutábin and pahá, and may or may not differentiate the portable from the bedrock mortar. The pestle was called poduhń. Long, cylindrical pestles with rounded ends were used at the bedrock mortars at the winter village of Matá. 415 412

The metate was called matá and the mano was called tusu. The mano was held with both hands and pushed back and forth with a snappy wrist action. When a metate became too slick through use a sharp, broken stone was used to peck the surface. This purposely roughened area on the metate was called tapongin. The stone used to peck the pits into the smooth surface was called tutápongin. Once the metate was sharpened it was "good for a long time, good for all winter".

A special biscuit-shaped hand stone for removing husks from seeds on a metate was called tutákongin. The action of rubbing the husks from certain seeds (e.g., the inner skin of acorns, and hulls from sunflower and other seeds) was known as tutakong.

272 and chokecherry, either separately or mixed. Berry beverages have been mentioned above.

824 A "chewing gum" was derived from sigu'p^{i} (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus* var. *consimilis* Hall). The root at surface level was chewed until gummy, and as one informant put it, "The stuff is just like rubber. It has no taste, but it sounds good when you chew it." Pine pitch was also chewed, but "it wore out quickly."

262 Moss was not considered edible, although Mettie Petty had heard that the Warm Springs Indians ate it. Wild iris and wild parsnip (ha'kinop^{u}) were known as poisonous.

HOUSES

342 The winter house was a conical mat-covered lodge said to have replaced an earlier dome-shaped structure. Informants claim that the conical form (ka'ni) came to them from the north, "from Idaho, from the Bannock,"[70] out beyond the memory of any person now living.[71] Some lodges were large enough to accommodate eight or nine people and of sufficient height to enable a man to stand upright within. The framework consisted of a series of willows spaced about an unexcavated circle some twelve feet in diameter and brought together at the top. The poles did not project beyond their point of intersection, and when Billy Steve was shown the Wind River lodge figured by Lowie,[72] he remarked, "The grass is all right, but those poles ought to be cut off." Transverse willows were lashed about the frame, and mats of rye grass or tule applied according to availability.

Houses in Surprise were usually grass-covered; those near Adel, tule-covered. With the latter tules four or five feet in height were pierced with a bone awl (more recently a greasewood needle and nowadays a sacking needle) and twine run through. Six rows of such threading can be seen on the tules which Minnie Anderson prepared for a woodshed (pl. 19*a*). As the plate shows, the lower edge of the mat was sometimes finished with a row of simple twine.[73]

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[70] P, DB. The latter volunteered the additional information that the Bannock lodge was covered with buffalo hide.

[71] Informants appear to be mistaken about the antiquity of the conical lodge. Mr. E. W. Gifford has brought to my attention a photograph (in the University Museum files, 13–797) of a domed, brush-covered lodge near Cedarville. The photo is on the back of a postal card, mailed the summer of 1910, although the card may actually date some years earlier. The conical lodge may be classed as one of the several Plains traits which filtered in from the north during the last half of the nineteenth century.

[72] SE, figure 8*b*.

[73] Cf. Klamath tule mat figured by Barrett, Klamath, pl. 24.

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'i-nobi (saib^a, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74] 342

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^a, rye grass). The grass, four or five-feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind. 462

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 354 252 264 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the following winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place. Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went around under the trees." 222 342 417

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dü'a-nobi; dü'a, round). The former, illustrated in plate 18*c*, is frequently seen at the present time. It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The 342 417

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[74] 1:248.

342 417 sagebrush enclosure was even less formal than the shade, consisting of an unroofed circular enclosure about chest high. The single entrance was closed with a tule mat. The fireplace was in the center of the circle. An enclosure used for shamanistic treatment at the Bidwell camp seems to accord with the above description. Young willows were stuck in the ground to form a fair-sized circle. At the entry they were bent and turned back either side, overlapping with the adjacent willows. The bending was continued around the circle, making a neat top finish.

Several informants insisted that in the earliest times they had no shelter other than the shade and the enclosure. "In the old days they had no wickiup. When it was snowing they just kept on traveling. Some froze to death because they had no rabbit blankets. In the old days they had only two kinds of shades" (DB).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

291 The Gidü'tikad[8] of both sexes wore skin clothing of Plains type. It seems probable that this style was introduced at a fairly recent date[75] but beyond the recollection of oldest informants. The survival of an earlier California-Basin costume is suggested by the use of the fiber skirt by widows and poor women and by the occasional use of the loin cloth in lieu of the breechclout.

Women's clothing.—A widow or a woman whose husband was not a successful hunter would fashion for herself a knee-length skirt of sagebrush bark.[76] She braided it into a belt from which the bark [171] hung loose in front and back but not at all on the sides. This is evidently the familiar California double apron. It was called nakwi', skirt; the front and back sections did not have separate names.

A more prosperous woman wore a buckskin dress (kwa'sü). Antelope hide could be used, but "it was pretty thin." Some women had two dresses, some three. All were alike; there was no "best dress." Two of the largest hides were required for the woman's garment, which hung from her shoulders. According to one informant additional pieces were used for sleeves, but this is doubtless a recent innovation. The head end of the hide was at the bottom of the dress;

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[75] De Angulo, 318, and Spier, Klamath, 207, feel that the Plains costume is late.

[76] "Just like the Hawaiians wear" (SA).

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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854

Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godows, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

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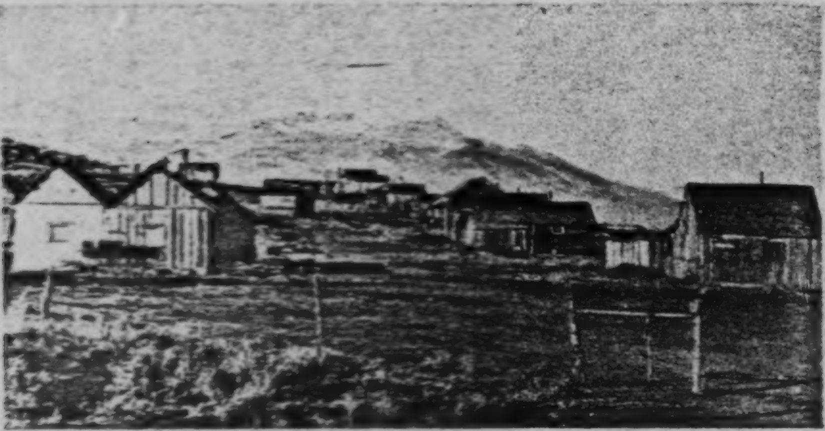

a

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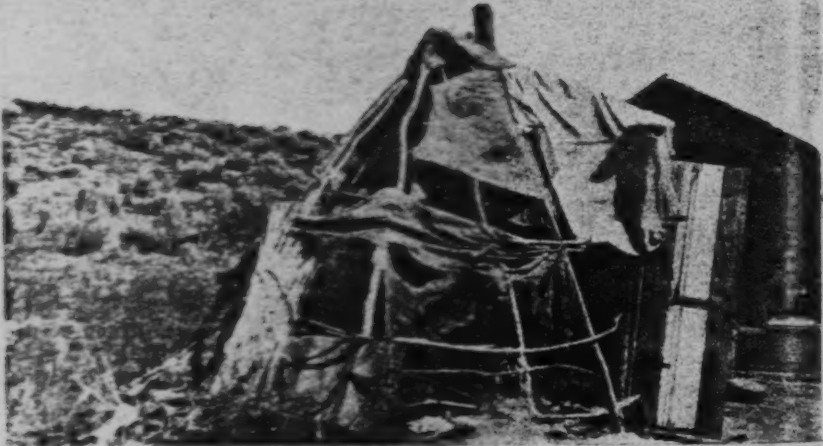
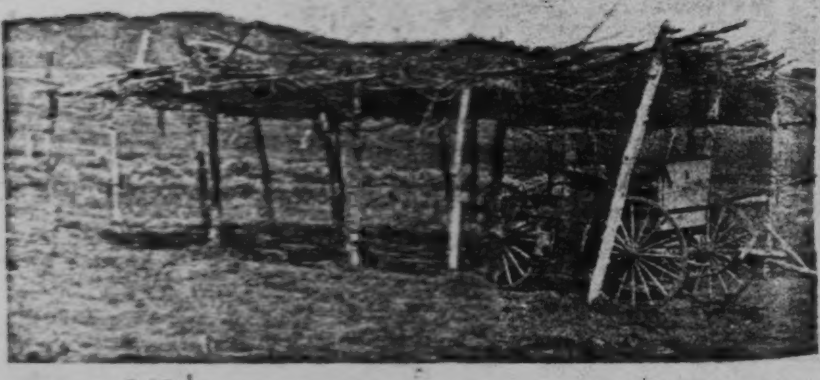


b

343



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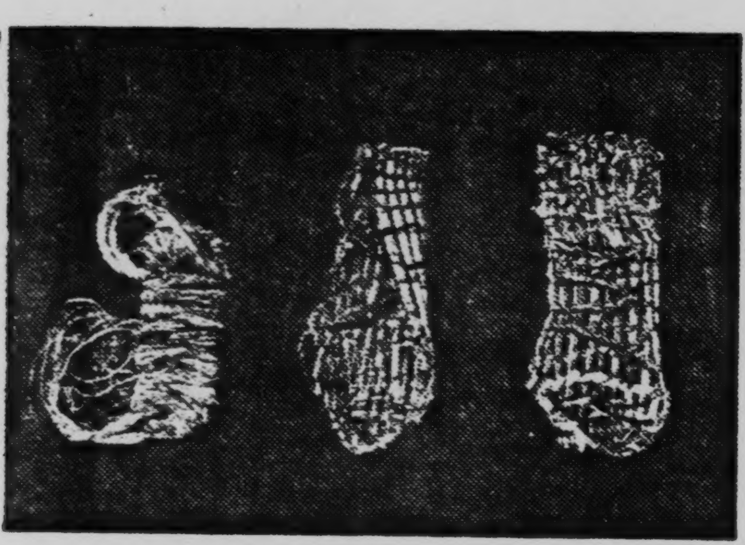

Fig. 5.

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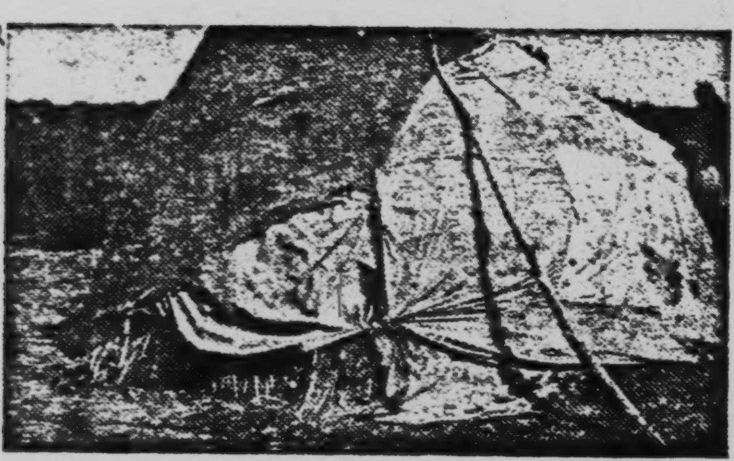

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5 *a–c* (50.1–8639a, 7966, 7965). Sandals. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, *c*, Paviotso.
Fig. 6. Tule Lodge of Pyramid Lake, Paviotso, with Canvas Covering.

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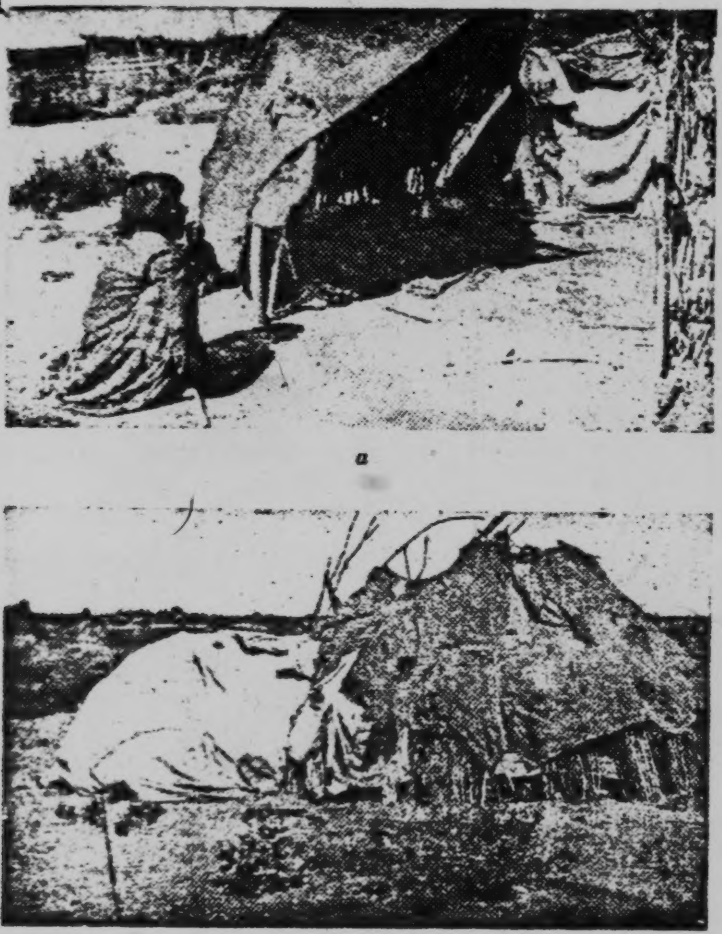

Fig. 9. Types of Paviotso Shelter. *a*, Paviotso Shelter, Fallon, Nevada; *b*, Shelter used by old Paviotso Women in Fallon, Nevada.

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000 the ground proved to be about seventeen feet. Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a *four*-pole foundation. Summer shades were also noted. The usual type is the brush-covered four-pole structure shown in Fig. 7b, with the tipi in the background. More substantial than any of these was the earth-covered dwelling of one Ute which was directly patterned on the Navajo hogan and was said to be unique. An Ignacio informant confirmed the statement that four poles were used as a foundation by the Southern Ute. Here reference was made to a conical bark-walled or brush-covered wikiup preceding the buffalo-skin tipi. Both at Ignacio and among the Uintah I was told that twelve poles were used for the tipi, including the two on the outside for regulating the smoke. A Uintah said that the poles were of pine wood, and either elkskins, sometimes to the number of ten, or buffalo skins were sewed together for the cover. When skins were lacking, a smaller cedarbark lodge of round shape was put up; the strips of bark were carried from a great distance. When some distance west of the Great Salt Lake Stansbury saw some conical lodges "of cedar poles and logs of considerable size, thatched with bark and branches," which were warm and comfortable. They were presumably the as yet unoccupied winter quarters of Indians then (toward the end of October) pine-nutting.[1] Passing through the Reservation I saw some conical lodges at Ouray differing from the tipi merely in having a cover of brush; these were said to have also been used in the old days for a summer habitation. The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures. The door always faced east; the woman sat by the door, the husband in the rear, and visitors took up corresponding positions according to sex. The skin tipi is called *moγō'puqàn*; the bark lodge *moγo'qan*.

• 342 [354] The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake distinguish a tule lodge (*cathinòʙi*, from *cathib°*, tule) and the old-style summer shade (*hunínoʙi, nánupia*), which faced the more permanent dwelling and had the form of a roofless semicircular brush shelter with a central fireplace. The modern shades are called *hāʙá*. A large tule wikiup might accommodate as many as a dozen people. The poles were called *watákwama*, the tule shingles [462] *siwat*^{u}. Men and women coöperated in putting up the wikiup, the former erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles. 342 824 At Pyramid Lake I saw one tule lodge with an additional covering of canvas rags (Fig. 6) and had a model made, which differs somewhat in

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[1] Stansbury, 111.

shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and 342
describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over [824]
a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size [412]
(Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. [415]
The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a [854]
beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside.

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the 000
Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available.
A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether [171]
the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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[1] Mooney, 1049 f.
[2] Lowie, 183.

man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership 622
if his father was not a chief. Those Paiutes seem to have had much less
cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups
impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering [621]
over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the 342
summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient),
were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework
of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large
enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm
even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in
view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this
could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles).
Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation 342
between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California 171
house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least
for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved
in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of
Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of
house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with
two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut
themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean
hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr.
Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers,
slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars
of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the
tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three 342
foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only
one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it.
Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has [137]
pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at
least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming
and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable
how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much [198]
greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

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W
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	To	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
558. Feet dried	+	–	+	–	–	–	*+	–	*+	*+	–	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	+	–	+	+
*562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
563. In basket	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
566. Pair forked sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
*568. Boiling in pot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	–	–	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	+	–
*HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	–	–
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Sun Shade														
*582. Brush or tree only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
*583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	*–	–
584. Posts: 6-8	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
584a. Any number	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
586. Side walls: 1	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
586a. More than 1	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
588. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
589. For winter use	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	–	*+	+	+	+	*–	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
594a. 8-10	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
596a. 14-20	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
598. Layers of grass (smiava)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
600. Mat	–	–	–	*+	*+	*+	*+	–	+	*+	*+	+	–	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	*+	–	+
606a. Opposite wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	–	*+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

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[p.377]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

NWA 342

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
608. Door: of twined bark	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
608a. Of twined tule	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
609. Of twined grass	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
609a. Of tule bound between pairs of sticks	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
610. Floor covered with grass	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
611. Fire: indoors, center of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
612. Outside house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
613. In hollow pit	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+
614. Smoke hole in roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
615. Tripod-Foundation House	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	•-	-	-	•+	+	-
616. For summer use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
617. For winter use	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
618. Foundation poles in tripod	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
619. Forked poles interlock	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
620. Tied at intersection	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
•622. Cone-shaped House, Circular Ground Plan	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	•+	-
623. Height, 10 feet	-	[illegible]	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
624. Diameter, 15 feet	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
625. Exterior encircled with stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
626. Covering	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
627. Tule	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
628. Bark	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
629. Grass: 2 layers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
629a. 3 layers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
630. Twined sage-bark mats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
631. Mats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-
631a. Buffalo skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
632. Pole-thatch binders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
•633. Earth (entirely)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
635. Pine "sod"	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
635a. Brush	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
637. Doorway	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
638. E side of house	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-
639. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
640. Vestibule or tunnel	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
642. Height (feet): 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
642a. More than 4	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
643. Door	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-
644. Of mat	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
645. Of skin	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
646. Of brush	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
647. Of twined bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
648. Fireplace	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
649. In center of house	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
651. Pit, 3 inches deep	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
652. Smoke hole in roof center	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
•653. Gabled House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
654. For winter use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
657. Ridgepole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
658. Height (feet), 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
659. Width (feet), 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
660. Length (feet), 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
662. Covering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
663. Brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
664. Bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p.378]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 342

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
665. Twined-bark mat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Pine sod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
667. Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Doorway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
669. Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
671. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
673. Fireplace inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
674. Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
675. Smoke hole in roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
678. Twined-rush mat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Sweat House (masanovi)														
688. Wickiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	•+	•-	•+	-	•+	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
693. Brush	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
694. Skin	+	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
700. Door: on any side	+	+	·	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
702. Of twined bark	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
703. Of twined grass	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
•704. Conical-Type Sweat House	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
713. Gabled-Type Sweat House	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
714. 2 interior posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
715. Ridgepole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
717a. Built against side of hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
718. Roof covering	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721. Earth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
722. Door	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724. Flush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
•727. Heating by: fire inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	-
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+.

N W A 352

N W A 343

N A 343 515

[p.379]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 137 222 262 [278] Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DW, a Pakwi, called the same plant sumu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DW: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278] [226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [262] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 96. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N [249] 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] N [764] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

Washo NT20

N 317 to Alkali Lake near Topaz, California, to get salt. They did not claim this lake, but obtained salt there without payment. No one seems to have owned the lake, although it might have been Washo, MW said. Pa: Salt obtained at Rhodes Salt Marsh south of Mina (Steward, 325). DW said Osavidökadö ("salt eaters") have been considered a separate band only since the building of the railroad through that country; before the railroad the country was used only as a place to get salt. At: Free salt not known before white people. Salt-brush, Atriplex, and sünü seeds were salty and that is all they used.

530. Sa: + (SL).

533, 534. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

538. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

539. Tg, Wd: "To dry meat faster a sort of sweat house was built and a fire was made inside" (DS). This was primarily only to dry faster; the smoking was incidental.

W [252] 540. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

542, 543. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

546. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

558. Sa, Pa, At: Feet dried with cords and skin were used in case of famine.

561. At: Earth oven used only for crickets.

562. Cooking in the thorax filled with water which was brought to a boil by means of hot stones is described by Kelly, 92.

568. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

N 266 577. K2: Once during a hard winter a Kuyuidökadö killed his daughter-in-law and ate her. The rest of the tribe disapproved and chased him away. KU: "Not so many years ago, just before the white people came, a family lived high in the mountains during a hard winter. The mother couldn't get enough food, so one day the eldest son killed her, cooked her, and offered some of the meat to his younger brother. The younger one refused and the elder brother threatened to eat him next. The boy escaped, ran to Lovelock (saituka tuwiwarai), told his story. The Indians tried to kill the elder brother but he hid, then ran away" (GN). At: "In hard winters when food was gone those Indians who appeared weak, like they would die, were killed and eaten by the stronger ones" (PS).

HOUSES

N 342 Speaking of a Walker Lake lodge pictured in Mooney, Lowie (p. 221) says, "while round in ground plan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like." Informants were unable to give accurate descriptions of houses. When I showed them pictures of dome-shaped houses of the Pomo tule type, informants said that type had been used formerly, but upon seeing plate 3,c, Steward, a conical house, most of them said that type was also used. It is impossible to ascertain if house

[p. 429 (a)]

N 342 constructions changed from domed to conical, as Kelly, 104, suggests, or whether both kinds were built at the same time. I believe house forms were not stable but depended upon the available materials and whim of the builder. Inasmuch as the framework was chiefly willow, dome-shaped houses were probably more common.

W [340] 580-581. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

582. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265): Domed willow shade. At: In old days all Paiutes had was willow half dome or willow half circle with end leaning toward center. There were no flat roofs.

583. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265). Ki: + (Kelly, 105, pl. 18,c); however, my informants said only brush enclosure was known formerly.

587. "Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical." "A very thick thatch of dry piñon needles was applied, and this sometimes covered with earth" (Curtis, 15:70, also pl. 78).

589. K: Picture of Pyramid Lake Paviotso dwelling (Lowie, 204, fig. 6). At: In old days some people would, at times, build no permanent winter camp. PS remembers his family wandering all winter much as they usually did only in summer. He did not remember why, yet thought it was to hunt. Although clothing was scant and often wet, PS did not remember being cold. Nights were spent huddled around a fire with only the shelter afforded by a few sagebrush piled as windbreak. Ki: Dome-shaped winter houses were said to have formerly existed (Kelly, 104).

N [291]

600. Kū, To, Tō, Sa, Pa, Tg: House was built of tule "mats" which were made by binding masses of tules between 2 or 3 pairs of sticks. The Tago made also woven mats.

606. Wd: - (SC).

607a. To: - (LP).

613. At: A ring of willows was sometimes placed around fire to keep grass used to sleep on from catching on fire.

615. At: Paiutes used only tripod-type house after white people came. Wd: Tripod-type house used to be covered with buffalo skins. After buffalo left, grass and tules were used.

622. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264). Ki: Conical houses borrowed from north (Kelly, 104, pl. 18,b). Some denied any shelter besides the shade or windbreak for aboriginal times (Kelly, 106).

628. To: - (LP).

629. Ki: + (Kelly, 104).

N [224] 631. Wd: - (BJ). Informant said buffalo had been seen near Saddle Butte, but Wada never hunted them. Ki: Tule mat sewed and twined (Kelly, 104, pl. 19,c).

633. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264).

638. Wd: - (SC).

640. To: + (BS).

643. Wa: Door was of woven willows, that is, of basketry.

653. Owens Valley: + (Steward): Mountain house used in fall and winter had 2 upright poles and ridgepole.

[p.430 (A)]

N
342 678. Tg: Although no special storehouse was built, an elevated cache was prepared and covered with a woven sagebrush-bark mat.

686. Kü: + (AL). Wd: - (SC).

Sweat House

N
343 Sweat house: nasanovi (Atsa); navaduva (Küpa); navagia novi (Tagö).

688. K2: Sweat house is a recent acquisition from northern tribes. Kü: + (AL). GN said old-time Paiutes took hot baths in warm mineral springs, but sweat-house baths were not known. AL denied this and insisted that her grandmother took steam baths and maintained that it was a Paiute institution. GN and AL both were used for some parts of list. Unless their ideas disagree no mention will be made; the reader may assume that all data are from GN or that AL substantiated data, unless a note explains the contrary. To: BS and LP both said that sweat bathing was a recent acquisition but it is now firmly instituted. + (Lowie, 308): "The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory 'naBarinana.'" Pa: - (Curtis, 70). "At Walker lake sudatories were unknown" (Curtis, 169). Tg: Although the sweat house is almost universally used by the Paiute on Owyhee Reservation, DS said the Tagö never had it in old days. The Tagö Paiute learned it from the Warm Springs Indians, the Araitsi, a non-Paiute band. Sweat house first used by Paiute about 60 years ago.

689. Ki: + (Kelly, 202, pl. 19,b).

704. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265, fig. 4). A conical earth-covered semisubterranean sweat house was denied by my informants.

713. Ts: ND had seen a gabled, grass- and earth-covered sweat house at Honey Lake, built against a hillside. Wa: "The sweat house was an earth-covered, conical hut over a shallow excavation. Three forked posts, set respectively in the center and near the rear of the pit, supported a two-piece ridgepole, against which willow poles and slabs of bark were leaned. Heat was generated directly by fire. The sweat bath, instead of being a regularly recurring event, was employed only to relieve actual physical ills" (Curtis, 94).

W
[343]

727. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).
728. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).
733. To: + (Lowie, 308).
735. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).
744. Ki: Bather prays to sun (Kelly, 203).
745. To: - (LP).
747, 748a. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

750, 751. Ki: "Women never used sweat house" (CW). "Women bathe alone sometimes" (KH). "Women and men sweat together" (BA).

753-759. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

N
[344] 763. Kü: GN insisted that Küpa menstrual hut existed in pre-white days. He knew that Kuyui had no menstrual hut.

N
346 763,b,c. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

764. Paviotso: "The dance house a brush en-

[p.430(R)]

early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 221 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[*]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape*
(Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel
of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[*] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

MATERIAL CULTURE

THE material culture of the Harney Valley Paiute is similar to that of the Surprise 105 Valley Paiute. In the following description emphasis has been placed on those artifacts which are different either in manufacture or use to those described by Isabel Kelly (University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Volume 31, No. 3), pp. 67-210.

HOUSES

1. Tule Mat House. Most usual type of winter house in the memory of old in- 342 formants.

Frame. Four willow, poplar or young pine poles about 15-20 feet long were lashed together with a deer-skin thong or sagebrush twine. The poles varied in the amount that they extended beyond the lashing but probably averaged about one foot. They were spread out in a circle about ten to twelve feet in diameter and sunk in the ground about four to six inches. The two main poles at the front were close together and formed the door. Additional poles, usually eight, were leaned between the main poles—two in each space, and sunk about two inches in the ground. Two horizontal willows were lashed around the outside of the poles (one informant claimed they were lashed on the inside), one about four feet from the ground and the other about eight feet. It usually took two willows to extend around the circumference. (One informant stated three rows of horizontal willows were used.) The men cut the poles and the women helped drag them to the camp site.

Covering. The frame was covered with tule mats. The mats were about five feet 285 high and varied from four to six feet in length. Four or five sections went around the 342 base. The mats were made by sewing the tule together with a rye grass or sagebrush bark thread and a willow, greasewood or thorn bush needle. A willow stick was attached at each end of the mat; a hole was made in the top of one willow and the thread was knotted, and then the mats were sewn across back and forth about every six inches, and the thread looped around the willows at each side. At the bottom, the tule was bent under and held in place by two rows of twining. (Some informants stated there were also two rows of twining at the top.) The mats were attached at each end to one of the poles and tied to the horizontal willows about a foot from the top in order to make an overlap of three to eight inches. The sections of mats were connected by tying the end willows together. The top mat was not lashed to the frame but to two additional poles, consequently it was adjustable and the smoke hole could be completely closed. One informant stated that this was a relatively recent innovation and that in the old days the smoke hole was not adjustable. Extra layers of mats were sometimes added in cold weather. The

[p. 92 is blank]

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior.* The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows [354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some [251] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] 2. *Grass House.* The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. *Bark House* (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. *Cave House.* Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. *Cloth House.* The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. *Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks.* These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[342 841] 7. *Shades.* These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. *Winter Menstrual Hut.* This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[343] 9. *Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343 844 10. *Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 501
valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137
the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating 135
waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the
marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas.
They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an
aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians 501
made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to 324
group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occa-
sionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward,
while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of [397
reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were
usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swim-
mer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful, the Paviotsos of northern 342
Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical 324
houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great
Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule 121
balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater,
Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P.3]

396 When the two tule bundles were tied together and trimmed, Jimmie laid a bunch of cattails across the bow and with a twisted cattail rope tied it to the front of the boat. With more cattail rope he tied similar bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat, this time fastening them with knots instead of by twisting as he had done before. Another small bunch of cattails was laid across the stern of the boat and tied down. Finally the tips of the cattail bunches were tied to the boat along the sides. These bunches were tied along the sides of the boat to make a rim which was used to keep the harvest of duck eggs, ducks, mudhens, etc., from rolling off the boat. Wezzie said that cattails were used for the rim instead of tules because they are much stronger. Then Jimmie stepped into the center of the boat to make a deeper hollow.

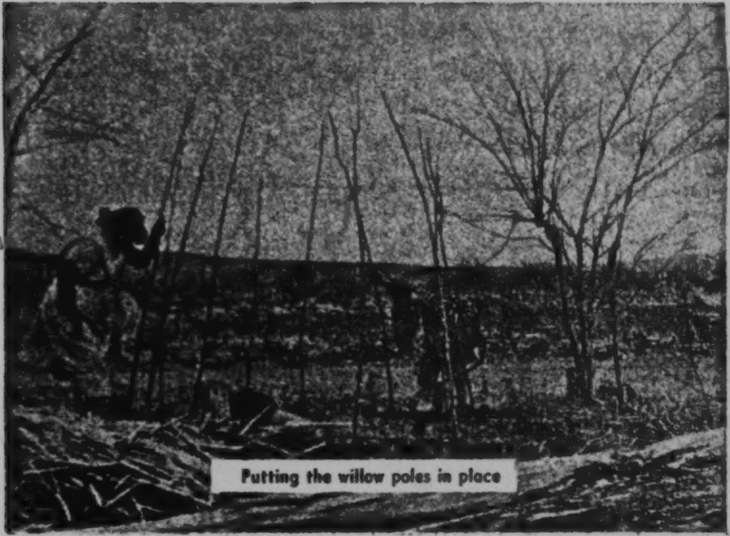
501 The completed boat was eight and one-half feet long and so light that it could easily be lifted by one hand. Jimmie demonstrated how the boat was used in the water. It held his weight without trouble. He said that the boats were always poled and never paddled. Most of the time it was used as a raft to carry the game and the gun and was pushed ahead while the hunter waded. It was not pulled, he said. When the boat was taken from the water it was quite heavy from absorption and would have to be dried out before it could be used again. A boat would last for only one year. Only one person could ride on these rafts and they were used more to carry the waterfowl the hunter had bagged or the eggs which had been collected than for transporting people. Formerly each hunter made his own boat.

MAKING A CATTAIL HOUSE

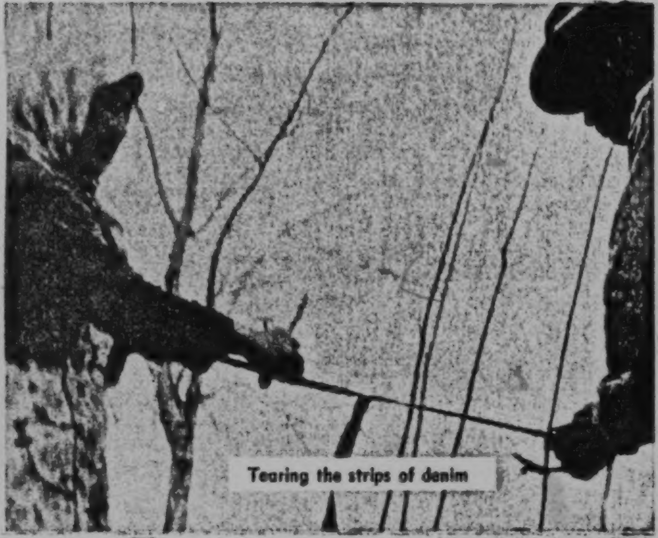
114 342 The Nevada Artists Association requested the All American Unit of the A. W. V. S. to display an exhibit of Paiute Indian arts and crafts at the California Building in Reno, Nevada, on April 19 and 20, 1958. The exhibit included a cattail house. In the old days such houses were built near the source of the material and were, therefore, common in the valleys near marshy areas. On April 17, 1958, Jimmie and Wezzie George of Stillwater, Daisy Aster, Lily Shaw and Dora John of Wadsworth, Nevada, all Paviotsos, made the house at Wadsworth after which it was transported to Reno. Jimmie and Wezzie George and Daisy Aster had made cattail houses before. Lily Shaw had lived in one but had never seen one made, while Dora John had never seen one before, but had heard of them.

342 The material for the house, which had been gathered prior to building, consisted of eleven willow poles which were over ten feet long, many smaller willow sticks about five feet long, and a large quantity of dried cattails. Pieces of worn blue denim were available to be torn into strips for ties. In the old days dried cattails were used instead of the cloth for tying the elements of the house together.

Lily and Daisy dug small holes in the ground in a circle, loosening the dirt with sticks and knives. In these holes the willow poles for the house framework were set and the dirt packed around them. Lily then trimmed the poles. Daisy and Jimmie tore the pieces of denim into strips for tying the willow frame. Jimmie started tying willow sticks horizontally around the standing poles. This horizontal brace was about two and one-fourth feet above the ground. He used the torn denim strips for ties. While he tied on the reinforcing willows, Daisy steadied the uprights and Lily tore more rags and hung them across the brace where they were handy. Wezzie trimmed the sticks. On the east side they left an opening for a door. Lily said the door was toward the rising sun. When all the cross pieces were secure, a



Putting the willow poles in place



Tearing the strips of denim

[End Plate 6B]

342 second circle of willows was put into place. Although this circle was only about face high it crossed the door opening. The second horizontal brace drew the house in slightly. When the third row of reinforcing willows was added, the top of the house frame was pulled in abruptly. The frame was very sturdy now. No attempt was made to close the top, as this was left for a chimney or smoke hole.

When the frame was completed, three willow sticks about five feet long were laid on the ground. Cattails were spread evenly over these and three more willows laid on top. Using strips of cloth, the bottom willows were tied to the top willows, care being taken to include some of the cattails in the loop. This was done to leave the holes in the mat as small as possible where the ties were made. When the mat was finished, it was laid against the frame of the house and tied into place. More and more mats were made in the same manner. When each was finished, it was tied onto the frame. The first row of mats was placed around the house at the bottom. The second row overlapped it on the outside for good drainage. An extra mat was made to cover the doorway. Nine mats in all were used.

A house of this size, Wezzie said, would be used for a sweat house or a play house or perhaps for one person. The larger houses, which were built for families to live in, would last five years or more. In the fall new mats would be made to add an extra layer and cover the holes caused by weather and wear. A fire for [764 768] cooking and warmth would be built in the center. In the old days when someone died in these houses they were burned.

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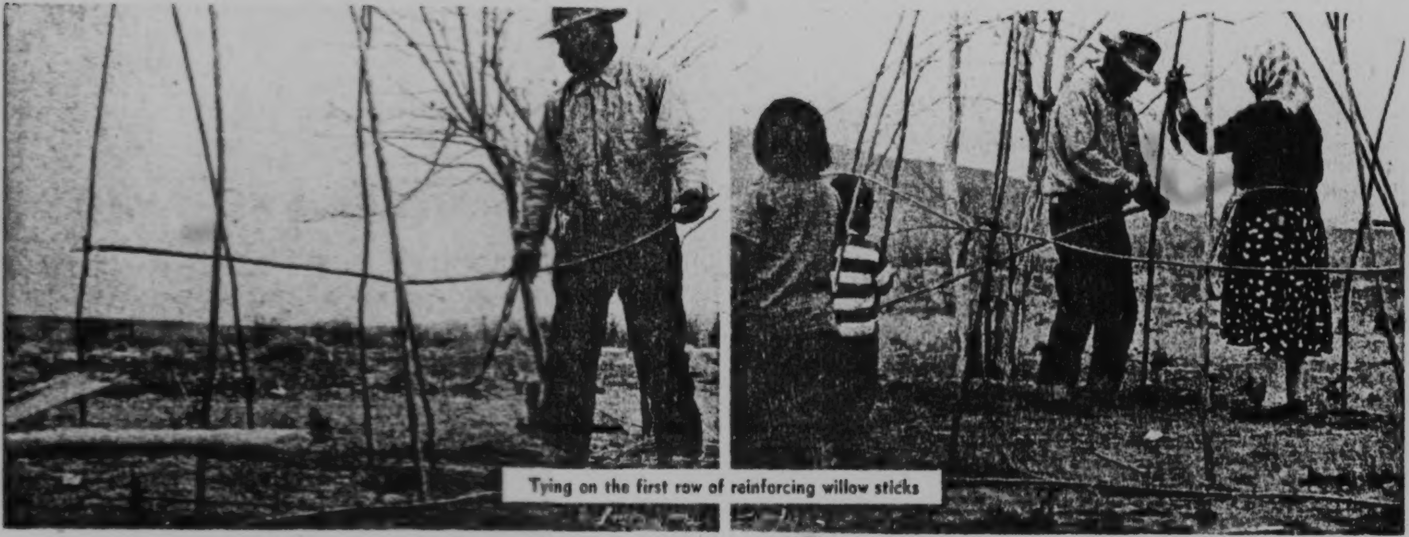

Tying on the first row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End plate 7A]

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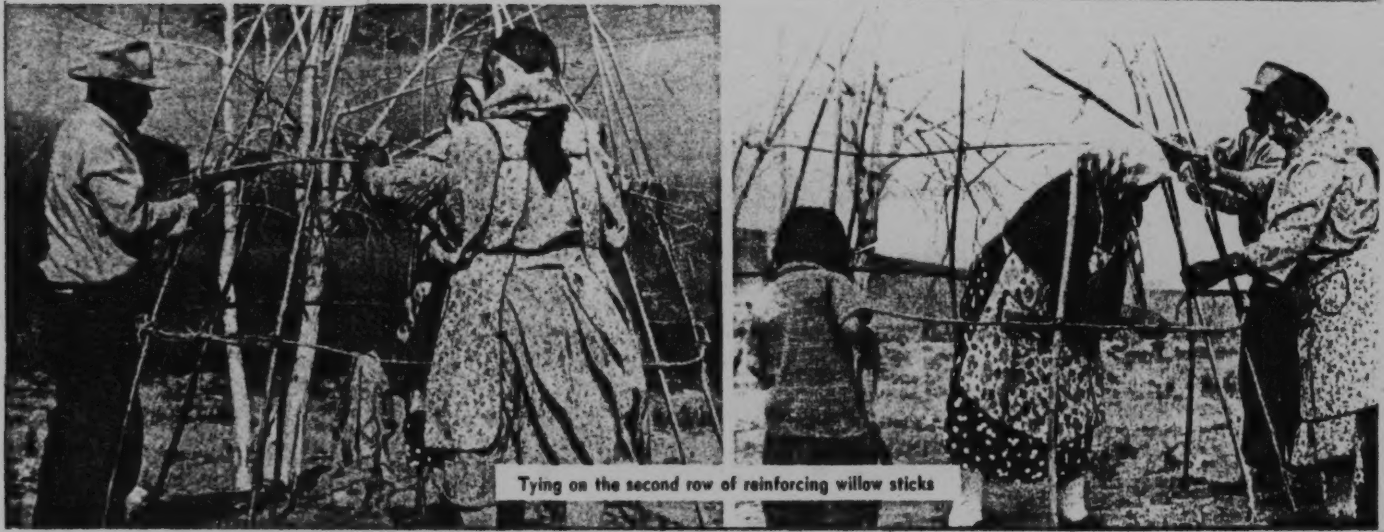

Tying on the second row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 7B]

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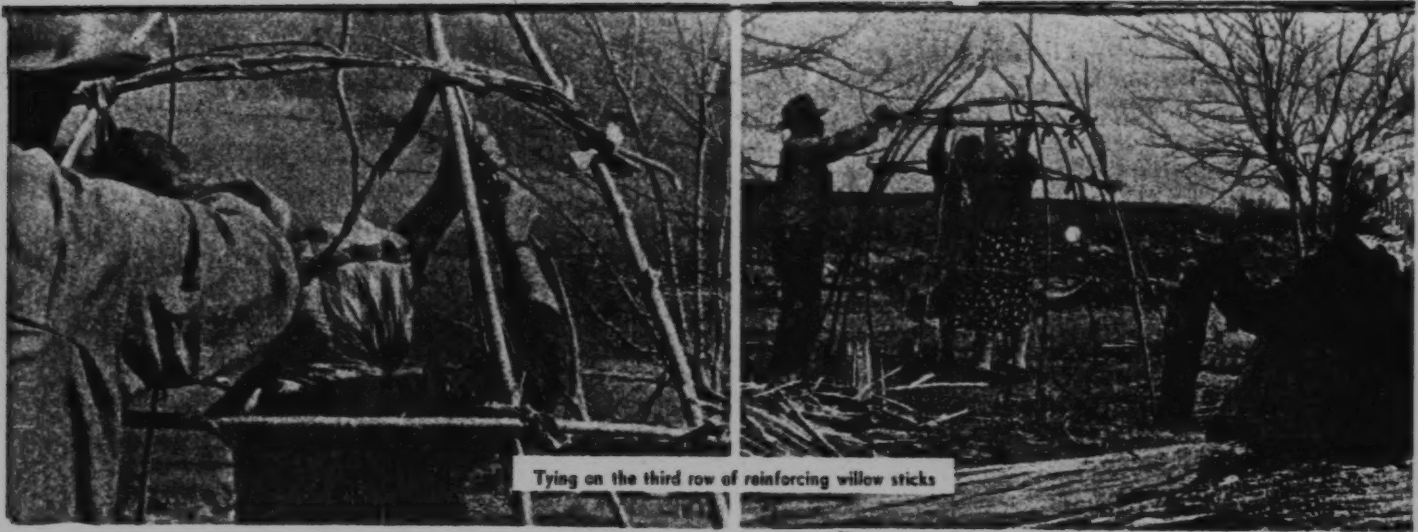
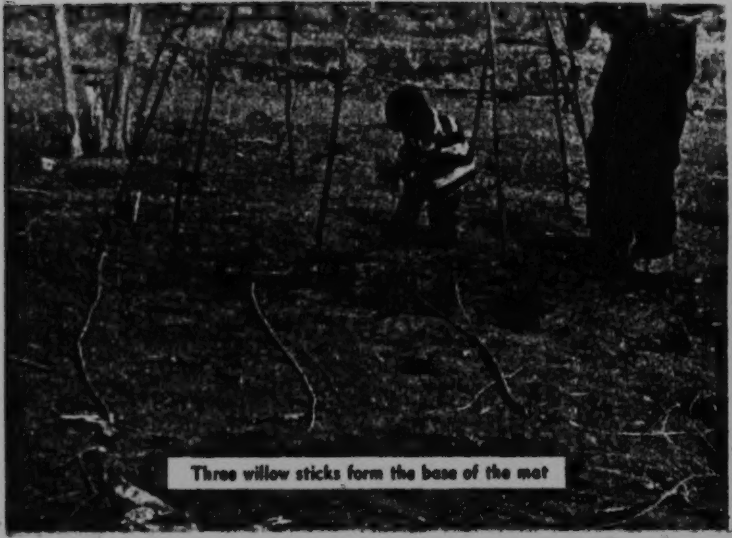


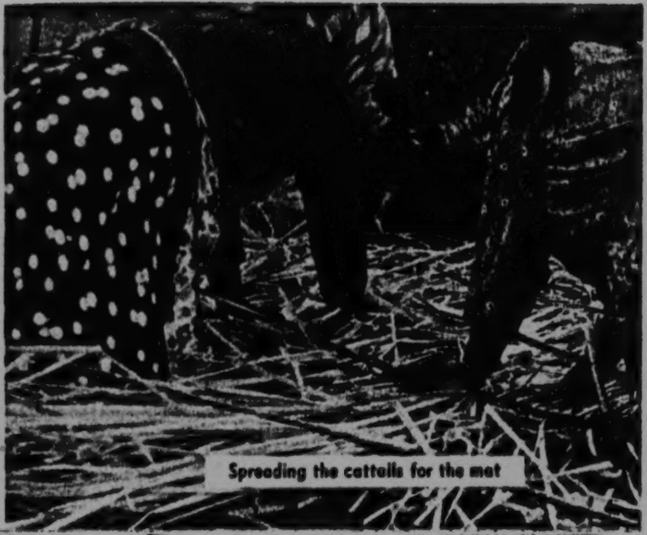
Tying on the third row of reinforcing willow sticks

[End Plate 8A]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13



Three willow sticks form the base of the mat



Spreading the cattails for the mat

[End Plate 8B]

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10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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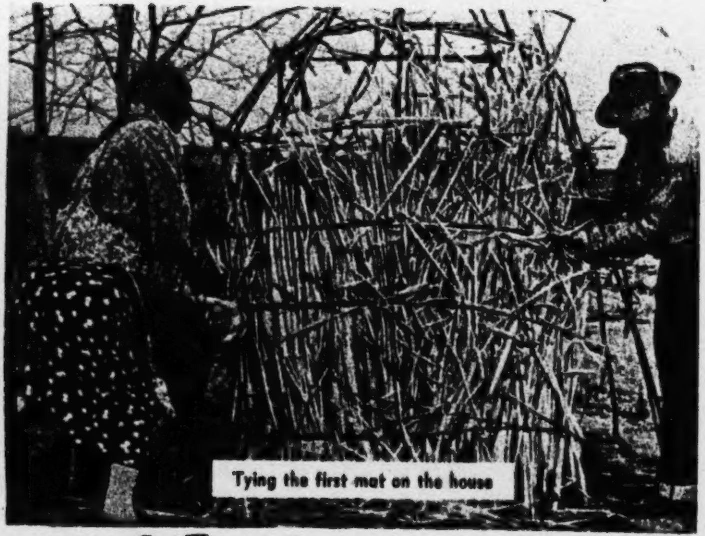
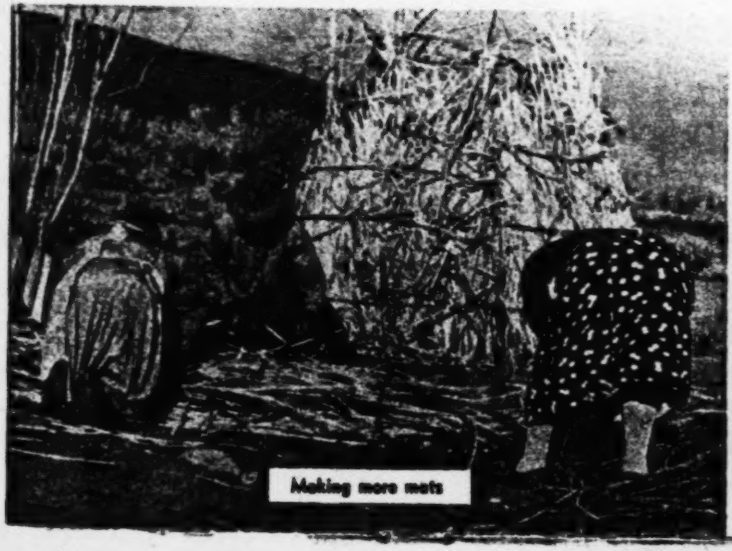
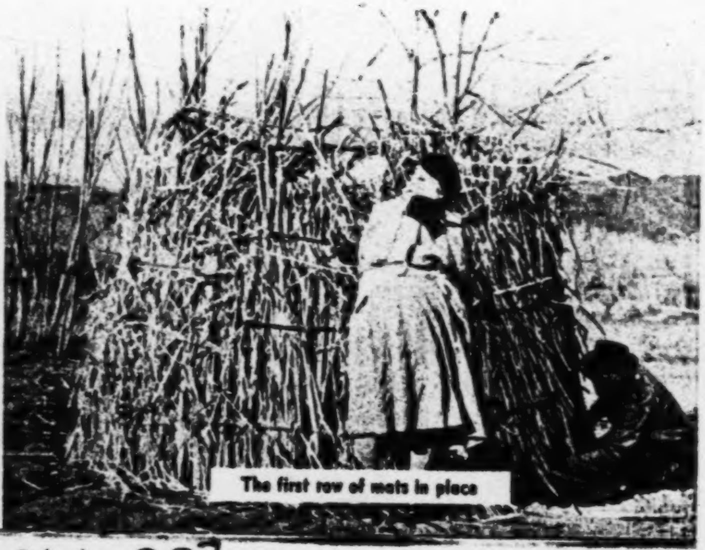
Tying the top and bottom sticks of the mat together


Tying the first mat on the house

[End Plate 9A]



Making more mats



The first row of mats in place

[End Plate 9B]

Largely because of this popu-
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [437]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342 ●
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear, the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

PLATE 4

● 342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary [222 263] shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and [415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi. Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with [415 531 252] dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made water-tight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 222 251 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000
in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the
photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears
a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old
man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342
winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the
apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule
(Scirpus) tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361
Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342
Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui*
(*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built [101]
of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a
man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291]
while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket
which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [513]
a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright
willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at [482]
the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire
bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal
containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [245]
bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the
center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and
practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342
in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made
out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition.
The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud [136]
and Harrington (1929, pp. 156-57).

PLATE 9

● 342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought [415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Payiotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there [177] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622 648 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

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[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

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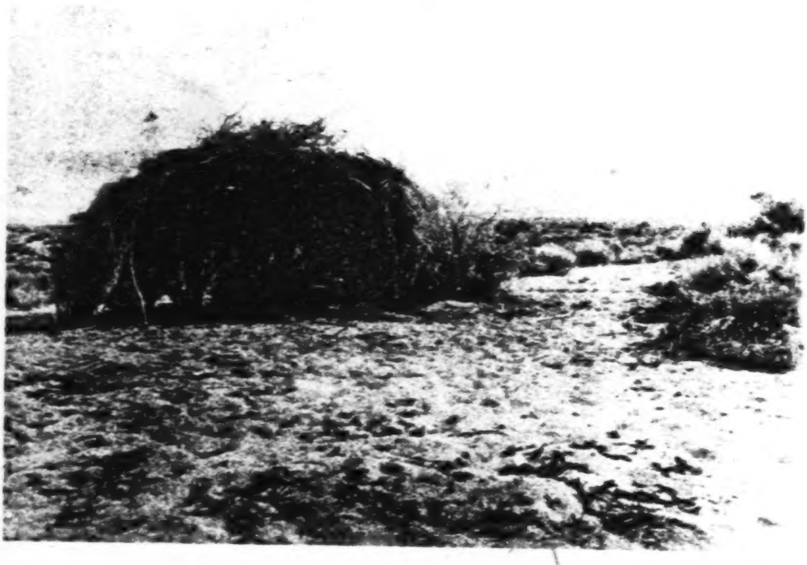
[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

PLATE 4



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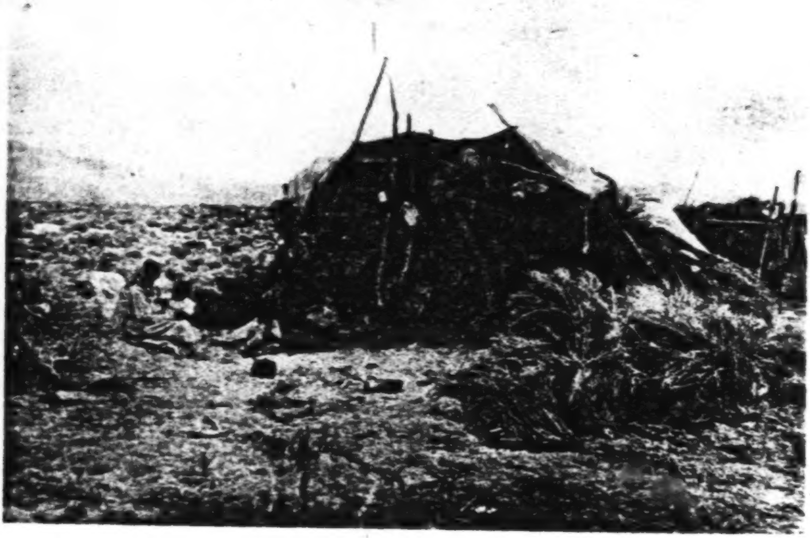

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PLATE 5

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PLATE 6

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PLATE 7

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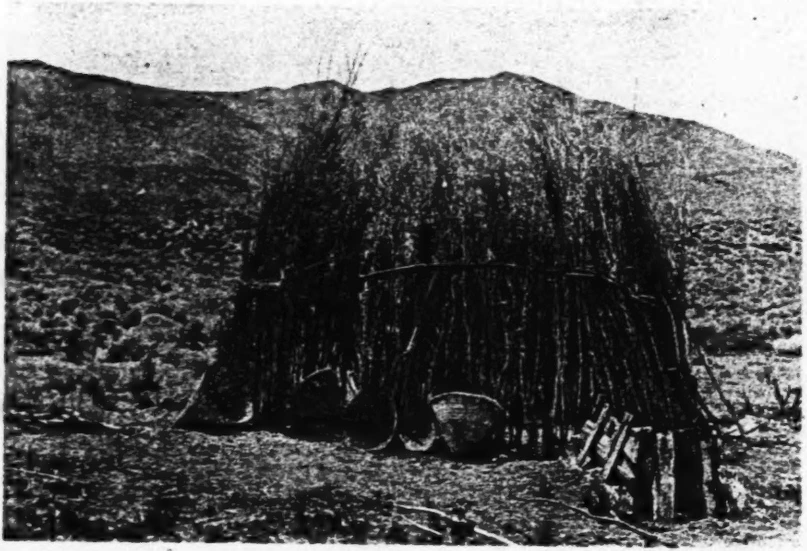
PLATE 8



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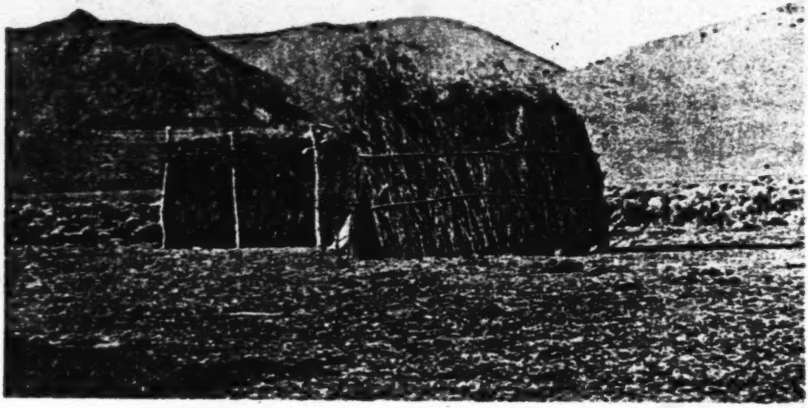

PLATE 9

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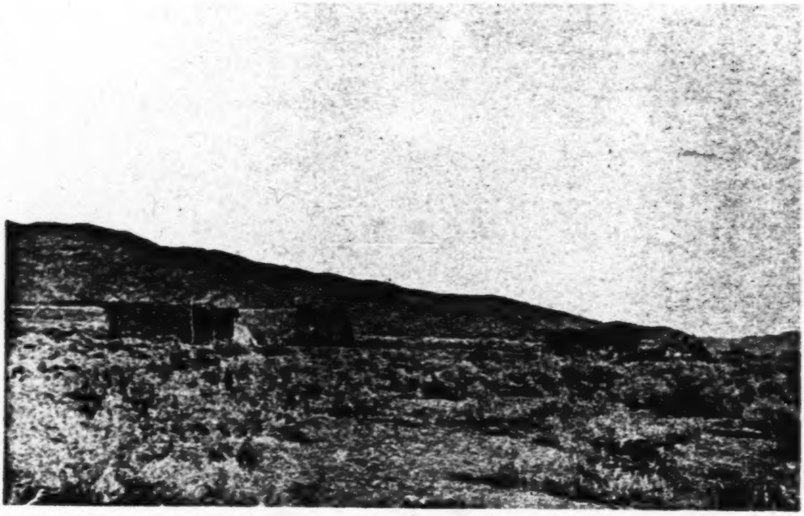

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Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching 361
for the native houses constructed at this village. Except [824]
for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about
one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the [342]
Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other
winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be
assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not.

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as 22
might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin [171]
pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their
territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that
presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed
to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed [423]
producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It
seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family
getting there first expecting to have no competition unless
they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often in- 22
vited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn- 648
rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also,
when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were
allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families.
Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the
Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with
their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the
Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made
hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both
the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also
the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while
at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey
Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not
enter another group's territory without an invitation or
permission unless they were prepared for hostility.

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only 22
among those families too improvident to secure and store an 185
adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households 735
that worked diligently collecting food during the other three

Wadatkuht

222 The buckberry (wiápui, "iron seed", Elaegnus sp.) was enjoyed by the Wadátkuht but does not grow in their territory. These berries had to be gotten to the east about Gerlach, Winnemucca and Yerington, Nevada. They were undoubtedly obtained through trade and visits to the areas in which they grew. [439]

The buckberry was good to eat fresh and "tastes like fresh huckleberries". One person held the limb of the bush down while another person beat the berries off into a basket. The berries were dried and stored to be used as needed. [251] Dried berries were boiled for about fifteen minutes and then strained through a basket sieve to remove the seeds. [252]

MATERIAL CULTURE

342 Habitations. The relatively permanent, or winter type of house was the conical, tule covered structure called káni. Susy Buster said that no excavation was made for this house but Kitty Joaquin and Gladys Mankins said that a pit about one foot deep was excavated. Whether a pit was dug or not was probably left up to individual preference. The ground plan was circular and ranged from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. Vertical willow poles (Susy Buster said juniper poles were used) were sunk into the ground in a circle, and at the rim of the excavation. The willow poles were about ten feet long and were lashed to a hoop of willow at their upper extremities. The willow hoop was about eighteen inches in diameter and served as the smoke hole. The vertical uprights standing in a circle had, of course, to be bent inward to be lashed to the ring. Several, Susy Buster said three, horizontal elements of willow encircled the vertical, or rather upright elements to give additional stability to the house. The structure was then covered with tule matting (not mentioned by Susy Buster) and then with shingled frames of tules. These frames, called síkwat, consisted of two poles about eighteen inches apart with tules attached to a depth (thickness) of about six inches. These frames of tules were put on in such a way that they provided a shingled pattern. That is to say, both the frames and the underlying tule mats were first attached to the bottom of the house. The dirt from the excavation was banked around the outside of the house and brush piled all around the house for a windbreak and fuel supply for the winter. A ditch also was dug around the house to carry away rain water and melting snow.

Wadatkuht

342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house. called tipugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. It seems quite likely [177] that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupínabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

tioned upon a subsequent occasion, she denied knowledge of it. Other 881
informants consistently denied the drinking tube. The adolescent was expected to avoid people, but was not required to cover her face. She tied her hair with sagebrush bark and braided circlets of it which she wore about her wrists, upper arms, knees, and ankles as a safeguard against rheumatism. She also wore a braided belt of sagebrush bark.

At the conclusion of the month, the girl exchanged her buckskin dress with another girl or threw it away if she had no friend with whom to trade it. She bathed herself thoroughly in a stream, but did not sweat at this time.[295] According to one informant the girl painted her face with red paint at the conclusion of the month; but this was not mentioned by others. One informant described a celebration following her emergence from seclusion: a man sang a song; many people gathered roots; and everyone, including the girl, enjoyed a feast.

After this a girl was free to marry, which she usually did within the year.

MENSTRUAL OBSERVANCES

A menstruating woman retired to a special lodge (huni'-nobi; 841
huni', menstrual blood) where she remained in seclusion for five
days.[296] If a person happened to inquire for a woman during her [195]
absence, he was told, "Hu'na patsa'"; she killed a badger. This was
the conventional way of indicating that the woman was in retirement.
The menstrual lodge was built to the north of the main house, but no [343] ●
reason for the orientation was given except that "it comes from the
north." Several menstruating women might occupy a hut jointly.
Daisy Brown stated that the special lodge was used only at the first
menses but this was denied by other informants. She also stated that
"over in Nevada they have to use it all the time." This may apply to
the McDermitt band. For the Pyramid Lake Paviotso, Lowie's data
are mainly negative, but it is of some interest to note that one of the
tales recorded by him contains the word for birth or menstrual
lodge.[297]

Men never approached the lodge, as illness and death were thought to follow contact with a menstruating woman. Such contacts were

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[295] Cf. Lowie, SE, 273.

[296] Three or four days according to MA.

[297] Written huni'no'Bi by him, ST, 201. The Shoshonean cognate is hü'na-ga'n' (gan', lodge), Lowie, NS, 214.

> 789 When the snow was deep and did not melt, they asked a man born in summer to make the wind blow. He had a stake about eight inches long, which he whirled over his head. This is called tüsa'ibidun. He stood outside the house and tried to call the south wind. He talked, then stopped; then he did it again (JB).
>
> To make the snow melt is called tüsa'ibidun. Not all doctors could do this, perhaps only one man or woman. Someone would say, "Who can make the snow melt? How much do you want? Some beads, a belt? I'll give you that if you make the snow melt in one or two days." You say, "Well, I'll do the best I can." Then you sing. You have a stick, maybe a burned stick. You face south; you shout and talk to the wind. You say, "Friend." You point with the stick (koso'-tuhubi, fire-coal). It makes a little wind come. You say, "You see this coal; you see this fire." The wind comes, maybe in an hour or two. Then everybody believes in your power (JB).
>
> In the old days they tried to bring wind to melt the snow. They used a piece of juniper where the lightning had broken it off. Sometimes the wind came from the southwest (south?) (CW).
>
> Sometimes a woman doctor would dance and sing until she got a real sweat. She talked; she waved her hand to the west. Then the rain came and the snow began to melt. I know no way to make the rain stop. A man whirls a bullroarer (kwi'mo) to bring a warm wind to melt the snow (MA).
>
> They used to boil snowshoes to bring rain; nowadays they fry them. This is called "killing the snowshoes" (NH).[384]

Joshua had not seen anyone stop a thunder storm, but he had heard of its having been done:

> The old people told me about stopping thunder. When the thunder comes close, they say to someone born in summer, "Put on your paint and go outside. When the thunder starts, when the lightning starts, step out quickly and look at them. Motion to them; tell them, 'Go over there.'" Then they will go away.

SWEATING

343 515 The sweat-house is called topi'-nava'gia (topi', tüpi', stone; nava'gia, bathe). Joshua gave pu″sat and mi'rhot^{a} as synonyms, but topi'-nava'gia is the favored term and the only one I have noted in conversation.

The sweat-house frame shown in plate 19*b* is about four feet in diameter and tall enough to allow one to sit upright. No particular entrance is discernible. Other frames which I have examined are bound round with one or two willow withes. In the background of the plate can be seen the stack of canvas, old clothing, and the like, which serves to cover the lodge when sweating is in progress. Formerly the covering was rye grass, sagebrush, willow, or possibly an old deer-skin or blanket.

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[384] I was unable to verify this. The practice is unknown to other informants.

343
515

Stones were heated near-by and placed to one side in the lodge, "otherwise there would not be enough room for two persons." Before water was applied, the rocks were allowed to stand a few minutes, lest the inmates be scalded. If the heat of the steam became unbearable, a little cold water was put on the head, or else the head was poked out beneath the lodge covering for a moment's respite. One informant said that young sagebrush was broken and that the sweaters dipped it in water and whipped themselves with it.

Cold water following the sweat bath was optional:

> Old men who like it, jumped in the cold water. You might catch pneumonia. Too much steam made you weak.

Sweating was principally by men, although a few women are said to have sweated occasionally. "Sometimes a woman would go in with her husband, but not often. Perhaps three or four women would go together. Young girls never sweated." At the present time sweating as an active institution is indulged in by a few of the older men. I found no evidence for de Angulo's assertion[288] that "even now the custom is not well established and that some of the older men frown upon it." In fact, nowadays sweating seems to have rather strong religious associations which quite outweigh the medicinal or purely social functions, although these two factors do figure.

> In the old days they sweated whenever they felt like it and before they went hunting. It made the body strong. Some say they went there to cure, but I do not think so.[289]

[765]

Mourners occasionally sweated, but this custom seems to have been neither general nor well established.

[782]

When sweating, a person prays to the sun, composing his prayer to suit his needs. He usually asks for health and for success in the chase. A prayer is said to be somewhat as follows:

> My father, the Sun, help me a little. Make me strong. Give me deer meat. Help me kill deer and antelope.

If a person is not in good health he prays thus to the sun:

> I like this country. Make me well; make me strong. I do not want to be sick.

I do not know if an address of this sort is repeated indefinitely or if a person has a whole series of such prayers. I happened within earshot of a sweat-house which was in use and the praying was continuous, in a monotone that almost approached a chant.

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[288] P. 318.

[289] "Sweating is good for rheumatism and things like that" (P). And also p. 198.

343 515 It is considered especially fit that one sweat on Sunday. This interesting secondary association is so firmly entrenched that I was asked if white people talk to the sun on Sundays as do the Indians. Association of the sweat-house with the sun might be worth tracing.

[177] Regarding the origin of the sweat-house, de Angulo[287] states, "But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. 'It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians' is the reply I have received from many people." He does not make it clear to just which tribe the statement applies—his Pit River, Klamath-Modocs, or Paiutes—but presumably it refers to the latter. In that case, forty years seems rather too low an estimate. Although I questioned virtually every informant upon the point, Piudy was the only one who had ever heard that sweating was other than indigenous. He said:

> I heard that the sweat-house came this way from far in the northeast on the edge of big water. This was long ago, before my time. Before the Paiute learned to sweat they just bathed in the river.

[773] Other informants invariably declared that the Gidū'tikad^{ü} had always sweated, and a number attributed the practice to Coyote or otherwise linked it with myth. When Dr. Sam was asked concerning the origin of the sweat-house, he related the following tale:

> In the old days birds were persons. Eagle was hunting deer. They killed nothing. Then they spoke to a little bird like an owl, called topi'.[288] Eagle told him to heat rocks. Then they all sweated in a sweat-house that the little bird built. And the next time they killed many deer. That is how they learned to sweat. Talk to the sun while you are in the sweat-house; that is your god.

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[287] P. 318.

[288] This term is of interest because of its possible connection with topi'-nava'gia, sweat-house. The suggestion is obvious: either the tale results from secondary association, or the translation of topi'-nava'gia as rock-bathe is a folk etymology.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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Plate 17. *a, b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a, b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c, d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a, b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a, b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1–28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1–28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1–28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1–28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1–28211, made by Lizzie Godows, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1–28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1–28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1–28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1–28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1–28212; maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a, b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a, b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober, secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1–28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1–28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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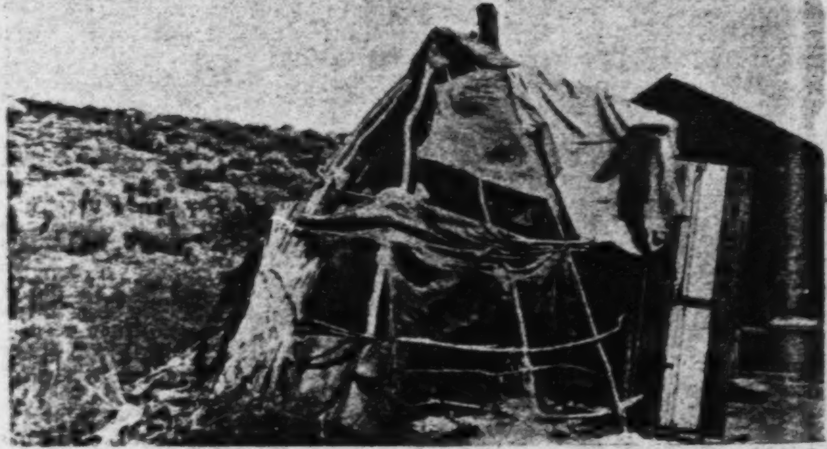

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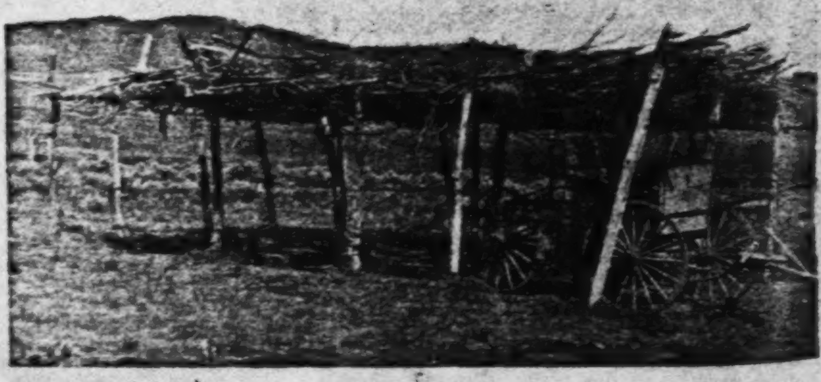

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p.210b

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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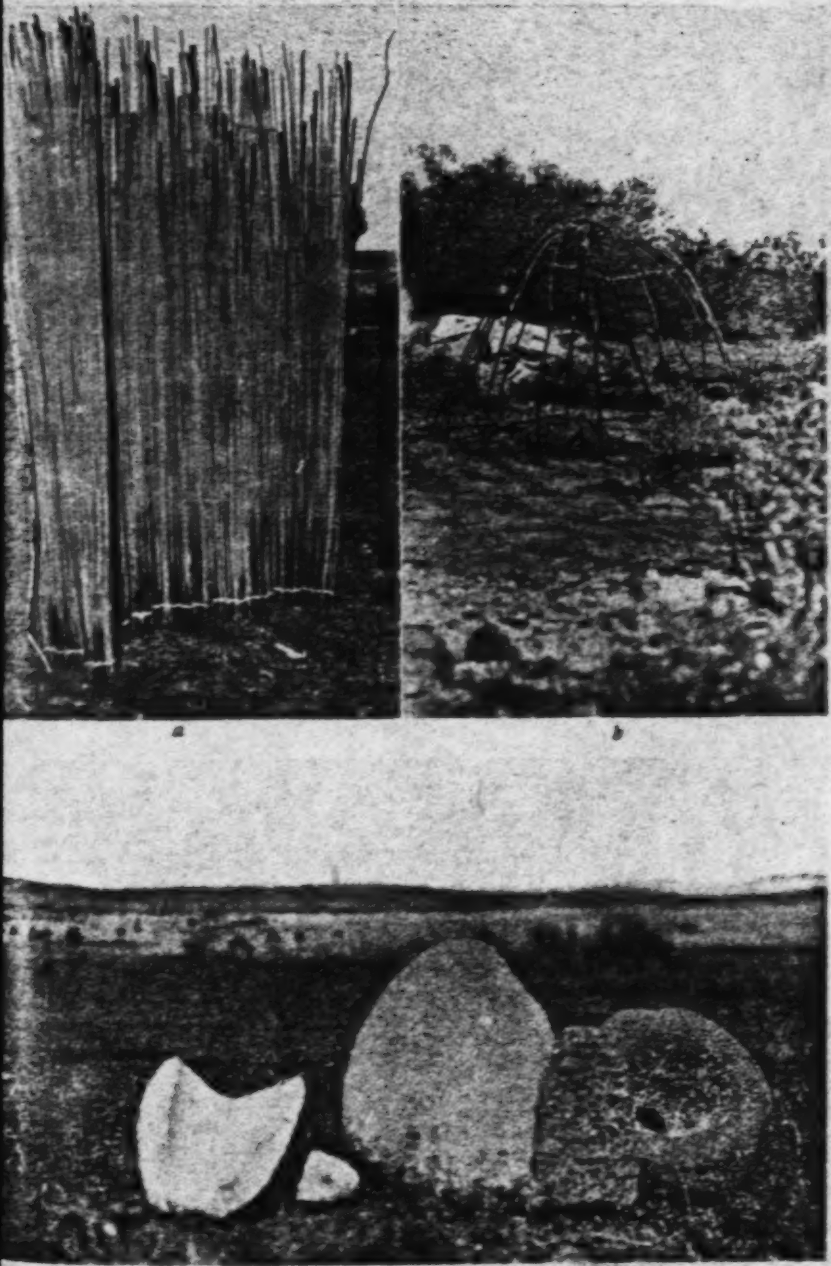
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MATERIAL CULTURE

p. 210c

back and forth like a horse in training. While she was trotting in this fashion, her mother gave her instructions about the menstrual lodge and its regulations. Then she would make a brush structure or "blood lodge" (*na'd'γan*) for her daughter. The next time the girl would know what to do. The brush lodge was erected about a quarter of a mile from home and a brush bed was prepared there. Sometimes several girls having their menses at the same time jointly constructed a larger shelter for themselves. During the three or four nights spent there meat was tabooed: a married woman's husband would have bad luck in the chase if she ate meat. It is worth noting that among the Northern Maidu a husband was debarred from hunting during his wife's illness.[1] Young Ute men were permitted to go to the blood lodge and make love to their sweethearts within, but they were warned not to attempt cohabitation lest they fall sick in later life, and girls were told by their mothers that carnal intercourse in the lodge would make them short-lived. Menstruating women were never allowed to attend a dance. At the time of my visit these rules were largely obsolete at Ignacio, while the Uintah declared that the menstrual lodge was still in vogue. These Northern Ute share with their Southern kinsmen the meat taboo and the courting custom. When a girl menstruated for the first time, an old woman made her take a bath and washed her thoroughly. She had to remain alone in a blood lodge for ten days, when she was again washed by the old woman. Thereafter her period of seclusion was shortened by a day every successive month until it was reduced to the normal span of three days.[2] Sometimes a small girl or boy would sleep in the shelter with a menstruating woman. 000

Both on the Pyramid Lake Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, my Paviotso informants denied the use of a special menstrual lodge, though they knew of its occurrence among the Shoshoni. This was confirmed at Lovelocks by Annie Lowry, who told me that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people. However, at Pyramid Lake menstruating women were not supposed to enter the place where a sick person was staying and the meat taboo was enforced, the diet being largely confined to seeds. At Pyramid Lake Old Winnemucca said that during her first menses a girl had to carry sagebrush for firewood every day for five days and the neighbors would use the wood.[3] After the five days the girl took a sweatbath and cleansed her- 841 [343]. 881 841

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[1] Dixon, (a), 239.

[2] A gradual shortening of the period has been noted by Professor Kroeber among the Mohave.

[3] Cf. Dixon, (a), 236; idem., (b), 455.

841 self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope 881 impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she re- [582] turned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants. The entire ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.[1] Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual (343) lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge 000 is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo, which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.[2] The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.[3]

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[1] Hopkins, 48.
[2] Lowie, 214.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 446.

000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pour-
515 ing water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*tŏpínaßàgia*) was con-
structed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into
it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat,
but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not
plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said
that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was
very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus
giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of
transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side;
Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates
[782] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was ac-
companied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge
[178] in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso
call the sudatory "*naßárinana.*" Here also the rocks were put on one
515 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both
757 sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also
for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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[1] Matthews, 227.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.
[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 78.

SWEATING, AND SWEAT-HOUSES.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typical
[171] Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow
wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found today
[171] in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
[177] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many
people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made
a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting
around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As
for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems
that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the
old men frown on it.

CLOTHING.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men
wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with
fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings
were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The
shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the
chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back
between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made
use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the
loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative.
There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The
statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men
wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable.
They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition
(say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
[174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing
nothing but a kilt.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WG	Ki	AK
665. Twined-bark mat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
666. Pine sod	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
667. Earth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
668. Doorway	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
669. Side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
671. Flush with wall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
673. Fireplace inside	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
674. Pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
675. Smoke hole in roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
678. Twined-rush mat	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	[illegible]
Sweat House (masnovi)														
688. Wickiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	•+	•–	•+	–	•+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
693. Brush	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
694. Skin	+	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
700. Door: on any side	+	+	·	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hides	+	+	·	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
702. Of twined bark	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
703. Of twined grass	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
•704. Conical-Type Sweat House	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
713. Gabled-Type Sweat House	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–
714. 2 interior posts	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
715. Ridgepole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
717a. Built against side of hill	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
718. Roof covering	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
719. Brush	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
720. Grass	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
721. Earth	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
722. Door	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
724. Flush	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
•727. Heating by: fire inside	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	–
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
342

N
W
A
352

N
W
A
343

N
A
343
515

[p.379]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
A
345
515

N
A
[757]

N
[423]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Tc	Tb	Pn	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	-	•+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	.	-	•+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
748a. Optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•-	+
749. Smoking while bathing	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	-
751. Women used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
752a. Up to 7	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
752b. 10 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
755. Use as clubhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
A
343
[341]

N
[764]

Miscellaneous Houses

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Tc	Tb	Pn	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
760. Dog house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Small, domed willow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Special grinding house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
763. Menstrual house	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	.	-	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-
763c. Burial in caves	.	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-

N
346

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Tc	Tb	Pn	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
765. For general gatherings only	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
766. Circular	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Brush fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768. Direction of opening: E and S (2)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768a. E	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768b. Any direction	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
770. Fires around fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
501

NAVIGATION

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Tc	Tb	Pn	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
772. Pole or log raft	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•-	-
774a. 4 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
778a. 8-12	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
779. Prow curved up	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
780. No. of persons held: 2	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p.380]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 342 678. Tg: Although no special storehouse was built, an elevated cache was prepared and covered with a woven sagebrush-bark mat.

686. Kü: + (AL). Wd: - (SC).

Sweat House

N ● 343 Sweat house: nasanovi (Atsa); navaduva (Küpa); navagia novi (Tagö).

688. K2: Sweat house is a recent acquisition from northern tribes. Kü: + (AL). GN said old-time Paiutes took hot baths in warm mineral springs, but sweat-house baths were not known. AL denied this and insisted that her grandmother took steam baths and maintained that it was a Paiute institution. GN and AL both were used for some parts of list. Unless their ideas disagree no mention will be made; the reader may assume that all data are from GN or that AL substantiated data, unless a note explains the contrary. To: BS and LP both said that sweat bathing was a recent acquisition but it is now firmly instituted. + (Lowie, 308): "The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory 'naBarinana.'" Pa: - (Curtis, 70). "At Walker lake sudatories were unknown" (Curtis, 169). Tg: Although the sweat house is almost universally used by the Paiute on Owyhee Reservation, DS said the Tagö never had it in old days. The Tagö Paiute learned it from the Warm Springs Indians, the Araitsi, a non-Paiute band. Sweat house first used by Paiute about 60 years ago.

689. Ki: + (Kelly, 202, pl. 19,b).

704. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265, fig. 4). A conical earth-covered semisubterranean sweat house was denied by my informants.

713. Ts: ND had seen a gabled, grass- and earth-covered sweat house at Honey Lake, built against a hillside. Wa: "The sweat house was W [343] an earth-covered, conical hut over a shallow excavation. Three forked posts, set respectively in the center and near the rear of the pit, supported a two-piece ridgepole, against which willow poles and slabs of bark were leaned. Heat was generated directly by fire. The sweat bath, instead of being a regularly recurring event, was employed only to relieve actual physical ills" (Curtis, 94).

727. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

728. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

733. To: + (Lowie, 308).

735. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

744. Ki: Bather prays to sun (Kelly, 203).

745. To: - (LP).

747, 748a. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

750, 751. Ki: "Women never used sweat house" (CW). "Women bathe alone sometimes" (KH). "Women and men sweat together" (BA).

753-759. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

N [344] 763. Kü: GN insisted that Küpa menstrual hut existed in pre-white days. He knew that Kuyui had no menstrual hut.

N 763,b,c. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

346 764. Paviotso: "The dance house a brush en-

[p.430(b)]

N 881 time to dance 5 nights." These dances are still held by Achomawi.

A [881 535] 533 2306. Ki: + (Kelly, 162).

2307. Wa: Confined 4 days.

N [343] 2309. Kü: Annie Lowry told me a special menstrual hut was always known by Paiute, but she told Lowie "that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people" (Lowie, 273). Tg: Even today, nearly all houses on Owyhee Reservation have special "moon house" in rear.

2321. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2322. Wa: + (Curtis, 96).

2328, 2330. Kü: - (GN).

2330a. K2: At first menstruation girl is called "moon runner," because she has to run in a large circle, stopping 5 times to make a bed of young sagebrush. She lies on each a moment, then runs and makes new bed. "Moon runner" is accompanied by other adult girls and is followed by an old woman who carries a basket jug of water with which she bathes the girl at the end of the course. At the finish place a fire has been built by anyone. Here the old woman bathes girl and steams her as she stands over a smudge from green sagebrush. Hot rocks are mixed among the smoking sage so that steam rises when water is poured on. The girl standing straddle of the smudge and rock is bathed in steam. This ceremony takes place at dusk of first day of menstrual flow. At: Girl pulls 6 sagebrush and puts them on other brush before she takes wood home. Wa: Special dance held at first and second menses. Everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During 4-day confinement girl eats nothing. AE: See note 2304.

2331. Paviotso: Girl secluded 25 days, but had to pile 5 piles of wood daily (Hopkins, 48).

2332, 2339. Kü: - (AL).

2340. Kü: - (GN).

2341a. Paviotso: Girl took bath at end of each 5 days of her first menstrual seclusion of 25 days (Hopkins, 48).

2342. Paviotso: Sweatbath taken to cleanse self after 5 days (Lowie, 273).

2345. Ki: + (Kelly, 162): or clothes were traded. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2348, 2351. Kü: - (GN).

N 841 [343] 2354. Ki: + (Kelly, 163): but on page 164 she reports that woman did not have to retire to special hut if red ring was painted on wrist or circle of red paint made in house; she also mentioned that this practice of seclusion has fallen into disuse.

A [881 842] 2366. AE: If intercourse indulged in during menses, man will become impotent at early age.

2371, 2377, 2378. Kü: - (GN).

N 777 2372a. K2: If a woman and her husband wish to gamble during her menstruation, they paint a red circle around each wrist. Some think it a luck time.

[p.442(B)]

342
[285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior.* The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows
[354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some
[251] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] 2. *Grass House.* The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. *Bark House* (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. *Cave House.* Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. *Cloth House.* The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. *Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks.* These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[342
841] 7. *Shades.* These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. *Winter Menstrual Hut.* This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[342] 9. *Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343
844 10. *Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

343

layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with 344 rye grass and tule mats.

CLOTHING

1. *Sagebrush Clothing* (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had 291 heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings.

2. *Badger Skin Aprons*. These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One [281] informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin.

3. *Women's Skin Dress* (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following 291 differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top 281 and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the [301] bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. [171] Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress.

4. *Men's Clothing.*

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the [301 bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells 602] threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried.

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584
parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls
were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry
the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated
her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man,
and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually
will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers
and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well,
usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The
girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer
of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually
sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over
and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and
shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to
catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often
encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered con- [585]
sumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings
presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431]
food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a
hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends,
wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a
whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534]
flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men
and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the [308]
menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a
man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [588]
mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848]
refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586
the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In
these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up
the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684]
person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned
their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives,
or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her
parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In
the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may
take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his
wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married
sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version 844 of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with [343] coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose. A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A 846 mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives, who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She [784] uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready [854 to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red 302] paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life. Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a [784] scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is 854 wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[a] which has been previously constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

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[a] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

868 881 At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

868 881 841 When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.[8] The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. Girls [343] are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

DEATH

763 When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The 764 wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

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[343] [8] Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

Wadátkuht

103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children'
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designa-
tion for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife. This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sohud^{a} as

Wadatkuht

342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house. called típugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. It seems quite likely [177] that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupínabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame of such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called saínovi.

285 [177] **Basketry**. Kitty Joaquin made various types of basketry and would copy Maidu baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come from the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsikú, or tsaiyun. The tsikú was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munísh, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called sioshà ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was covered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

[482] 352 177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakono'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was taínope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "sling-shot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Wadatkuht

[P.90]

Plate 3

●343
←

291
222
→

b. Frame of sweat house

d. Gathering atsátsuᵃ

415
291
←

133
→

a. Bedrock mortars at Matá

c. Kakwa'ta or "Wind Hole"

[End Plate 3]

Wadatkuht

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346

346 RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES--description of shrines, temples, churches, libraries, museums, schools, and other religious and educational structures; special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Administration of schools and colleges	87	Administration of sacred places	778
Administration of libraries and museums . . .	217	Administration and functioning of churches . .	784

4c Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N
A
393
515

N
A
[757]

N
[423]

	To	K1	K2	Kb	Yo	To	Pa	Mo	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ah
732. Rocks around patient	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	−	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
748a. Optional	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
749. Smoking while bathing	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
751. Women used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
752a. Up to 7	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
752b. 10 or more	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
756. Use as clubhouse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
758. Community uses	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Miscellaneous Houses														
760. Dog house	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
761. Small, domed willow	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
762. Special grinding house	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
763. Menstrual house	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	·	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
763c. Burial in caves	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
765. For general gatherings only	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
766. Circular	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
767. Brush fence	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768a. E	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768b. Any direction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
770. Fires around fence	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
NAVIGATION														
772. Pole or log raft	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
774a. 4 or more	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
778a. 8-12	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
779. Prow curved up	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
780. No. of persons held: 2	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
A
343
[341]

N
[764]

N
● 346

N
W
A
501

[p.380]

Washo NTRO
Achomawi NS5

N
342 678. Tg: Although no special storehouse was built, an elevated cache was prepared and covered with a woven sagebrush-bark mat.

686. Kü: + (AL). Wd: - (SC).

Sweat House

N
343 Sweat house: nasanovi (Atsa); navaduva (Küpa); navagia novi (Tagö).

688. K2: Sweat house is a recent acquisition from northern tribes. Kü: + (AL). GN said old-time Paiutes took hot baths in warm mineral springs, but sweat-house baths were not known. AL denied this and insisted that her grandmother took steam baths and maintained that it was a Paiute institution. GN and AL both were used for some parts of list. Unless their ideas disagree no mention will be made; the reader may assume that all data are from GN or that AL substantiated data, unless a note explains the contrary. To: BS and LP both said that sweat bathing was a recent acquisition but it is now firmly instituted. + (Lowie, 308): "The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory 'naBarinana.'" Pa: - (Curtis, 70). "At Walker lake sudatories were unknown" (Curtis, 169). Tg: Although the sweat house is almost universally used by the Paiute on Owyhee Reservation, DS said the Tagö never had it in old days. The Tagö Paiute learned it from the Warm Springs Indians, the Araitsi, a non-Paiute band. Sweat house first used by Paiute about 60 years ago.

689. Ki: + (Kelly, 202, pl. 19,b).

704. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265, fig. 4). A conical earth-covered semisubterranean sweat house was denied by my informants.

713. Ts: ND had seen a gabled, grass- and earth-covered sweat house at Honey Lake, built against a hillside. Wa: "The sweat house was

W
[343] an earth-covered, conical hut over a shallow excavation. Three forked posts, set respectively in the center and near the rear of the pit, supported a two-piece ridgepole, against which willow poles and slabs of bark were leaned. Heat was generated directly by fire. The sweat bath, instead of being a regularly recurring event, was employed only to relieve actual physical ills" (Curtis, 94).

727. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

728. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

733. To: + (Lowie, 308).

735. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

744. Ki: Bather prays to sun (Kelly, 203).

745. To: - (LP).

747, 748a. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

750, 751. Ki: "Women never used sweat house" (CW). "Women bathe alone sometimes" (KH). "Women and men sweat together" (BA).

753-759. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

N
[341] 763. Kü: GN insisted that Küpa menstrual hut existed in pre-white days. He knew that Kuyui had no menstrual hut.

N
763,b,c. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

346 764. Paviotso: "The dance house a brush en-

[p.430(b)]

N
● 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N
501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A
[501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N
502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N
372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N
[172] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N
[172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N
442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis

N
[773] Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians."

[p. 431(N)]

N

276 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar
755 smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled
*795 with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in
N nearly all peyote ceremonies.

W Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used cere-
782 monially by a congregation of believers.

N
W
THE PEYOTE CEREMONY

*795 Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house
796 which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance;
[346] then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and pro-
[782] ceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[779] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared
[276] cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

W
LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[8]

N The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-
101 Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[9] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few
563 Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute
*795 have embraced the peyote religion.

N
FIELD METHODS

W Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture
114 of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances
000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[8] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[9] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

N

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always W
places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the 171
moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their 177
way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, 795*
which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall
of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben [346]
admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings.
It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among
the Cheyenne,[illegible] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of
doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant,
for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures. N

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal W
for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and [262]
Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is
given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on
his way to Nevada. N

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged W
for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. 171
A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and 177
leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached 795*
to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported 824
practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[illegible] The
local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. [276]
Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this
feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright,
peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings,
both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing
peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw N
cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains. W

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as 177
typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the
cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual 795*
horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone 796
has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after mid
night (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff
and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also
limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming,
then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives
four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to
the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although
the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand,
since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo
and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with
the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water
from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the
body with the drumstick is also unusual.[illegible]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

---

[illegible] La Barre, 61.

[illegible] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[illegible] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

Wadá tkuht

103 given this name. This feature is not in Paiute territory
133 but is probably on the Mountain Maidu-Atsugewi boundary. Worley Mountain is plainly visible from Honey Lake Valley and was probably visited on occasional hunting trips, particularly since nearby Eagle Lake was visited for hunting and gathering purposes.

[137] 3. Guha kaive ("Guha Mountain"). Bald Mountain several miles west of Honey Lake has this name because of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) growing there. This small, treeless range of rounded hills has a growth of bitterbrush, grass and sage covering it. Its origin is documented by a Wadatkuht myth.

4. T' kwanguhd ("Tower"). This name refers to Thompson Peak which has a tower-like rock formation in association.

[546] 5. Padotsa dawakuhd ("Bubbling Hole"). This spring is located on the hillside behind (south) of the Bird Flat schoolhouse. The school is approximately a mile west of Herlong Junction on Highway 395.

6. Pasia novi ("Bald Eagle House"). An old pine tree beside Highway 395 a distance of 5.4 miles southeast of Milford was given this name because of a pair of bald eagles who made their nest in it many years ago. When Ike Northrup was a young man he went by this tree with Joaquin who told him about the nesting birds in the tree and the name for it. The eagles had long since ceased nesting there by that time so Ike never saw them. The tree is still standing but it was killed in the summer of 1950 by a brush fire.

[726] 7. Numu wunud^{a} ("Indian Stand Up"). This name was given to a conical rocky hill about four miles northwest of Doyle (T25N/R16E/Sec. 3). This hill received its name as a consequence of a fight between some Pit River and Paiute men. The fight started at Doyle with the Paiutes attempting to escape to this hill. The Paiutes, with the Pit River men in pursuit, gained the sanctuary of this hill and began to roll boulders down on the Pit River men. A Pit River man was killed during the fighting and was stood up by the Paiutes who did it "to be onery". The death of this one man was enough to stop the fighting; "Maybe the headman killed, rest run away".

8. Mogúp^{a} kudak^{u}("Sharp Mountain"). The range of mountains just east of Doyle is given this name because of its rather jagged appearance.

/Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
665. Twined-bark mat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Pine sod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
667. Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Doorway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
669. Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
671. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
673. Fireplace inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
674. Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
675. Smoke hole in roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
678. Twined-rush mat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Sweat House (nasanovi)														
688. Wickiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
693. Brush	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
694. Skin	+	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
700. Door: on any side	+	+	·	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
702. Of twined bark	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
703. Of twined grass	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
704. Conical-Type Sweat House	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
713. Gabled-Type Sweat House	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
714. 2 interior posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
715. Ridgepole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
717a. Built against side of hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
718. Roof covering	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721. Earth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
722. Door	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724. Flush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
727. Heating by: fire inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
342

N
W
A
352

N
W
A
343

N
A
343
515

[p.379]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AX
1071. Twined winnowing basket (timahm)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (yata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (tasmo or tõma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1078a. Angular tray (wana)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1080. Twined	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1082. Conical carrying basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091. Fishing trap (ayakai)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a. Bipointed, opening on side	·	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. New made	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kötosasã)	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1096. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1098a. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
1100. Pointed bottom	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1102. Pitch on outside	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1105. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
1108. Handle: horsehair	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1108a. Willow	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1114. Food bowl (taida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115. Coiled	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1117. Pitch coated	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled	·	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1119. Ladle (tüdhama)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1129. Lids modern	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (maro'o)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
1133. Of twined tule	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1134. Mat (säma)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 285 4-15

N W A [482]

N W A [227]

N A [241]

N A [352]

[p.387]

343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame of such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called saínovi.

285 [177] Basketry. Kitty Joaquin made various types of basketry and would copy Maidu baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come from the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsikú, or tsaíyun. The tsikú was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munish, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called síoshà ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was covered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

[482] 352 .177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakono'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was taínope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "sling-shot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

Wadátkuht

352 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both
the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was
177 that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the
bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle
and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children
were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle
was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her
as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term
nutugwish^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going
to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called
nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow
splints used for the active element were píwung. The bone
[413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as
witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from
that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys
Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and
283 its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants
had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string.
Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who
[824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from
a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark,
[237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide).
Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said
to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse
hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger
[492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part
of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they
[525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[881] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
●[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab[1] (after naká, "ear")
and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
[304] which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pishuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

● [353] *Interior.* The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows [354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some [251] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] *2. Grass House.* The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. Bark House (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. Cave House. Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. Cloth House. The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks. These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[343 841] *7. Shades.* These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. Winter Menstrual Hut. This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[343] *9. Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343 844 *10. Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were 342
wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'i-nobi (saib^{a}, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74]

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^{a}, rye grass). The grass, four or five-feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at 462
the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the follow- 342
ing winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place. 417
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dü'a-nobi; dü'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18*c*, is frequently seen at the present time. It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

000 the ground proved to be about seventeen feet. Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a *four*-pole foundation. Summer shades were also noted. The usual type is the brush-covered four-pole structure shown in Fig. 7b, with the tipi in the background. More substantial than any of these was the earth-covered dwelling of one Ute which was directly patterned on the Navajo hogan and was said to be unique. An Ignacio informant confirmed the statement that four poles were used as a foundation by the Southern Ute. Here reference was made to a conical bark-walled or brush-covered wikiup preceding the buffalo-skin tipi. Both at Ignacio and among the Uintah I was told that twelve poles were used for the tipi, including the two on the outside for regulating the smoke. A Uintah said that the poles were of pine wood, and either elkskins, sometimes to the number of ten, or buffalo skins were sewed together for the cover. When skins were lacking, a smaller cedarbark lodge of round shape was put up; the strips of bark were carried from a great distance. When some distance west of the Great Salt Lake Stansbury saw some conical lodges "of cedar poles and logs of considerable size, thatched with bark and branches," which were warm and comfortable. They were presumably the as yet unoccupied winter quarters of Indians then (toward the end of October) pine-nutting.[1] Passing through the Reservation I saw some conical lodges at Ouray differing from the tipi merely in having a cover of brush; these were said to have also been used in the old days for a summer habitation. The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures. The door always faced east; the woman sat by the door, the husband in the rear, and visitors took up corresponding positions according to sex. The skin tipi is called *moγŏ'puqdn*; the bark lodge *moγo'qan*.

342 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake distinguish a tule lodge (*caihinòʙi*,
[354] from *caihib*ᵉ, tule) and the old-style summer shade (*huninoʙi, nánupia*),
which faced the more permanent dwelling and had the form of a roofless
semicircular brush shelter with a central fireplace. The modern shades
are called *hāsá*. A large tule wikiup might accommodate as many as a
dozen people. The poles were called *watákwama*, the tule shingles
[462] *siwat*ᵘ. Men and women coöperated in putting up the wikiup, the former
erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles.
342 At Pyramid Lake I saw one tule lodge with an additional covering of
824 canvas rags (Fig. 6) and had a model made, which differs somewhat in

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[1] Stansbury, 111.

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

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343 844 *10. Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *ndskugariñgen*. 000

MISCELLANEOUS.

Paviotso.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving. 262

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:— 538

> Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.[1]

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them. 356

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame. 854

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache. 757

Wind River.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing. 000

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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[1] Mooney, 770 f.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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[252]

● N
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N
W
A
[252]

	Ts	Kl	Kd	Hb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ak
830. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
830a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+
831. Use: for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
832. For meat	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
833. For bone	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
834. For paint	−	+	+	+	−	*+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
835. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	*−
836. With porcupine tail	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
837. With sage-bark brush	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
842. With grass-roots brush	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
841. Scraping with stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
835a. Did not clean metate	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
843. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*845. Rotary motion	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mush Stirrer														
*847. Looped stick (patu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	*+	*+	−	−
848. Paddle (aga)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
*852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tasko or taika)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
863. Twined willow cup (taida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
863a. Coiled willow cup	·	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
*864. Stone bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
*866. Pottery bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	−	*+	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
*868. Biconical basket (oso; cf. 1096)	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	−
Knives (wihi)														
*870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
*872. Flint blade hafted in wood	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	·	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
874. Bone knife	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers (ptsaasa)														
876. Stone, broken cobble	−	−	−	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, end notched	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
882a. Scapula	·	−	−	*+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Awls (wita)														
884. Horn	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
885. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	·	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

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[p.382]

361

361 **SETTLEMENT PATTERNS**--location and distribution of settlements; physical types and descriptions of settlements and the incidence of each (e.g., temporary camp, settled hamlet or village, town, city, urban metropolis); degree of permanence or impermanence; settlement plan; urban ecology (e.g., residential, business, and industrial areas); satellite areas (e.g., suburbs); patterns of urban growth; zoning; city planning; etc. See also:

Demography	16
Place names	103
Social planning	185
Land use	311
Community organization	621

munal rabbit drives and for hunting water fowl such as mud hens, 221 ducks, geese, and swans. This very considerable range of activities implies residence from which the valley lakes and flats, as well as the hill country, were accessible. There seem to have been no set camp spots, but the Adel and Bidwell districts were particularly favored for fall residence.

Winter was the season of food shortage. At this time the Gidü'tikad^{a} returned to more or less permanent sites, there to consume the seeds, dried roots, and meats which they had cached. Hunting of deer, antelope, and rabbits continued. In addition, bear, wildcat, and otter were hunted because "then they were fat, and their skins were good." [789] Winter was also the season of antelope charming.

When asked concerning the relative importance of animal foods, my informant replied, with an excellent display of logic:

> They ate more deer and rabbits than anything else because they hunted them all year round. Rabbits are not so good this time of year; squirrels are better now. It all depends on the season (P:NH).

WINTERING GROUNDS

The Gidü'tikad^{a} had a number of established wintering grounds, 103 and, as a corollary, recognized certain regions—such as the country west of the Warners, 361 the area between Surprise and Warner valleys, Big valley, and the east side of Surprise—which were best shunned during winter because of heavy snows, insufficient resources, etc.

The northernmost winter camp was in the vicinity of Plush, Oregon. According to Piudy, it was known as Sa'ga'^{a}namatsibui and refers in some obscure way to "the place where the river comes from the mountain into the open country." What is doubtless a different rendering of the same term was given by Joshua who called a Honey creek site near Plush, Saga'pamatsibua. He claimed that it was derived from saga', a kind of willow, and tsibua, canyon mouth.

Adel, farther south in Warner valley, was called Saib^{a} and was a favorite wintering ground. A camp site just below the present MC ranch house was called Wa'habi' (from wago'pi, pine tree, and habi', fall down) and was so-named from a creek into which a large tree had fallen. A site "southeast of Adel," described as a few miles east of Dugout,[14] was called Kusi'nüt^{a}.

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[14] As the location of this wintering ground is highly doubtful, it has not been entered on the map. Possibly it should be southwest instead of southeast of Adel. In a letter, Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, Lakeview, states that the locality known as Dugout falls within Township 40 South, Range 23 East. This would place it definitely southwest of Adel.

103
361 In Surprise, the Gidü'tikadᵃ sometimes wintered on the slopes below Lake Annie. This site seems to have been unnamed; it was probably known from the lake, or, because of its proximity, may have been included in the name applied to the Bidwell vicinity. This whole latter district was known as Tusi'yamüs (from tusi''p', a kind of grass, *Distichlis spicata* Greene, and yamü's, corner), and ample justification for the name may be found by glancing at Russell's map of Surprise valley surface types.[15] Tusi'yamüs was a favorite spot, and winter camps were strung along the foot of the Warners from the site of the present camp through the Indian School grounds, as well as along Bidwell creek from the fair grounds below town up the canyon to the old flour mill.

There were three wintering grounds about Lake City. One was in a juniper stand a short distance north of town and was called Wa''-dunu'ba (from wap', juniper, and dunu'ba, bunch, stand). Another site was near the lake shore and was called Sawa'-dunu'ba (sawa', sagebrush). Informants state that it is now cleared and planted in wheat. Camps were scattered from below the peak known as Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose, just south of Lake City, all along the range slopes south toward Cedarville and on to Eagleville.

Near Cedarville, the Gidü'tikadᵃ wintered along the creek at the foot of Cedar pass, which place they called Pa-sü''bi, water-willow, "from a kind of willow growing in the stream." One informant claimed that this site had no name, but that "they knew it by Pa'ho'tᵉ-wogodni (sand creek, canyon) on the eastern side of the valley."

The southernmost winter camp was near Bear ranch at the foot of Surprise valley. My informant could not remember its name but said that it was near the stream called Wi'gi-pa-hu'ᵃ (sideways-water-running) which "runs sideways instead of straight down from the mountain." From inquiry, Bear creek[16] seems most nearly to answer the description.

221
361 According to informants, "Some stayed in the same camp all winter, but most had at least two camps, perhaps one here and one at Cedarville. When all their food was gone, they moved on to the next camp." There was certainly some travel during winter as camps cooperated in communal antelope and rabbit drives.

361 The winter site had perhaps five or six houses; the summer groups were still smaller, perhaps only two or three.

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[15] Figure 4.

[16] Spelled Bare's creek on the Alturas quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godowa, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly **E-5** **(1930) 1934** **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

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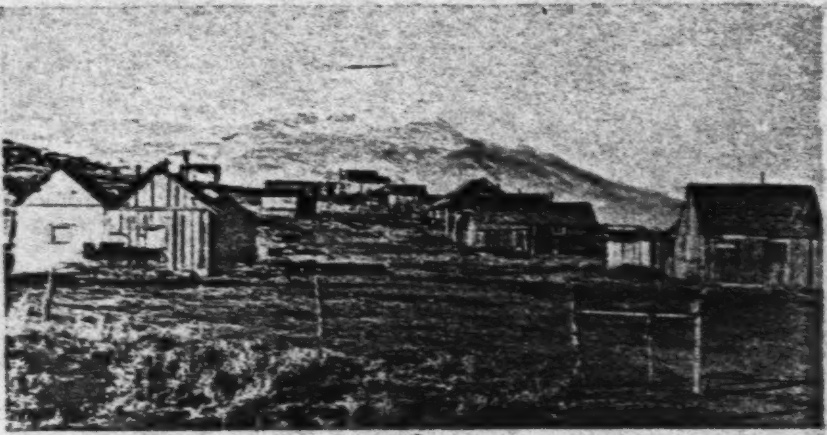

a

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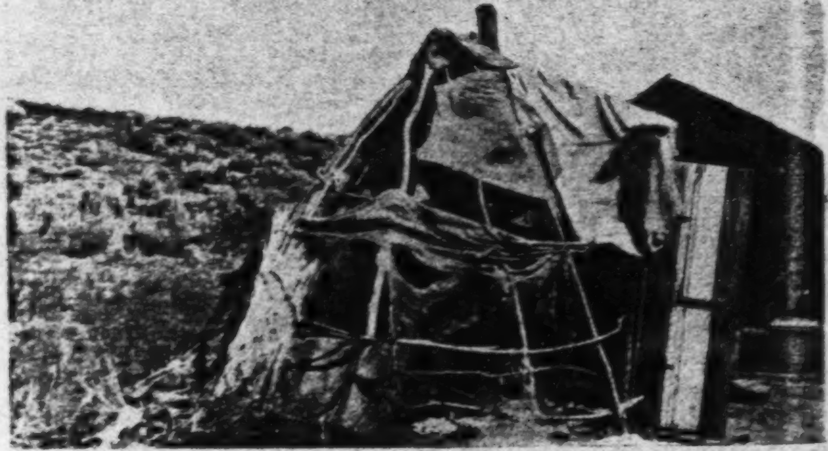

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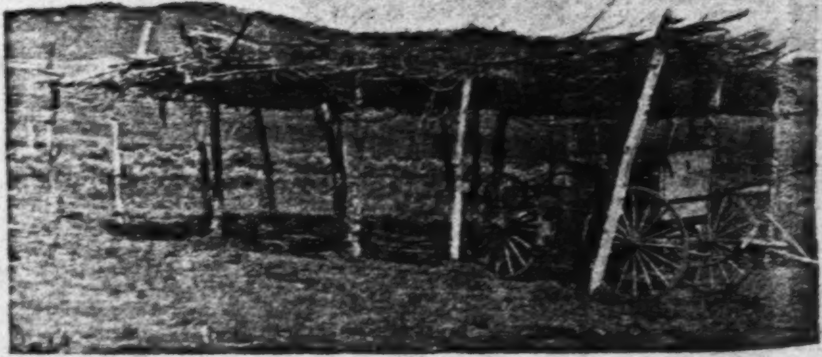

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To the north and to the south the range gra-
dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claim- 101
ed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather inde- 133
finite. It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131]
Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like
Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by GA8
both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by
both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit
Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different
groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits
did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must
have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and
Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that
intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [580]
both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [127]
home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed
to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them
them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of
culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between
these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely
separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact
that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful
chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their
ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother
to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good
deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101
through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 3
seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361]
eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as
Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River
territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316]
"mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of conten-
tion between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears
strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes,
Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed
from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war.
Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner
Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of
Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133
northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc
territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably
as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habitat
619 and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute
bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *neim·i* (e. g. *ni neim·i non·o* = I Paiute
man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak
[197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance
the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants
was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBï*
Silver Lake	*Toba'TeP·i*
Duck Lake	*TïBï'san·ïn·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Dïqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Dïqa*
Maidu	*TaKone*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tse*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tïziyamoso*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pïbï-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there
221 built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and
moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the
practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when
622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also
the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong
feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither
respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook Jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12.

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17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says:

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"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827).

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19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged.

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In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klam- 622
aths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken 648
of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other
bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of
'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The
Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however;
this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at
Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late
1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far
as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate
names as having come on the Reservation at the same time
Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Apple- N
gate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chock- [177]
toot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining perman- [241]
ently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and
in improvement generally."[239]

In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the N
Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hun- [161]
dred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] 648
In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as
38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis'
statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted K
of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate N 226
wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of 251
this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went
with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried
a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining N
here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpa- [161]
pi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panai'na still live at the N
"Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge 101
from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi [361
has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern
Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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648 622 148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 103 551 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panaiʼna's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

131 101 151. Prior to Panaiʼna's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr. McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but McKenzie was a reliable reporter.

[231] [501] ● [361] [114]

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191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatchåktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'ha's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'ha] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'ha in 1865. N 361 131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tcháktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 221 222 of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462 cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512] and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224] July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226] streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber. In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk and the women to pick huckleberries.*

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824] *wada* (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535] including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251] to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361 to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312] other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132] or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342] the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162] wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361 camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621 is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592 of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child. Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother. Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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* During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521] Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get *wada* there was reciprocal exchange.

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at
Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies
ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved
over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When
there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers
and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with
other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000 in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342 winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361 ●
Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342
Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui* [101]
(*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built
of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a
man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291]
while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket
which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [512]
a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright
willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at [782]
the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire
bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal
containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [145]
bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the
center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and
practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342 in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156–57). [136]

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to 186
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i,
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason 829
for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist 829
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid
lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the [727]
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or
throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern [648]
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute 114
implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that
they must have been made by the Pit River Indians

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tei'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tohatcha.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [361] ●
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge [103]

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western neighbors of the Wadátkuht. From Horse Lake the boundary line proceeds northeasterly to McDonald Peak and then east to the state line. The Kamötkuht are the northern neighbors and relatives of the Wadátkuht.

In essence, the boundary locations presented here agree with those given by Stewart (1939). The disagreements are primarily ones of greater refinement here of the territorial boundary lines. I give all of the Honey Lake peninsula and the lower reaches of Long Valley Creek north of Doyle to the Wadátkuht, while Stewart assigns this region to the Washo. It is true that this area was somewhat used by the Washo, but my information rather clearly indicates that this region belongs to the Wadátkuht.

Stewart states that the tasiget tuviwarai ("in between dwellers") were to the east of the Wadátkuht (ibid., p. 138), but my informants stated a number of times that the region east of Honey Lake and the state line was uninhabited and that the first people to be encountered to the east were the Kuyuitkuht. The most easterly Wadátkuht village was located almost at the present state line. When closely pressed, however, Susy Buster seemed to recall the "in between dwellers" but could give no details of them. [36]

It is without hesitation that I assign most of Secret Valley to the Wadátkuht, although I have no information concerning the area west of Secret Valley in the vicinity of Snow Storm Creek and Petes Valley. It seems more or less arbitrary which group should be assigned to this latter region, the Atsugewi or the Wadátkuht. At the present state of knowledge I am inclined to agree with Merriam (1926) and consider this region as belonging to the Wadátkuht, particularly since they have been allotted Horse Lake by both Merriam and myself.

To the north of Secret Valley is Madeline Plains, the eastern half of which was utilized by the Wadátkuht. The western half belongs to the Pit River people. The Wadátkuht western boundary, from Horse Lake to McDonald Peak, is in agreement with that presented by Merriam (ibid.). Stewart agrees with both Merriam and Kniffen apparently without realizing that they are not in agreement (Stewart, 1939, p.137). Stewart, however, gives this as the western boundary for the Kamötkuht, whereas I am inclined to credit it to the Wadátkuht. Actually, both ways may be correct for as Stewart says, "...the Kamö band was allotted that territory which others did not claim" (ibid.).

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9. Moa mutsakian^{o} ("Rough Point") (moav^{a} - "rough"). This rocky point is about five miles northeast of Doyle and may be considered a northern extension of the previous feature. Rough Point is located in T25N/R17-18E and got its name from the rough granitic rock of which this feature is composed.

10. Babáktud ("Big Mountain"). The large mountain a few miles southeast of Flannigan, Nevada, is given this name. Neither this feature nor the following one is considered to be in Wadátkuht territory, but are said to be in an uninhabited region rarely visited due to the scarcity of water. Archaeological sites recorded at several places in this general region testify that the area was not always unoccupied. [172]

11. Kaibak^{u} mutsakian^{o} ("No Wet Point", i.e., "Dry Point"). This is a range of mountains a few miles northeast of Flannigan, Nevada. This feature, as with the preceding one, is said to be in an uninhabited region. The name for this feature gives the reason for the lack of occupation.

12. Tusí katu' ("Bunch Grass Mountain"). Hot Springs Mountain east of Honey Lake bears this name.

13. Hunuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). The flat at the western base of Hot Springs Mountain was given this name. The Wadátkuht had a camp on this flat but the informants could not recall its name, or if it had one. [361]

14. Paí dupid^{a} ("Rocks to Bottom"). This is the name given the rock formation on the west face of Hot Springs Mountain. The nearly vertical rock faces of this feature have a pyramidal shape. A snow slide here before contact times killed a herd of deer which was utilized by the Paiute people.

15. Tuhu' ta ("Wildcat Hole"). This point of land which has distinct Lake Lahontan wave-cut terraces on its slopes is located slightly more than two miles north of Wendel. Wildcats are said to have inhabited the caves in the rocks on this point. The track of the Southern Pacific railroad goes around the base of this point.

16. Tukwí mutsakian^{o} ("Burned Rock Point"). This name is given to a sort of lava shelf, or tableland, partially surrounded by low cliffs, or rimrock. This feature is located about two miles northwest of Tuhu' ta and apparently got its name from the lava rock. The Southern Pacific

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103 133 informant, Ike Northrup, did not specify whether these features belonged in the territory of one group or the other.

33. Tukudak^w ("Rock Peak"). This feature (elevation 5,053 feet) is a rocky mass or knob appearing on the southeast slope of Sawá kudak^w. It is about two or three miles west of the site of the former Secret Valley C. C. C. camp which was located just north of the road to Karlo where it turns west from Highway 395.

34. Saib patsóna ("Tule Spring", called "Tule Patch" in English by the informant). This feature is a spring on the west edge of Highway 395 a short distance before the summit as one leaves Secret Valley going north to Madeline Plains. At the present time water piped from the spring provides a watering stop for travelers. The location of this spring is in T33N/R15E and seemingly in the NW¼ of Section 28. [312] The Wadátkuht did not have any sort of camp at this spring but just used it for a watering stop.

35. Musitzi (meaning was not known by informant). Musitzi is the name for Madeline Plains as well as the name for a small hill south of Cold Springs (see Item 32 above). The precise location of this small hill was not obtained as it was not visited with my informant. Only the eastern half of Madeline Plains belonged to the Paiute as the western half belonged to the Pit River people.

[361] The Wadátkuht had no winter villages in Madeline Plains because of the increased elevation and severity of the winter [224] months as compared to Honey Lake Valley and Secret Valley. In the fall, however, rabbits and deer were hunted here. And it seems likely that the eastern (Paiute) portion of Madeline [172] Plains was shared by the Wadátkuht and the Kamȫtkuht. Evidence in the form of extensive archaeological sites indicate that this region was occupied in ancient times.

36. Pówhanun° ("To Scrape Hair From a Hide"). This feature is a range of mountains about five miles east of Horse Lake and several miles west of Spanish Springs in T33N/R14E.

37. Pínaktud ("Between Two Mountains"). This mountain, Spanish Springs Peak, is located between Shinn Peaks and [224] Observation Peaks in T33N/R15E. It is of particular significance because deer were hunted here.

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39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian^{o}, "Point"). 133
This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern 103
extension of Pinaktud (Item 37 above).

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name [224]
for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt.

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai bamú muhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name [137]
given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules
grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The [361]
Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north
end of the lake.

44. Wada bamú muhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for
Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from [137]
the fact that certain areas about the lake support a consider-
able growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named [101]
The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm.

45. Kukwa^{p}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly [789]
opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E.

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root) [262]
This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering.

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term [136]
refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey

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133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
[136] the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wahg^{o} ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
[251] were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu. Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
174 suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

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361 [174] of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructio of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about 1925.

[221] It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only occupied seasonally. The Wadátkuht, similar to the other Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home" for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only village so termed by my informants, although other winter villages may by definition be given this term.

[114] It has been difficult to decide which of the following named habitation sites were villages and which were camps. Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considered as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

103 361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SE¼ of NW¼ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

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103 picking chokecherries nearby. The informants reported that
361 he was never successful.

[172] This site was an occasional winter village for Joaquin and his group of Wadátkuht composed primarily of his own family. Aboriginal occupation is indicated by chipped stone projectile points, flake knives of stone, thermal fractured stones and similar evidence. This village site has the archaeological designation of Las-34.

Parker Creek, which flows by the site, apparently has the same name as the village. In the vicinity of the village and along the creek chokecherry bushes grow abundantly, thus an important source for chokecherries for the Wadátkuht.

2. Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} ("Oak Tree Row"). This camp is located about 1½ miles south of Buntingville among pine and oak trees (T28N/R13E/Sec. 23). The Wadátkuht gathered acorns here and the bedrock mortars in the area attest to the same use of the area in earlier times. In more recent times a group of Maidu lived in this area until about 1930 which seemingly demonstrates a modification in the aboriginal occupation pattern.

3. Wiuhpa mutsakian^{o} ("Oak Tree Point"). This camp, as with Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a}, was situated among pines and oaks where the Wadátkuht could take advantage of the acorns. It got its name from the fact that a timbered spur, or point of land, extends eastward toward the shores of Honey Lake (T27N/R14E/Sec. 8).

A family of Pit River Indians lived here circa 1910 to parallel the occupation of Wiuhpa woiyuad^{a} by some Maidu people. It would seem by these two examples that observance of inter-tribal boundaries ceased shortly after the arrival of the settlers.

4. Sawa katud^{a} ("Sagebrush Set"). This village near the mouth of Baxter Creek was inhabited by the Wadatkuht [172] until after contact times. As indicated by the name this village is in a sagebrush region and marks the site of an archaeological habitation area as shown by the numerous stone artifacts recovered from here over the years by local collectors. The culture deposit of this site (with the archaeological designation of Las-93), however, is shallow. The site is located in T28N/R14E/SW¼ of NW¼ of Sec. 17.

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103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
● 361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp
at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife.
This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sohud^{a} as

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103 361 Ike Northrup visited the site with the author but knew nothing concerning its occupation.

7. Pagúshuhad ("Warm Spring"). This most eastern Wadátkuht winter village receives its name from a spring of warm water that pours out from the base of a series of spire-shaped rocks. It is said that east of this village [312] there were no camps or villages until one approaches Pyramid Lake. Lack of water is given as the reason for this region being unpopulated. This village is a desert village, being some 10 or 15 miles east of the timbered Sierra. It is located at the High Rock ranch east of Honey Lake and just west of the Nevada state line. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-88 (T29N/R17E/Sec. 36).

[412] Pagúshuhad was a winter village for Joaquin and his band of Wadátkuht. Informants report that there is a bedrock metate at this village site.

8. Ishuhpa ("Wolf Water"). This winter village was so-named because the spring here was a favorite place for wolves to obtain water. It is located about five miles northwest of Pagúshuhad, and similarly, has considerable archaeological evidence in the form of stone artifacts which have been recovered from the surface. The archaeological designation for Ishuhpa is Las-46 (T28N/R16E/SE¼ of Sec. 18).

9. Pam^{u} ("Hot Springs"). This name is given for both the hot springs at Amedee and at Wendel. The Amedee site has the archaeological designation of Las-99, the Wendel site, Las-28. Both of them were winter villages, although Ike Northrup said that the people could not remain at the Amedee Hot Springs in wet weather, or when the snow was melting, because the surrounding flat country became too muddy. They had to move to high ground about one mile to the east. This probably meant that the archaeological cave site, Las-90, approximately one mile east of Amedee was used when the area about the hot springs became too muddy.

10. Numúta ("Indian Hole"). Both Tommy Tucker Cave, Las-1 (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956), and Amedee Cave, Las-90, were given this name. It would seem that any cave utilized by these people might be given this same name. Amedee Cave was used by Kitty Joaquin when she was a small [172] girl. She and her family (Joaquin's group, primarily) camped there upon occasion. Recent archaeological excavation in this cave by the author has revealed numerous manos and

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103 metates, as well as a number of chipped stone projectile
361 points. Tommy Tucker Cave, on the other hand, was not used
[172] as a habitation site in recent times. Joaquin had warned Kitty and the other children not to enter the cave, nor did he do so himself as far as Kitty ever knew. Excavation of this cave produced only one mano and no metates, a decided contrast to Amedee Cave, Tommy Tucker Cave yielded numerous shell beads and ornaments, sandals of twisted sagebrush bark, a large number of game counters used in gambling, bone tools and ornaments, basketry fragments and numerous other articles. The upper levels of both caves must be considered to be quite recent, particularly since both are recognized by living informants and one was said to have been occupied. Metal objects occurred on or near the surface of both caves, a fact which tends to substantiate some use and/or occupation in post-contact times.

11. (Name forgotten by informants). During some winters a village was maintained on the flat below and north of Tommy Tucker Cave. The flat was called Hunuhduhuhp ("Brush Canyon"). This was a favorable place because there usually was not much snow. Archaeological sites on this flat include Las-2 and Las-18.

12. Pahodö duhak^{a} ("Sand Creek"). This camp site is situated just east of Viewland and Highway 395 in a sort of sand dune and sagebrush area (T30N/R15E/ center of Sec. 34). Very little information could be obtained concerning this camp which may have, upon occasion, served as a winter village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. A burial was excavated at, or near this site circa 1930 when an irrigation canal was dug.

A Maidu village on the south bank of Sand Slough was located just west of the Susanville Municipal Airport at Johnstonville. The Wadátkuht called this village Pahodö duhak^{a}, also. It was a historic site and cemetery with no evidence available as to the length of occupation there.

[172] 13. Tupí' twaba ("Rock Under Water", i.e., a spring under the rocks). This name applies to the archaeological sites Las-15, Las-45 and Las-91, apparently. These archaeological sites (T29N/R15-16E/ Secs. 13, 14, and 24 of R15E, and Sec. 19 and 20 of R16E) belong, in part, to the late archaeological period as demonstrated by the recovery of clamshell disc beads, dentalia shells and glass beads. Evidence of ancient habitation is in the form of a burial with beads ascribably to the Early Lovelock Period dated between 3000 and 4000 years ago.

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The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91,
361 and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more
[776] than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg° tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg°, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas
[226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers
ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers
[251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidǖ dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16
[412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite
boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said
[231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that
[417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a
corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the WadÁtkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

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17. ^{k}Távi wanud ("Fir Tree Basin"). The informants said the name meant "Cedar Basin", however, the name for cedar is pawap^{i}, that for juniper is wap^{i}, and for fir is ^{k}tavi. This village was located at the north end of Horse Lake, the remains of which are presumably represented by the archaeological site Las-13. The village took its name from a cedar (sic) tree which was growing in a sort of basin where the village was located. The region about Horse Lake is a juniper/sage environment so a cedar tree would be exceptional in that region. Susy Buster gave the name for this village and additionally stated that the lake belonged to the Wadátkuh

[172] Judging from the archaeological remains the village here must have been of considerable importance, and/or of long occupation. Numerous artifacts and at least one burial have been recovered from this site.

18. Sigu patsóna ("Sagebrush Spring"). This was probably the major village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, and was Ike Northrup's home village. His father, Nunu" kai (nunu', "snake"; kai, "no"), was a shaman and was headman for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. The village was occupied until around 1900 and the houses were of native construction. One of these houses burned one winter with a complete loss of personal property. It was Ike Northrup's house and he lost his bow and arrows, rabbit skin blankets, some moccasins and other gear.

[439] Sam, or Nunu' kai, raised potatoes at this village for sale to the store in Janesville operated by Jim McClelland. He would trade the potatoes for food.

The archaeological designation for this village is Las-104 (T31N/R15E/Sec. 1). The site is among low sandy ridges about one mile east of where the county road turns west off Highway 395 to go tó Karlo. There is a spring and a tall poplar tree at the site.

Although this important winter village may be classed as a nogat, a primary winter village, as is Matá at Milford, there were several other sites which substituted for this winter village. When a winter was too cold the Secret Valley group moved to Honey Lake Valley in the vicinity of Gibson's ranch several miles east of Litchfield. Another winter village was located about one mile west of Sigu patsóna on a sandy ridge overlooking a large meadow. This village, however, seems to have been a recent post-contact village

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103 and is discussed in a following section.

361 19. Pamaha woiyuad^{a} ("Wiregrass Patch"). This is a temporary hunting camp at Spanish Springs, in the hills between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains. Hunters would camp here in the fall for about five days. This site has the archaeological designation of Las-106.

20. Papát son^{a} ("Springs"). This is a camp at some springs at the west base of Observation Peak where the Madeline ranch is now located. It was not visited with the informant so a precise location was not obtained.

21. Kamö pana wuina ("Rabbit Trail Coming Down"). This is the village at which Ike Northrup was born and is located at the north end of Secret Valley about one mile north of the Secret ranch at a point where Highway 395 leaves the valley and starts toward the summit. An archaeological site, Las-20, has been recorded several hundred yards northwest of this village site (T32N/R15E/SE¼ofSE¼ of Sec. 26).

22. (Name forgotten). As noted in item 18 above the village one-half mile northeast of the Gibson ranch (T29N/R15E of Sec. 7) which is two miles east of Litchfield was a major winter village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Before the Gibson family took up the present ranch the native village's headman was Sani zha, Rawhide Henry's father. Sani zha later in life lived at Matá.

After the establishment of the Gibson ranch the Secret Valley group would occasionally spend severe winters here. When the opportunity afforded itself they would work for the Gibsons.

It must be stressed that all, or nearly all, of the preceding described habitation sites were occupied within the memory of the informants, thus need not necessarily represent the aboriginal Wadátkuht habitation pattern. The additional evidence, however, indicates pre-contact occupation for most of these sites. Often the verbal testimony of the informants is substantiated by archaeological evidence. It can be assumed with considerable certainty that the above described habitation sites include a majority of the more important aboriginal Wadátkuht village and camp locations, at least for that period of time just before contact with the white settlers.

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

361 [177] Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites.

[182] The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained.

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. [312] It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^a ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. [551] He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death.

[525] The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. [illegible]3). [172] These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. [224] The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with

Wadátkuht

361 [224] their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuum from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. [881] It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

361 464 [221] The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361 5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.

Wadátkuht

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching for the native houses constructed at this village. Except for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not. 361 [824] [342]

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family getting there first expecting to have no competition unless they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often invited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn-rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility. 22 [171] [423] 22 648

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only among those families too improvident to secure and store an adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households that worked diligently collecting food during the other three 22 185 735

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

[P.89]

Plate 2

●361

857

a. Village of Matŭ

291

[115]

b. Kitty Joaquin, Gladys Mankins, and Ike Northrump at Matŭ

c. Slide at Matŭ

d. House pit at Matŭ

[End Plate 2]

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8). N W 175 177 648 N [361]

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted. W N [182]

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area. W [361]

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing. W [562] [464]

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains. N 175 648

FIRE MAKING

● 372 The Gidü'tikad^{u} had the composite fire drill as did their Nevada relatives.[159] The shaft (kudza') was of any kind of wood, the tip (sawa'gu^{dza}) of sagebrush. A charred tip[160] which I examined was conical and 3½ inches long. Its apex fitted into a 30-inch wooden shaft whose pierced end was strengthened with sinew wrapping. As a usual thing, however, the tip was lashed to the handle. The arrow shaft did not serve as a drill handle.

The hearth (wa^{i}) was usually of soft juniper and had "any number of holes," usually two to four. I saw one[160] two inches in width, fifteen inches in length, and tapering at either end. There were two holes along both margins; one hole had not been used. Sagebrush bark served as tinder, and a little sand or dry dirt was dropped in the hole to encourage friction. The drill was twirled between the palms; the resulting spark was turned at once into the channel where it was blown gently, igniting the tinder. It took about two minutes to produce fire. When women made fire, several took turns rotating the drill.

Fire-making apparatus was carried in the quiver or in a deerskin bag hung from the belt.

On short winter journeys fire was carried in a slow match of braided sagebrush bark.

WEAPONS

411
322 *Bow.*—Every man made his own bow (adi; now gun). The Achomawi are said to have used young oak,[161] but the Gidü'tikad^{u} always used juniper. A straight branch was cut at the end and split, the bark side of the limb becoming the back of the bow.[162] The limb was warmed and scraped. Informants insisted that the bow length was not measured; "they knew the length by looking." It was "not too long, about three feet. The Achomawi had the long bow." The bow was undecorated. It was nocked at either end and had a constricted grip wrapped with deer hide to protect the hand. The grip had no special name; "they just made it that way." The piece of buckskin which served as wrist guard was also unnamed.

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[159] Lowie, SE, 222.

[160] In possession of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Obtained from Fat George (Townsend).

[161] This evidently refers to the western groups or else implies traffic in the wood, since Kniffen (map 1) places the limit of oak slightly east of Fall river.

[162] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 161.

231 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A
224 good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special
training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated.
492 The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago″o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

● 372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^{a}; koso', fire; yakwi'n^{a}, hold in the hand ?)) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

was reported by Pindy, "Take the stem (wood) of sagebrush and twist it with bark. Then light the end and it will keep burning. Keep waving it." 372

The eyeshade was not used, but people traveling in the snow smeared charcoal under the eyes to prevent blindness. 293 751

292
481

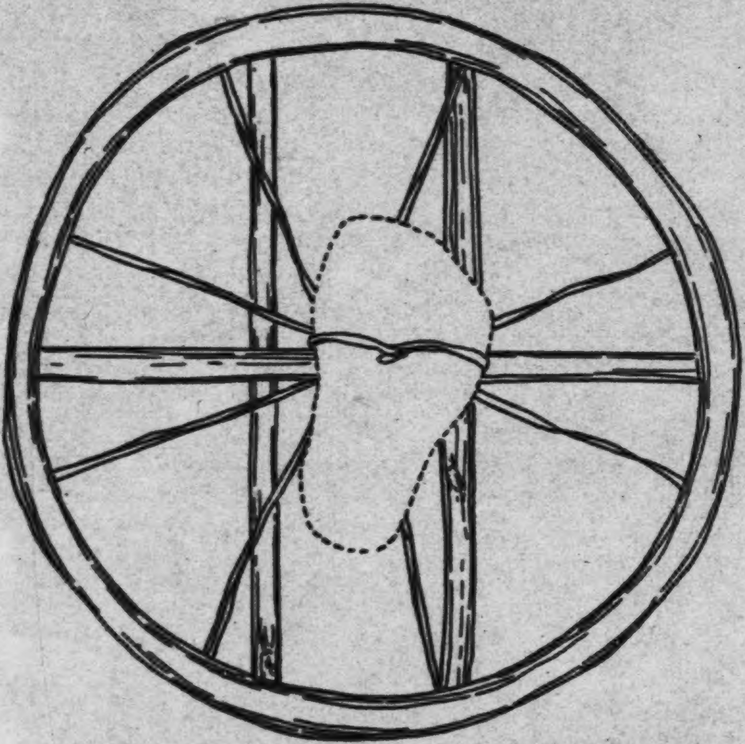

Fig. 10. Snowshoe. Redrawn from a sketch by Charlie Washo.

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes (sikü') were made by men "because they knew how." Women did not wear snowshoes. The frame was sometimes of willow, but usually of service, and was round. Small sticks of the same wood were used in lieu of netting. According to Daisy, two sticks were crossed at right angles and the ends lashed to the frame. The foot was placed over the center, and a thong passing across the instep was tied at either side to the stick. This could not have been very secure, but she denied the use of additional fasteners. Pindy said that the foot was tied three times from toe to instep and

000 interest in its bearing on the ultimate derivation of the Ute tipi. From the geographical location of the Ute we should be inclined to derive their specifically Plains Indian traits from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, but since the tipi of these peoples is of the three-pole pattern the assumption is untenable in this connection. On the other hand, if we knew that the Fort Hall and Lemhi Indians used the four-pole type, we should have a continuous distribution for this method from the Blackfoot and Crow southward to the Ute. The most plausible theory would then be that the Ute derived the tipi from the Wind River Indians, the Wind River from the Northern Shoshoni, and the latter in turn from their Blackfoot or Crow neighbors.

In Wilson's book there are reproduced pictures of Shoshoni lodges; the illustration of a brush-covered conical summer dwelling is especially noteworthy.[1]

FIRE-MAKING.

From the Shivwits I secured a model firedrill (*mårunù+inump*) apparatus (Museum specimen 50.1-8646ab). The hearth (*åx*) was formerly made from the wood of the *qwinúuramp* bush, which grows on the Colorado River, but for lack of this material *samåsiù—ù+ip* wood was substituted. Pits were made all along the hearth. The drill was of mesquite wood, which was also used for the model; unlike the Paviotso specimen to be described below, it consists of a simple shaft.

I did not get any account of the Ute firedrill. One old informant said he had never made fire with it though he had seen others do it. For tinder the Uintah employed the bark of the sagebrush or cedar. People would get fire from a person who had some, laying down a stick before him by way of remuneration. Later they obtained strike-a-lights from the Mexicans.

• 372 [416] [824] The Paviotso braided sagebrush bark into torches and also used it for tinder. Their drill (*qoso''*) had the common Shoshonean characteristic of being composite (50.1-7962a).[2] Model specimens were secured. The standard apparatus was described as comprising a willow hearth with four pits (Fig. 10) and a drill of willow with a sagebrush tip. Doctor Spier calls my attention to the fact that a Havasupai specimen also has four pits. My interpreter naïvely supposed that it would take from half an hour to an hour to make fire with this apparatus. Sam Dick made a shaft of cane for me, stuffing it with charred greasewood as far as the first joint (Fig. 11). His and my interpreter's combined efforts did not quite succeed in producing fire (Fig. 12), but Austin who substituted a sagebrush hearth was even less successful. He said that an old soft hearth of sagebrush would have been better. His drill consisted of a willow shaft to which a nine-inch tip of sagebrush was lashed. Another informant described the tip as being only two or three inches in length. 372

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[1] Wilson, 16, 19, 81, 114, 184.

[2] Lowie, 189.

The composite firedrill of the Wind River has already been described and illustrated in a previous publication.[1] Mr. Burnett, the farmer at Wind River Reservation, told me that Sacajawea had described the use of the bowdrill in connection with fire-making, and this was corroborated by Wawanabidi, who has heard of the Shoshoni using this device. Torches of sagebrush bark were used on the march. The bark was rubbed fine and pressed into one long bundle wrapped tight with bark from the tall sagebrush. One end was lighted in traveling, and the torch would continue to smoulder without either blazing up or going out. On reaching camp, the people would gather some dry material, the slow-match was put in and blown a little, and thus fire was produced. These torches would harbor fire for a long while. 000

372

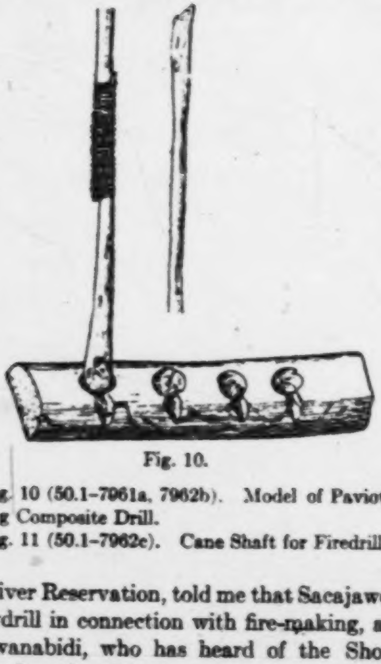

Fig. 10.

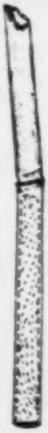

Fig. 11.

Fig. 10 (50.1-7961a, 7962b). Model of Paviotso Fire-making Apparatus, showing Composite Drill.

Fig. 11 (50.1-7962c). Cane Shaft for Firedrill, Paviotso.

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[1] Lowie, 189.

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516

Fig. 12. Paviotso trying to make Fire.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
780a. 3 or 4	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
781. Propulsion: with pole (willow)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
782. With hands and feet	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
782a. Swimmer towed it across stream	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
783. Rope to pull it across stream	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−

N
W
A
561

FIRE MAKING

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*784. Simple drill	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
785. Compound drill	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
786. Cane shaft	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
786a. Willow shaft	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787. Hardwood shaft	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
790. Foreshaft spliced	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
791. Bow drill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
*792. Artemisia hearth	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
792a. Juniper hearth	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
*793. Charcoal in pit	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
*794. Ground stone in pit	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
795. Bark in pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
796. Indefinite number of pits in hearth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*797. Artemisia-bark tinder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
797a. Juniper-bark tinder	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
799. 2 pieces of rock struck for fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
800. Flint	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
804. Bark-bundle slow match	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
805. Bark-bundle torch	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
806. Fire preserved	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
807. By covering with earth	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
808. By burning sage into roots	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N●
W
A
372 ●

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar (paha) and Pestle (poduno)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*809. Stone mortar, large: portable, spheroid	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
809a. Made by known Indians	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
810. In bedrock	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
810a. Made by known Indians	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
811. Made by Coyote or other animals	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
812. Made by prehistoric, mythical Indians	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
813. Portable, irregular	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
814. Portable, slab	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
816. Stone mortar, small	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
817. For paint, medicine, etc.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
819. Wood mortar	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
820. Cavity in log end	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
821. Sunk in ground	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
822. Basket hopper used with mortar	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
824. Stone pestle	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
825. Cylindrical: length (in.), 12-18	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
825a. 18-24	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
826. Mortar and pestle used for: acorns	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
828. Piñon nuts	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
828a. Any seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
412

*Metate (mata) and Muller (tusu)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
829. Thin, oval metate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
829a. Made by known Indians	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−

[p.381]

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

● N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [177] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians." N [773]

[p. 431 (N)]

412

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver. [411]

5. Special Knife-like Saw. A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported. 372

WEAPONS

1. Bow and Arrow. The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows. 411 [322]

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used. [321]

2. Round Shields. Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika. [281]

3. Slat Armor. Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

4. Tunic Armor. Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

5. Clubs. Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

Scarface Charlie reported elk horn clubs made from the end of the antler. Holes were drilled in the small end and a thong tied through and worn over the wrist. This was also used as a horsewhip. Dick Jonas said that only the Hunibuidika used these.

Scarface Charlie and Dick Jonas reported mahogany clubs which also had thongs tied through a hole in the end so that they could be worn on the arm.

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[8] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at
times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and
[372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build
up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The
[803] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grandparents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he
862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece
lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

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[8] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and 226
commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8
inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from 825
back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.*

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for [731]
> the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who
> sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were
> unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen
> along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large [251]
> numbers and tons of them are dried for later use.

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to 237
constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel 301
(osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches
said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the [226]
Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, [262]
the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and [439]
would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for
olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women [756]
wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787]
The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua's. Olive shells, *Olivella*
biplicata, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may [192]
be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water
Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called
potE.

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of 824
plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[49] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar.

pamahapa, bog-rush, *Juncus*. Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wap.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, siwapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal pad- [291]
ding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to
burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [372]

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[49] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

The self bow was used only by boys; adults used the backed bow. 411
Sinew from the leg of the deer was stronger than that from the back 322
and consequently was employed in bow-making. It was chewed until 237
soft and was then warmed and applied along the back of the bow with lengthwise strokes, running from the center to the ends. It was tied at the nocks. The sinew was attached with fish glue (za'gu) "from [381]
inside the sucker. It looks like little white bags. Put it in the fire to make it soft and sticky. Put this glue on the bow and then put on the sinew." There was but one coating of sinew; it was applied in a thin layer so that it would dry quickly. Three hours to a full day were required, otherwise the sinew would peel. The bow was not bent until thoroughly dry.

The bowstring (paga'^{kwi}) was always of two-ply sinew. The leg tendons were dried, shredded, and chewed. The strands were then overlapped and rolled on the thigh. The bow was unstrung when not in use, otherwise "it would lose its spring." One end of the string was fastened permanently and secured with pitch; the free end was noosed.

Arrows.—Arrows were of rose (tsia'b^{i}), currant (poho'nob^{i}), serv- 411
ice (wükwü'kobü),[163] tüa'b^{i}, and possibly of young cat-tail (toib^{ü}).[164] 322
Piudy said that service arrows were used only by boys, but at Beatty I saw duck arrows of that material. Arrows were of three sizes: those for bear and elk were somewhat over three feet in length, perhaps nearer four; those for deer and antelope, about three feet; those for birds, "much smaller."[165]

Arrows for big game bore a zigzag groove. The shaft was twisted in the fingers while the channel was being cut. Such arrows were called bagu'b^{a}; the channel proper was unnamed.

An arrow was smoothed by being rubbed between two grooved stones. It was warmed, then straightened in the teeth. The arrow wrench was not regularly employed; Piudy said, "I saw somebody use one once, but I don't remember who it was." Dr. Sam reported a perforated deer horn wrench for the Silver Lake band. He called it muka'nu, a name applied by Gidü'tikad^{ü} informants to the horn flaker.[166]

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[163] Probably to be identified with Lowie's ugwo'qow^{a}, SE, 245.

[164] "The Achomawi had cane arrows" (P).

[165] The above mentioned duck arrows were about 15 inches long.

[166] The muka'nu figures in several tales as a rod of magical properties, for example, Kelly, tale 10*b*. There is much confusion concerning its translation, and several interpreters were unable to give any description, much less an English equivalent.

411 A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood.

411 The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—
332 one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep
horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew.
321 They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped,
> and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was
> ● 384 about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind;
> most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.[1]

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from serviceberry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.[2]

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tü'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

411 The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *natəmapō̃'naite*, which
534 literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *warđaxe*,
crazy; *ba+itsiretkā'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would
624 carry a long flute (*wá'+i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go
726 round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

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[1] Wilson, 197.

[2] Ibid., 108

226 (wi'ha') with constricted neck was known; it was described as a stiff willow "sock-like" basket, five to eight feet long and three feet in diameter at the mouth. Pindy noted that it was used especially by the Malheur Paiute. A woman held the contrivance in the stream while the men or boys frightened the fish toward her. When she felt a fish enter, she snatched the basket from the water, knocked the fish with a club, and placed it in a burden basket. Fish were not allowed to struggle because they would tire and taste badly.

The bone gorget (wina'in^a) was described by Dr. Sam for the Silver Lake band, but Gidü'tikad^ü informants were openly doubtful or definitely denied its use. The gorget, usable only in lakes or deep streams, was unsuited to the Surprise valley small-creek fishing.

Pindy described a double-pointed fish harpoon (ku'ü) of willow, as long as the stick allowed, possibly eight feet. The point consisted of a forked stick to which bone points were fastened with sinew. This forked point, said to have been detachable, was tied to the shaft with wiha'b' twine. The instrument was thrust, not thrown, and did not leave the fisherman's hand. Pindy said that it was used in Buck creek because "there was more water there." Dr. Sam gave a similar description but added that trout were caught in this manner from a tule blind constructed near the spawning grounds. According to Nannie Ochiho, the fish spear (harpoon?) had a single point of greasewood. It was used for winter fishing through a hole hacked in the ice, presumably of Warner lake.

Fish were not shot ordinarily, but according to Pindy this was sometimes done in small streams near Adel. "If there are many suckers, make greasewood arrows without feathers and shoot the fish."

The same informant described a combined dam and trap which was used about Malheur. A frame was made by placing two rows of sticks together lean-to fashion with the series of projecting tops on the downstream side somewhat lower than on the other. The lower part of the frame was filled solid with willows and formed an effective dam. Fish proceeding upstream tried to jump the barrier and were caught in the trough formed at the top by the projecting crossed rods. This dam was called wa'ma and was used for "fish that were pretty big, but not salmon."

● [386] Red paint and roots, such as ya'pa', hapi'i, and ha'sibui, were
439 given the Achomawi in exchange for fish which had been split and dried. My informants[37] expressly denied that dried fish had ever been

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[37] JB, SW. Pindy denied any traffic in fish.

304 riage. A person tattooed himself, which meant that a paid functionary was eliminated. The desired design was painted in charcoal from a sagebrush fire and the skin punctured with porcupine quills or with a rabbit-bone splinter.

FACE PAINTING

302 ● 386 Both men and women painted the face; it was "just like powder with white people." Pigment was applied to the cheeks in stripes or other simple designs and was used on any dress occasion, particularly for dances but also for war. Red or yellow paint was most common; one or two old women still use red paint (picü'pi), apparently as an article of daily toilet. White paint was prepared but was not used for facial decoration prior to the Ghost Dance.[108]

Red paint and yellow paint (oha'^{a}) were derived from yellow ochre. A deposit is said to occur on the bare hill behind the Harrison Brown ranch at Beatty; Bidwell informants state that it can be found in Big valley to the north of Mount Bidwell, or far to the southeast. When collected the earth was yellow and was used raw as a paint of that color. It was also rubbed on discolored hides to restore the original shade. Yellow paint was obtained from various other sources as, for example, yellow spots (?) on the wild rose. It was simply gathered and smeared on. My informant had not heard of using cat-tail pollen for yellow paint.[109]

For red paint, the ochre was placed in a hole in a rock and a fire kindled on top. The coals were raked off, and after the ochre had cooled, it was brick red. It did not require pounding but was placed directly in a small buckskin storage container (pl. 32*d*). Red pigment was not mixed with fat; grease of any kind was smeared on the face and the paint then added.

A soft brownish-tan material which appears to be chalk rock was used for white paint (tūho'ño^{bi}). The Surprise Valley source was a deposit on Bidwell mountain. The rock was crushed, soaked in water, and drained, whereupon it appeared white. It was stored in cake form and resembled tailor's chalk. It was moistened with the tongue before being applied to the face.

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[108] "They used white paint on the face at the time of the Ghost Dance, not before. They painted the face red and put white designs on top. They knew red paint before that" (P). This is of particular interest in that the use of red and of red and black paint seems to have spread with the Ghost Dance. Spier, Havasupai, 207.

[109] Cf. Loud and Harrington, 158, for the Nevada Paviotso.

Piudy and Daisy had not heard of blue paint, but one informant stated that it occurred in the same place as red paint; another, that it came from the water (a mud ?). Certainly it was not in general use. One or two mentioned a black paint, possibly to be identified with the blue. Joshua stated that it was made from pine pitch. When asked concerning it, Daisy said, "We didn't use pitch. That's what the Achomawi used when they were mourning." 302 386 ●

ORNAMENTS

Beads (tzomi'bi) were made from swan-wing bones, fawn hoofs, deer-toe bones, and rabbit-foot bones. Rabbit feet were placed in hot ashes in order to dry the bones for bead making. Beads were either attached to the dress or strung and worn about the neck and wrists. A necklace frequently consisted of alternate beads and juniper berries. Women wore beads more than men. 301

Flat disk beads, apparently clam shell, were highly prized. "Beads like this are called kwinü'gaᵃ, and we had them for beads a long time ago. They are high priced beads. I paid fifty cents apiece for these, and they even traded a horse for a short necklace of them. The Warm Springs Indians used to come here and bring them" (DB). Piudy spoke of "beads which came from the northeast. If a man thought he was rich he wore some around his wrist." [439]

Finger rings were unknown in the old days. Piercing the nasal septum seems to have been unusual even in early times, but in a Paviotso tale[110] Coyote sticks an ornament through his nose. Minnie Anderson could recall having seen "just one old man with feathers in his nose." 301 304

Ear lobes were often pierced in infancy in order to secure health and longevity for the baby or, according to another account, to prevent its crying.[111] The piercing instrument was a sharp stick of rabbit brush, not a bone awl. Deer grease was smeared on and a small stick worn in the aperture to keep it open. Later this was replaced by a clean stick. A small strip of deer hide was tied in the hole; for some reason or other Minnie thought that shells and beads were never worn pendant from the ear. The Gidü'tikadᵃ pierced the ear only once, but Piudy could remember having seen a Paiute named Egan from "up north" who had holes all along the rim of the ear.

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[110] Lowie, ST, 209.

[111] "Not all persons had the ears pierced. I don't know any reason for punching a baby's ears. I'm a man; you had better ask a woman about that" (P).

755 instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient
painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These prescriptions
are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course
of the curing rites.

→ When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the spec-
755 tators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire.
535 The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round
dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with
the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten
or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire.
According to one description, at the end of the dance all must
shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is
believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the
[776] house and these actions drive it away.

755 The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the
first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman
removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by
a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool
water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where
it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is
essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were
[825] to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness
and loss of power.

755 The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəpˡ) and white (i·bi),
302 is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are se-
●[386] cured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints
are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and
spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry powder,
and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted.
There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the
paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either
red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the
shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no
means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are employed
for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily decoration
with these paints is also common on social occasions. Nevertheless,
the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the
recovery of the sick.

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[881] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab[1] (after naká, "ear")
and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
[304] which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pizhuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

Wadátkuht

to produce powder which was mixed with water before being applied. Black paint, yadubi, was dug from the ground. 386

Skin Dressing. Deer's brains were boiled and dried and put away in a bag and kept until needed for use in tanning hides. When a deer was skinned the hide was left to dry for a bit and then soaked in water for about a week, until the hair began to slip. It was then taken from the water and a deer rib knife, pöwhanuhn°, was used to scrape the loose hair off. 281

The dried brain, which had been stored, was dissolved in warm water and then the hairless hide was put into the solution and rubbed with the hands. This rubbing continued intermittently for several days until water would run through the hide. It was then removed and one end tied to a post and a stick put through the other end and twisted to wring the water from it. The damp hide was then warmed near a fire while it was stretched and pulled with the hands and feet. This latter action thinned and dried the hide. It was then placed over a smokey fire with the skin forming a sort of conical tent over the fire. The smoking process took about one-half hour, and the hide had to be carefully watched at this time until the color was just right. Willow or cottonwood was used for fuel, although oak was sometimes used.

The act of tanning a hide was called tusung oiya. White buckskin was made the same way as was the smoke-tanned buckskin except that the smoking process was not done.

When the hide was first removed from the carcass a rough stone about the size of a mano was used to clean the inner surface. This same stone was used during the tanning to "clean the skum off". Tanning a hide took at least three days, with softening the hide while drying it being the most tedious. The tanning of hides was done by both men and women. [413] [462]

Kitty said her father, Joaquin, smoked hides by sewing a piece of canvas to the skin along one edge. The canvas was pegged to the ground around a smoking fire-pit and the skin pulled up to a cone by a rope thrown over a limb.

Weapons. The best information with respect to the manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, as might be expected, was obtained from Ike who had used them when he was young. The bow was called adúh and was generally made of juniper, wap[1]. It was usually about three feet long, or as Ike said, 411 [115]

PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 501
valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137
the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating 133
waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas. They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians 501
made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to 124
group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occasionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward, while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of 517
reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swimmer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsös of northern 342
Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical 824
houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule 127
balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater, Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P.3]

[P. 5]
[P. 4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 396 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy [182] (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Stillwater marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs [182] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 283 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would [521 223 825] make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

[P.6]

396 When the two tule bundles were tied together and trimmed, Jimmie laid a bunch of cattails across the bow and with a twisted cattail rope tied it to the front of the boat. With more cattail rope he tied similar bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat, this time fastening them with knots instead of by twisting as he had done before. Another small bunch of cattails was laid across the stern of the boat and tied down. Finally the tips of the cattail bunches were tied to the boat along the sides. These bunches were tied along the sides of the boat to make a rim which was used to keep the harvest of duck eggs, ducks, mudhens, etc., from rolling off the boat. Wezzie said that cattails were used for the rim instead of tules because they are much stronger. Then Jimmie stepped into the center of the boat to make a deeper hollow.

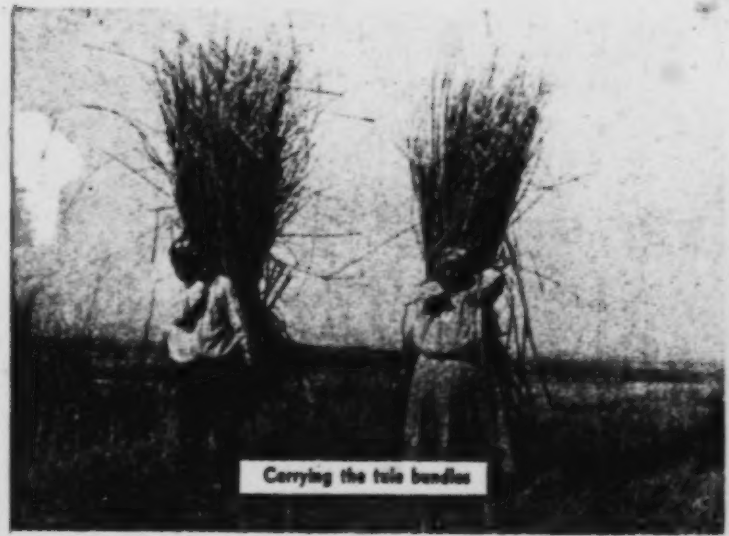
501 The completed boat was eight and one-half feet long and so light that it could easily be lifted by one hand. Jimmie demonstrated how the boat was used in the water. It held his weight without trouble. He said that the boats were always poled and never paddled. Most of the time it was used as a raft to carry the game and the gun and was pushed ahead while the hunter waded. It was not pulled, he said. When the boat was taken from the water it was quite heavy from absorption and would have to be dried out before it could be used again. A boat would last for only one year. Only one person could ride on these rafts and they were used more to carry the waterfowl the hunter had bagged or the eggs which had been collected than for transporting people. Formerly each hunter made his own boat.

MAKING A CATTAIL HOUSE

114 342 The Nevada Artists Association requested the All American Unit of the A. W. V. S. to display an exhibit of Paiute Indian arts and crafts at the California Building in Reno, Nevada, on April 19 and 20, 1958. The exhibit included a cattail house. In the old days such houses were built near the source of the material and were, therefore, common in the valleys near marshy areas. On April 17, 1958, Jimmie and Wezzie George of Stillwater, Daisy Aster, Lily Shaw and Dora John of Wadsworth, Nevada, all Paviotsos, made the house at Wadsworth after which it was transported to Reno. Jimmie and Wezzie George and Daisy Aster had made cattail houses before. Lily Shaw had lived in one but had never seen one made, while Dora John had never seen one before, but had heard of them.

342 The material for the house, which had been gathered prior to building, consisted of eleven willow poles which were over ten feet long, many smaller willow sticks about five feet long, and a large quantity of dried cattails. Pieces of worn blue denim were available to be torn into strips for ties. In the old days dried cattails were used instead of the cloth for tying the elements of the house together.

Lily and Daisy dug small holes in the ground in a circle, loosening the dirt with sticks and knives. In these holes the willow poles for the house framework were set and the dirt packed around them. Lily then trimmed the poles. Daisy and Jimmie tore the pieces of denim into strips for tying the willow frame. Jimmie started tying willow sticks horizontally around the standing poles. This horizontal brace was about two and one-fourth feet above the ground. He used the torn denim strips for ties. While he tied on the reinforcing willows, Daisy steadied the uprights and Lily tore more rags and hung them across the brace where they were handy. Wezzie trimmed the sticks. On the east side they left an opening for a door. Lily said the door was toward the rising sun. When all the cross pieces were secure, a



Carrying the tule bundles

[End Plate 1A]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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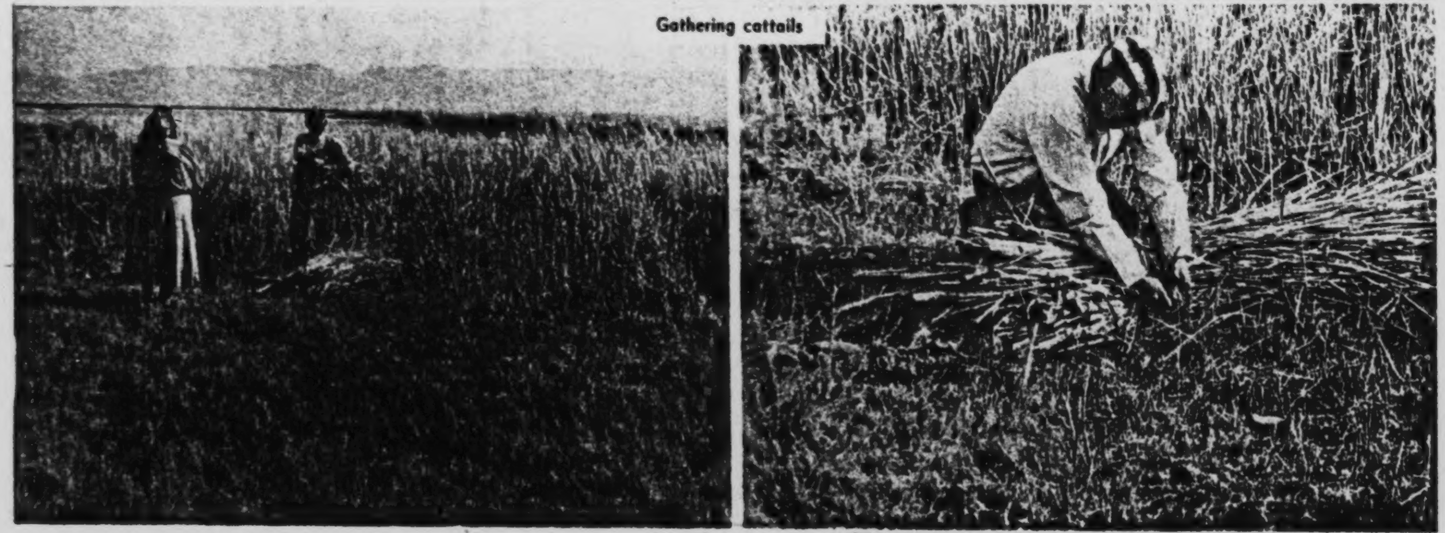

Gathering cattails

[End Plate 1B]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Seeking the cattails

Sorting them to make rope

[End Plate 2A]

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[415]

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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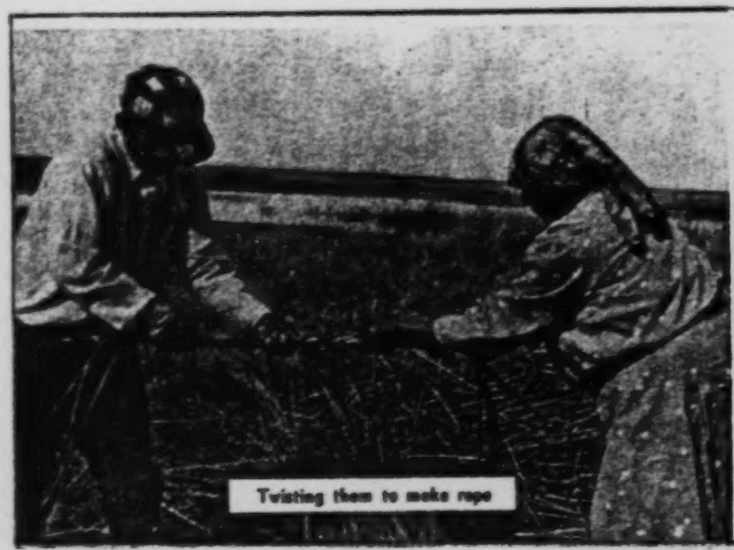
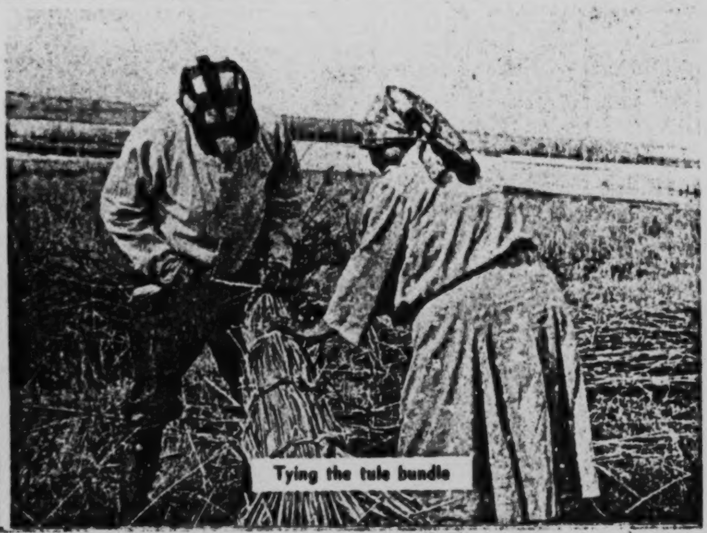

Twisting them to make rope


Tying the tule bundle

[End Plate 2B]

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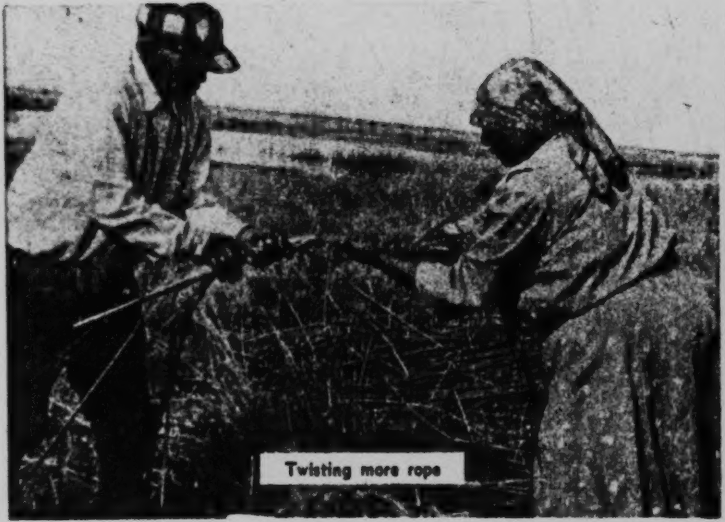
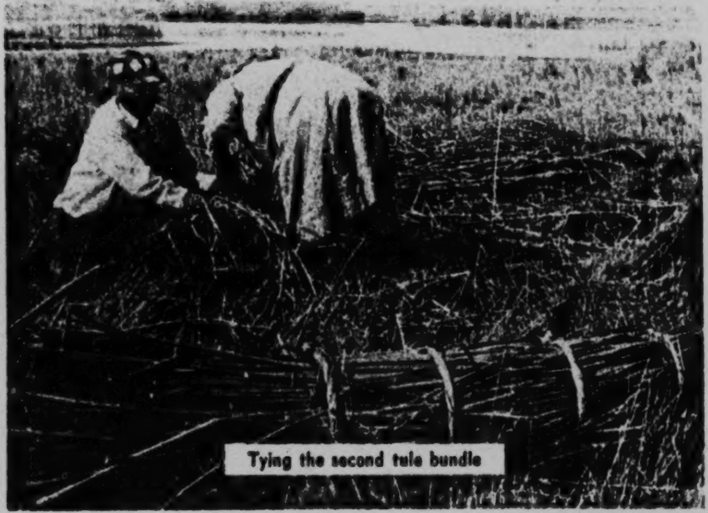


Twisting more rope



Tying the second tule bundle

[End Plate 3A]

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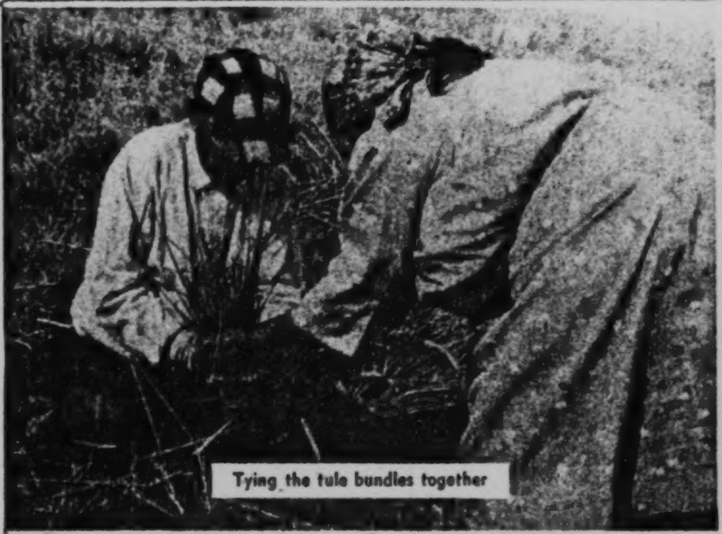
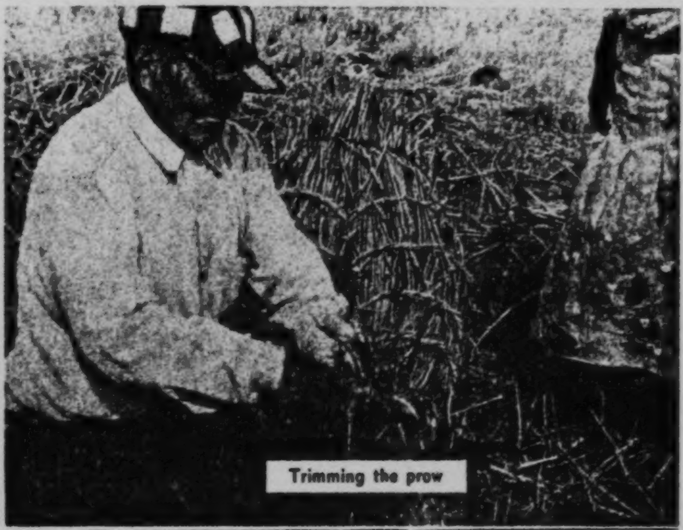
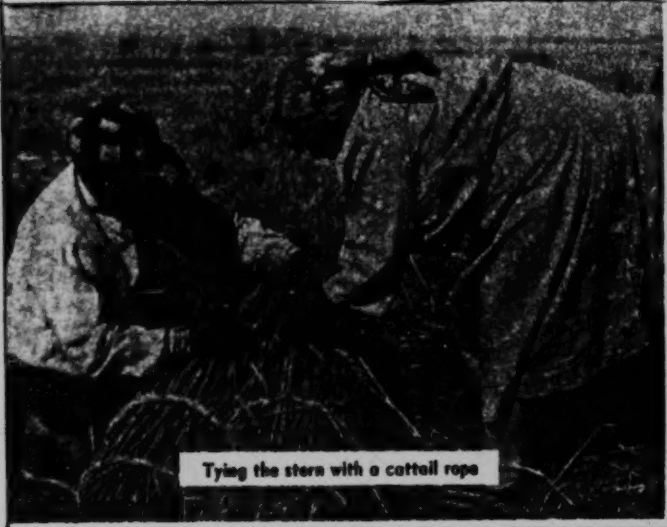
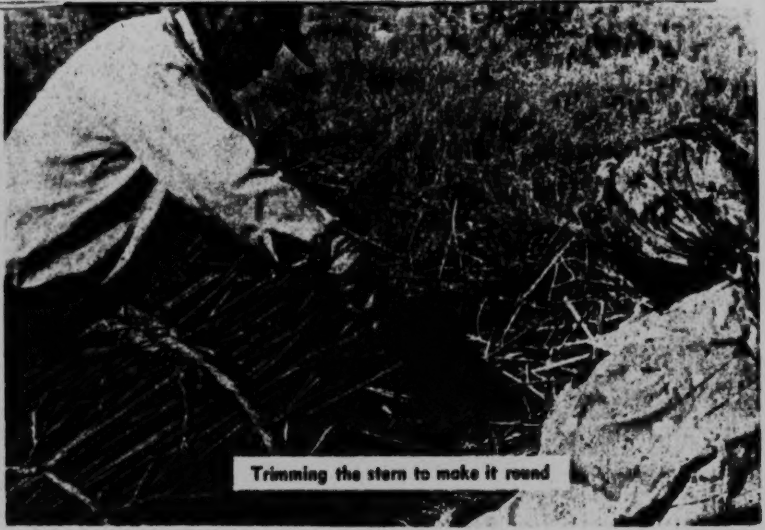

Tying the tule bundles together


Trimming the prow

[End Plate 3B]



Tying the stern with a cattail rope



Trimming the stern to make it round

[End Plate 4 A]

Tying bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat to make a rim

[End Plate 4B]

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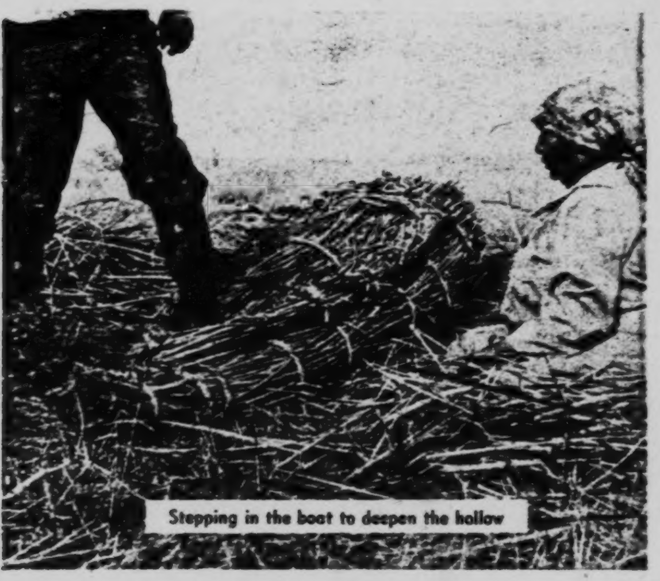

Stepping in the boat to deepen the hollow

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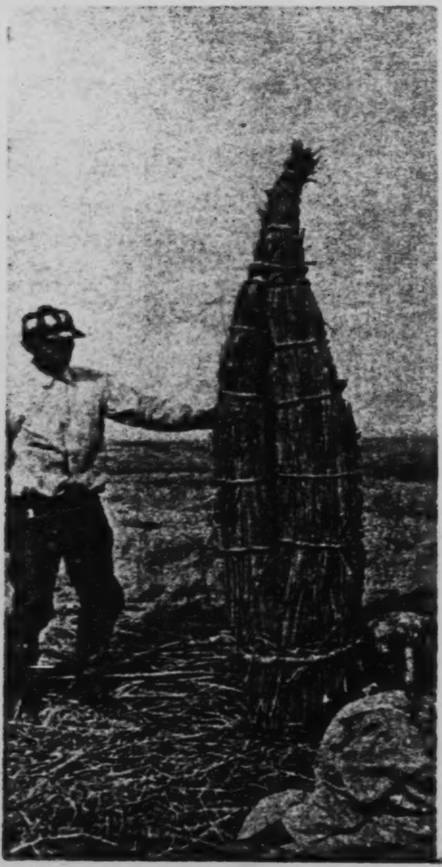

[End Plate 5A]

FIRE MAKING

372 The Gidü'tikad^{a} had the composite fire drill as did their Nevada relatives.[159] The shaft (kudza') was of any kind of wood, the tip (sawa'gu^{dea}) of sagebrush. A charred tip[160] which I examined was conical and 3½ inches long. Its apex fitted into a 30-inch wooden shaft whose pierced end was strengthened with sinew wrapping. As a usual thing, however, the tip was lashed to the handle. The arrow shaft did not serve as a drill handle.

The hearth (wa^{i}) was usually of soft juniper and had "any number of holes," usually two to four. I saw one[160] two inches in width, fifteen inches in length, and tapering at either end. There were two holes along both margins; one hole had not been used. Sagebrush bark served as tinder, and a little sand or dry dirt was dropped in the hole to encourage friction. The drill was twirled between the palms; the resulting spark was turned at once into the channel where it was blown gently, igniting the tinder. It took about two minutes to produce fire. When women made fire, several took turns rotating the drill.

Fire-making apparatus was carried in the quiver or in a deerskin bag hung from the belt.

On short winter journeys fire was carried in a slow match of braided sagebrush bark.

WEAPONS

411
322 *Bow.*—Every man made his own bow (adi; now gun). The Achomawi are said to have used young oak,[161] but the Gidü'tikad^{a} always used juniper. A straight branch was cut at the end and split, the bark side of the limb becoming the back of the bow.[162] The limb was warmed and scraped. Informants insisted that the bow length was not measured; "they knew the length by looking." It was "not too long, about three feet. The Achomawi had the long bow." The bow was undecorated. It was nocked at either end and had a constricted grip wrapped with deer hide to protect the hand. The grip had no special name; "they just made it that way." The piece of buckskin which served as wrist guard was also unnamed.

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[159] Lowie, SE, 222.

[160] In possession of Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Obtained from Fat George (Townsend).

[161] This evidently refers to the western groups or else implies traffic in the wood, since Kniffen (map 1) places the limit of oak slightly east of Fall river.

[162] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 161.

The self bow was used only by boys; adults used the backed bow. 411
Sinew from the leg of the deer was stronger than that from the back 322
and consequently was employed in bow-making. It was chewed until 237
soft and was then warmed and applied along the back of the bow with lengthwise strokes, running from the center to the ends. It was tied at the nocks. The sinew was attached with fish glue (za'gu) "from [381]
inside the sucker. It looks like little white bags. Put it in the fire to make it soft and sticky. Put this glue on the bow and then put on the sinew." There was but one coating of sinew; it was applied in a thin layer so that it would dry quickly. Three hours to a full day were required, otherwise the sinew would peel. The bow was not bent until thoroughly dry.

The bowstring (paga'^{kwi}) was always of two-ply sinew. The leg tendons were dried, shredded, and chewed. The strands were then overlapped and rolled on the thigh. The bow was unstrung when not in use, otherwise "it would lose its spring." One end of the string was fastened permanently and secured with pitch; the free end was noosed.

Arrows.—Arrows were of rose (tsia'b^{i}), currant (poho'nob^{i}), serv- 411
ice (wükwü'kobü),[163] tüa'b^{i}, and possibly of young cat-tail (toib^{a}).[164] 322
Piudy said that service arrows were used only by boys, but at Beatty I saw duck arrows of that material. Arrows were of three sizes: those for bear and elk were somewhat over three feet in length, perhaps nearer four; those for deer and antelope, about three feet; those for birds, "much smaller."[165]

Arrows for big game bore a zigzag groove. The shaft was twisted in the fingers while the channel was being cut. Such arrows were called bagu'b^{a}; the channel proper was unnamed.

An arrow was smoothed by being rubbed between two grooved stones. It was warmed, then straightened in the teeth. The arrow wrench was not regularly employed; Piudy said, "I saw somebody use one once, but I don't remember who it was." Dr. Sam reported a perforated deer horn wrench for the Silver Lake band. He called it muka'nu, a name applied by Gidü'tikad^{a} informants to the horn flaker.[166]

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[163] Probably to be identified with Lowie's ugwo'qow^{a}, SE, 245.

[164] "The Achomawi had cane arrows" (P).

[165] The above mentioned duck arrows were about 15 inches long.

[166] The muka'nu figures in several tales as a rod of magical properties, for example, Kelly, tale 10b. There is much confusion concerning its translation, and several interpreters were unable to give any description, much less an English equivalent.

411 322 237 Arrows were invariably three-feathered, the sole exception being the rarely used unfeathered fishing arrows. Those for water fowl were always feathered; "an arrow without feathers would go no distance." Wing feathers (kwigi) of the sage hen, goose, swan, duck, or crow were split, leaving the very tip intact. They were attached with fish glue or with gum from the juniper or pine. Feathers seem to have been of fair length, five or six inches; if too long they were cut. They were attached about an inch from the end, leaving "just enough space so you could hold the arrow."

[324] The butt was nocked. The other end was slit and a stone point (taka') inserted and held with sinew lashing. There were three kinds of stone points, red (atsa'-taka'), white (toha'-taka'), and black (tuhu'-taka'). The last, black obsidian, was least valued because it broke too easily. The red, also obsidian, was said to "cost like buckskin" because of the scarcity of the stone and because a point could be used over again, even though it fell to the ground.

Arrows for birds and small game such as squirrels, rabbits, and groundhogs, were one-piece, sharpened at the end. They were dried in the sun or hardened in the fire, meanwhile being turned to prevent warping. I understood from Joshua that the shaft was sometimes bored and a greasewood point inserted, but as this was not confirmed by other informants, I may have misunderstood.[167]

According to Joshua, every man knew his own arrow. He decorated it with stripes of red, yellow, or blue, placed just behind the point and halfway down the shaft. Piudy differed as to means but not as to ends, saying, "You can tell your arrow by the feathers. Any kind of feathers could be used. Maybe I used duck; you used another kind. These Paiute never did paint the arrow." Identification of one's arrow was important as it affected division of the spoils.

In shooting, the bow was almost vertical with the arrow to its left. The release was primary, the arrow being grasped between thumb and forefinger, with the thumb superior. When shooting from ambush, the archer sometimes held the bow horizontally to avoid detection. The Achomawi are said to have held the bow horizontally.[168]

According to one informant, a person could "shoot hard from here across the street," a matter of fifty feet. Another informant thought that would be "pretty far." A well-shot arrow penetrated a deer three or four inches.

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[167] Although Lowie, SE, 245, mentions a greasewood point for rabbit arrows.

[168] Informant P.

Arrow poison.—Pindy knew only one kind of arrow poison. It was called watsi' and was used for war and for big game, including deer. It took immediate effect, producing swelling, but not affecting the edibility of the meat. 224 278 411

> Our poison is made from the deer's akwatsi', black looking stuff on the intestines which looks like the liver[169] but is smaller.[170] Cook it in the ashes and let it dry. It smells bad. Stick the arrowpoint in and let it dry, or rub on the poison with the finger. There is no cure, so you have to be careful, especially if your finger is cut.

Joshua claimed that poisoned arrows were kept apart from others; Pindy, that segregation was unnecessary as the dry poison did not rub off.

Joshua enumerated three kinds of poison (ta'iyüp^{a}) for arrows. A person might prepare poison from the spleen (?); he might let a rattlesnake bite the point; or he might insert the arrow in a root of wild parsnip so that it became coated with the juice. Joshua added that poison was not used much for game but principally when one "wanted to kill a man."

Quiver.—Arrows were carried in a quiver (hu'gu'"na) of otter, raccoon, lynx, coyote, or deer skin. It was not made on a framework, but the hide was stretched while wet and allowed to harden in the desired shape. It is significant that a man always made his quiver in spite of the needlework involved. Pindy gave the following directions: 411 237

> Fold the hide lengthwise with the head part down, because that is the small end. Sew up the side and across the bottom (nose). Leave the tail on and let it roll around in the back. Tie one end of the pack string to the fore legs and the other to the hind legs.
>
> This string goes over the right shoulder. Wear the quiver on your back when traveling. Pull it to the left side of your chest to shoot, or, if lefthanded, the other way around.
>
> The quiver can be of untanned deer hide, with the hair on. Cut the hide so the quiver will flare from the bottom; it is straight across the top and slanting on the bottom. You can put fringe on the bottom and the side.

A person carried only one quiver. This contained his bow and upward of ten arrows, although Tom Anderson estimated its capacity at forty. When not in use, the quiver hung inside the house.

Spear.—The spear was apparently unknown in the old days, although Joshua thought otherwise. The spear-thrower was certainly unknown; "They never had anything like that even far back. The old people never even talked about it."

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[169] The interpreter (NH) was positive of this.

[170] Probably the spleen.

Weapons

A warrior's equipment consisted of bow and arrows, and, according to Joshua, one or two spears (tützi'hin^{a}) four or five feet long. The latter, tipped with 4½ inch obsidian blades, were used for close combat. Other informants thought the spear was not old;[241] "Why should we want to use a spear?" War arrows were frequently dipped in poison.[242] There was no war club. The poggamoggan[243] was known to informants, but was explicitly attributed to other tribes. Thus, "That's not Paiute; that's from a different people." Piudy gave its name as tikwi't^{e}-ponoa (ponoa, rock) and correctly attributed it to the Shoshone.[244] It was not used by the Bannock. 411

The Gidü'tikad^{a} deny the use of body armor but claim that the Paiute around Yainax and Burns used to wear elk-hide armor. Dr. Sam's brief description follows: 713

> I once saw a war dress. It was a hide protector, tied together on the back, with wings along the side of the head to keep off arrows. They tried to shoot the person who wore it under the arm where there was no protection.

Joshua had heard of such armor but had not seen any. He called it topü^{kwasü} (topü', shield; kwa'sü, shirt).

The shield was generally described as circular and "almost the width of the body." Dr. Sam reported a fan-shaped affair. The shield was made from the neck part of elk or deer hide, usually the former. The skin was dehaired, soaked, stretched,[245] and set by the fire to harden. The shield was not made on a wooden frame, but the Klamath are said to have used willows covered with hide. A warrior carried the shield in his hand or attached it to his left forearm by means of loops on its back. 714

Warriors probably fought naked, although Piudy thought that they removed their clothing only when fighting the whites. The Wishram speak of naked Paiute[246] and of capturing an Oregon Paiute who "had no shirt on, he was naked."[247] There seems to be no tradi-

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[241] Although the Wishram are said to obtain lances from the Paiute via the Wasco. Spier and Sapir, 221.

[242] P. 145.

[243] Which de Angulo incorrectly attributes to these Paiute, 320.

[244] Lewis, NS, 191.

[245] Joshua said that the hide was stretched by skewers thrust through marginal holes. Other informants could not give details of manufacture, but when discussing skin-working in general, none was familiar with the skewer technique.

[246] Spier and Sapir, 222, 223.

[247] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 211.

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of
237 stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it
714 first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

• 411 Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ârō*) by the Paviotso,—
[824] *tsAsaBi*, *poγo'nōB‘*, and *ugwo'qowᵉ*, the last-mentioned being used for
arrows (*poñossᵉ*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso
[463] made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war.
[237] The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the
kuyúi fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamûBi*) twisted on
the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were
[237] barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip
of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point.
[237] Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one
or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper
[824] wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs
[531] traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirûpiᵗ*). The arrow-head was
sometimes smeared with poison (*nötúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized with the thumb and index in shooting.

[illegible]ns, 34.

[1] Reed, 26, 79, 83.

[3] Powell, 26.

441

A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood.

[824]
[78]
000

The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew. They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind; most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.[1]

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from service-berry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.[2]

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tü'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *naiəmapṓ'naite*, which literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *warȧaxe*, crazy: *ba+itsiretkă'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would carry a long flute (*wá'+i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

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[1] W[illegible] 107.

[2] [illegible]

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves. Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually wore only the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometimes donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest. As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it that way. 291

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the women a basket-cap (also like the Pits). [302]

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added : one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly Californian mocassin. [171] [281]

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain and snow.

WEAPONS OF HUNTING AND WAR.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different : the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the arrow on the right hand side. 411 ● [411]

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 [411] For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[714] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

AGRICULTURE.

241 222 [412] They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

FOODS.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region[1]. But

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[136] [318] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
— Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
° Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

N W A 224

N [291]

N W A [411]

N A [736]

ELEMENTS	Ta	Kl	K2	Kb	Tc	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wl	Ki	AE
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°2a. Communal	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	—
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°5. Into enclosure	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. Into enclosure with pit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
°8. Into trap, net, or snare	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
°9. With fire	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	+
°10. With dogs	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
11. In relays	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12. Shamanism	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13. Ambush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+
14. In pit beside trail	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	—
16. In pit around which brush fence	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
17. Single hunter stalks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Runs down	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°19. Disguise	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+
20. Deer head	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
22. Brush carried	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23. Poison arrow	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
24. Fire to signal hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	—
25. Formal chief	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
26. Informal chief	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
°27. Magic	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	+
°Antelope Hunting														
°27a. Communal hunt	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
29. Solid brush fence	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
°29a. Brush fence around hill	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—
°30. Brush at intervals	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	
31. Wings	—	+	—	+	+	·	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	
°32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	+
36. Fire	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
°37. Notched stick	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—
°38. Grass-stuffed hide	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
39. Hoof rattle	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	—

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 224

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ak
40. Wand	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
47. Antelope mask	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
48. Round dance	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
49. Stumbling taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
50. Loss of objects taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
53. Messengers to antelope	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
57. Fires to drive	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
58. Shaman in corral	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
59. Shaman "closes gate"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
60. Special archer	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
64. Drive	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
65. Past ambushed hunters	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
66. With dogs	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
67. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Ambush beside spring	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
73. Disguise	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
74. Antelopeskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
75. Brush	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
77. Drive	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
78. Past hidden hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
79. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
80. With dogs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
81. Into enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
83. Through V-fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
88. Entire skin used	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. Fire to signal hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
91. Magic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−

NA [156 276]

NWA [575]

N [231]

NWA [41]

[p.367]

)

N
W
A
11

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	Ya	K1	K2	Ha	Fo	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ta	Wd	Ki	AE
WEAPONS														
Bow (adö)														
*933. Self bow (sorondö)	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	+
934. Length (ft.): 3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
934a.4	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*935. Middle of bow sinew wrapped	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	+
936. Of willow	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
936a.Of juniper	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
*937. Sinew-back bow (nadummadö or atsa adö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
938. Length (ft.): 3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
938a.4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
939. Width (in.): 1 or 2	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
939a.More than 2	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*940. Double curve	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
*942. Of juniper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
943. Of serviceberry	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
944. Sinew in 1 layer	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
944a.2 layers	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
944b.3 layers	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
*945. Glue: of horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
946. Of fish	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
946a.Pitch	·	·	·	·	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
947. From greasewood	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*948. Horn bow	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
949. Sheep horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
950. 2 horns end to end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
951. Sinew backed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
952. Horn-backed wood bow	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
953. Bowstring: sinew	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
954. Vegetable fiber	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
955. No. of ply: 2	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
955a.3	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
956. Position of bow: approx. horizontal	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
957. Slanting	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
958. Approx. vertical	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
*959. Wristguard	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
*960. Bow designs	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+
*960a.Paint	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
Arrows														
*961. Arrow without foreshaft	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
961a.Length (ft.): 2	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
962. 2½	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
962a.3	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
963. Hardwood	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
964. Sharpened point	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*965. Crossed sticks near tip (for birds)	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
*966. Stone head	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*967. Arrow with foreshaft	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
*967a.Rosewood shaft	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
*968. Cane shaft	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
*969. Hardwood shaft	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*970. Hardwood foreshaft	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
*970a.Greasewood	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
*971. Plain wooden point	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
*972. Wrapped for ducks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	+
*973. 4 cross sticks (for birds)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
*975. Stone point	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
976. Bone point	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
977. Horn point	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

[p.384]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Hn	Ye	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
984. Or 4	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
988a. Meat, decayed	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
989. Liver	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
•990. Gall	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
•991. Decayed blood from heart	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
992. Rattlesnake poison	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
993. Red ants	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
994. Special plant: tavisigup	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
•995. Arrow release, primary	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Arrow Straightener														
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
•997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•1004. Perforated horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
•1005. Mt.-sheep horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
1006. Antelope horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
•1006a. Several holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
1008. 2 graduated holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1009. 3 graduated holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
•1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1009b. 2 holes	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
Quiver (hugutsa)														
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "peeling" off	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, resewed	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
•1013. Foxskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Fawnskin	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
•1017a. Piece of buckskin	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
•1021. Arrow pulled under arm	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miscellaneous Weapons														
•1021a. Atlatl	·	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1022. Thrusting spear	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
•1023. Shield (topa)	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+

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[278]

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413

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[p.385]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
● 411

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	Kl	Ez	Hs	Sn	Pn	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1024. Rawhide	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1025. Wooden rim	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1026. Feathers attached	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1027. Armor	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1028. Club, stone headed (tëruimama)	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−
1028a. Stone in buckskin on end of thong	·	+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1029. Plain rabbit club only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1031. Sling (takwi'wa'wagö) as toy (cf. 1028a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1031a. For war and hunt also	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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[462]

BASKETRY

	Yo	Kl	Ez	Hs	Sn	Pn	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1032. Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1032a. Fish traps made by men	·	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Materials

	Yo	Kl	Ez	Hs	Sn	Pn	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1033. Willow for coil foundation (tötsie'hwa)	•+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1034. Willow for twine foundation (tötsie'kwiza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Coil and twine weft of willow sapwood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035a. Tule	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•−	+	•+	+	+	−	+
1039. Inner willow bark brown	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1039a. Fern roots for dark brown	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1040. Pussywillow black	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1040a. Material buried to dye	·	·	·	•+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	−	−
1041. Red feather quills	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1042. Yellow feather quills	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1043. Strands scraped through hole in can	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
1044. Applied decoration: black paint	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1045. Red paint	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
1046. Yellow paint	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

Basket Weaving

	Yo	Kl	Ez	Hs	Sn	Pn	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1048b. Wicker	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1049. Coiling	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−
1051. 1 rod	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1052. 2 rods	−	+	−	•+	−	−		−	−	+	+	−	+	−
1053. 3 rods	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1054. 2 large, 1 small rod	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1055. 4 rods	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1056. Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1057. Counterclockwise	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1057a. Split stitch	·	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1058. Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1059. Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1060. Diagonal twine	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1061. 3-strand	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1064. Bead decoration, aboriginal	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1064a. Modern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1065. Feathers woven in	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−

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415

Basket Forms

	Yo	Kl	Ez	Hs	Sn	Pn	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1067. Twined seed beater (taiba)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.386]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 412 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).

W [412] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. KH: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.

883a. KH: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).

890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). KH: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.

906. Tg: DS insisted that the Tagü chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.

909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.

N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

● N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).

935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).

N [172] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m). AE: Sinew-backed

[411]

[P.432(A)]

A 411 bow obtained by trade from "down below" in California. The Achomawi traded sinew for the finished bows, which informant called "hickory." Sinew glued on with fish glue.

N 411 940. Owens Valley: Steward, 259, cites Chalfant's account of (mountain) "mahogany bows with reverse curves at ends."

942, 945. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

946. KH: Sinew was wrapped not glued (AL).

948. Paviotso: "....the powerful recurved bow of mountain-sheep horn was not uncommon" (Curtis, 15:71).

953. To: - (LP).

954. To: - (BS).

960. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Ki: Undecorated (Kelly, 142).

960a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

Arrows

961, 966. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 262).

967. Paviotso: Arrows without foreshafts (Curtis, 15:71). Ts: Shaft usually made of chokecherry; some cane.

968. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, k,l).

969. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, b,c).

970, 970a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47,a).

971. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,a).

972. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,d). Sa: Arrows for ducks not wrapped, as in Owens Valley, but a feather was tied near point to keep arrow from sinking.

973. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,c).

975. None of my informants made arrow points. For the most part their knowledge of types was gained from arrow points they picked up. In private and public collections in the area several types occur. The 2-notch type seems to have been the most usual.

976. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 262).

W [411] 985. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

988. Owens Valley: Used a yellow mineral (Steward, 263). Ki: + (Kelly, 145): spleen, wild parsnip, and rattlesnake poison.

990. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

991. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). K2: W [278] Decayed blood was mixed with a yellow berry which gets ripe in September.

992. Wa: + (Curtis, 92; Smith, notes).

995. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

996. Ts, Pa: Have secondary release, arrow held to string with thumb and index finger but middle and fourth fingers are used to help pull on the bowstring. Wa: Informant recognized that the Washo have same arrow release as Ishi had (University negative 15-5957).

Arrow Straightener

N 413 W [419] 998. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, pl. 4, fig. 1, shows oval straighteners as described by other Paiute). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[p.432(B)]

Washo NT20
Achomawl NS5

N
413
[172]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

N
415

Quiver

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).

1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.

1017. Ki: - (BA).

1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W
[415]

1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

● N
411
[172]
W
[411]
A
[411]

1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).

1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tökuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

N
[281]

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N
285

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tö: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N
[172
177]

1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

N
[172]

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

N
[422]

[p.433(A)]

285 411 1103. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 273). Wd: - (BJ).

1114. Paviotso: Mush bowl (Lowie, 233-234, fig. 13,b).

1115. When baskets of one type were made by both coiled and twined technique the generic name was used for both, except when they were distinguished by adding adjectival words "tötsic'kwa," meaning coiled, or "töwic'kwina," meaning twined.

1117. Kl, 2: Field Museum has two pitch-coated coiled food bowls from Pyramid Lake (Steward, 271).

1118. Tg, Wd: Boiling basket pitched on outside then placed in hole so it would not fall over.

1119. Ki: + (Kelly, 123).

1120. See note 1115.

1121. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

WEAVING

Skin Blankets

286 [172] 1140a, 1141a, 1142a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50, 51).

1144. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 228). Steward, 270, describes this type for Death Valley Shoshoni.

1144a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270).

1145. Ki: Kelly, 137, confirms use of vertical loom.

Feather Blankets

[287] 1156, 1160. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 50).

1157. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 270). Ki: - (Kelly, 136).

Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

1165. Paviotso: "For babies, blankets of sagebrush were made" (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1168a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 56).

Nets

1180, 1180a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 85).

Cordage

283 1184a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pls. 36,h, 73).

1185a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73, pls. 35, 73). Ki: + (Kelly, 137).

1186-1190. Paviotso: "Used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (toibi) to make rope." "My interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends" (Lowie, 233).

[172] 1189. Lovelock Cave: Rope (tule bark) found in cave had a right or clockwise twist, whereas

[p.434(B)]

524
525 1686. When the counters are equally divided between the two sides they are called "raw" (sayu); counters which are won are considered "cooked" (kwazup). After one side has lost all its "raw" counters it is given the "raw" ones of the opponents. To win the bet, one must have all the "cooked" counters.

4-Stick Guessing Game

1691. Kl: Played by Pit River Indians; old Paiute at Pyramid Lake did not play it.

1693. Sa: The game wotatzi is played at Winnemucca as it is played elsewhere, except 2 instead of 4 sticks are used.

1706. Wd: 8 or 12 sticks are used.

1710. Tö: Spectators can place a bet on either side they wish.

4-Stick Dice

1714. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called nâBoyo`'in.

1725. Sa: The 4-dice game in which dice are struck on ground is similar to navokoi, yet is a separate game.

Many Dice

1734. Kü: - (GN).

8-Stick Dice

1765. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called wo‘gukoratsa`ñen; 6 cane dice used. Wd: BJ knew this game from Küpa and thought it was known by Wada in old days. SC had never heard of it.

1777. Kü, Tö: When counting points, white was counted everywhere except with Küpa and Tövusi; with these exceptions scoring was about the same.

1778. When only 2 are playing each is allowed 2 moving counters. In such a case, if all red or all white are thrown both counters move 8 places, the same is true if 7 of one color come up. For throws less than 7, only one counter is moved. These rules also hold if 2 partners oppose 2 others. If more than 4 players, each gets the indicated number of moves for only 1 counter (PS).

1788. To: Some games believed to have had 18 spaces. Tö: 20 spaces. At: Some games had 32 spaces.

Archery

524 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

411 1795, 1796. Paviotso: Lowie, 265, learned of arrows being shot and thrown at target, usually an arrow previously thrown.

1810. Kü: "Bannocks threw long arrows but not these Paiutes" (GN).

[p. 438(A)]

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131
also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden 101
came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty
huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that
"Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the
Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were
used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott,
Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer
from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians
around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January,
1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback;
no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, [231]
p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met
"Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411]
ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid.,
p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging
species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them
fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes
River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had [648]
been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course
of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living
opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison
notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency
frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco
on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally [262]
on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, [291]
the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses [231]
or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411]
bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859,
Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648
in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721
being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181]
friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, [177]
thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington
states that prior to 1859 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and
Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only
after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS
#1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411 726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

[161 162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

415 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the
285 size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of
[281] deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water.
281 The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

412

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was [411] carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver.

5. *Special Knife-like Saw.* A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was 372 usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported.

WEAPONS

1. *Bow and Arrow.* The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to 411 those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply [322] sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows.

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt [321] through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used.

2. *Round Shields.* Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika [281] using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika.

3. *Slat Armor.* Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

4. *Tunic Armor.* Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

5. *Clubs.* Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

Scarface Charlie reported elk horn clubs made from the end of the antler. Holes were drilled in the small end and a thong tied through and worn over the wrist. This was also used as a horsewhip. Dick Jonas said that only the Hunibuidika used these.

Scarface Charlie and Dick Jonas reported mahogany clubs which also had thongs tied through a hole in the end so that they could be worn on the arm.

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

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224
[824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the
[226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224
[115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178]
[231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

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[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

-824 sohI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to so in com-
[285] position; for example so-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sihopi, sihupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] taEpi. greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-
like twigs are peeled and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook
[262] (chetetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in
the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch
[226] in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish
bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tia'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, taima, is gathered, inclosed
in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and
[302] sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for
[291] sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-iump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227/ tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from
the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*.
[411] The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow
points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was
[172] a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is
very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wokwohobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuis, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem
the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in
[227] making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a [illegible] net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

[103] After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] [133] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. [114] All mention of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

● [411] Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

Wadátkuht

to produce powder which was mixed with water before being applied. Black paint, yadubi, was dug from the ground. 386

Skin Dressing. Deer's brains were boiled and dried and put away in a bag and kept until needed for use in tanning hides. When a deer was skinned the hide was left to dry for a bit and then soaked in water for about a week, until the hair began to slip. It was then taken from the water and a deer rib knife, pöwhanuhn°, was used to scrape the loose hair off. 281

The dried brain, which had been stored, was dissolved in warm water and then the hairless hide was put into the solution and rubbed with the hands. This rubbing continued intermittently for several days until water would run through the hide. It was then removed and one end tied to a post and a stick put through the other end and twisted to wring the water from it. The damp hide was then warmed near a fire while it was stretched and pulled with the hands and feet. This latter action thinned and dried the hide. It was then placed over a smokey fire with the skin forming a sort of conical tent over the fire. The smoking process took about one-half hour, and the hide had to be carefully watched at this time until the color was just right. Willow or cottonwood was used for fuel, although oak was sometimes used.

The act of tanning a hide was called tusung oiya. White buckskin was made the same way as was the smoke-tanned buckskin except that the smoking process was not done.

When the hide was first removed from the carcass a rough stone about the size of a mano was used to clean the inner surface. This same stone was used during the tanning to "clean the skum off". Tanning a hide took at least three days, with softening the hide while drying it being the most tedious. The tanning of hides was done by both men and women. [413] [462]

Kitty said her father, Joaquin, smoked hides by sewing a piece of canvas to the skin along one edge. The canvas was pegged to the ground around a smoking fire-pit and the skin pulled up to a cone by a rope thrown over a limb.

Weapons. The best information with respect to the manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, as might be expected, was obtained from Ike who had used them when he was young. The bow was called adúh and was generally made of juniper, wap^{i}. It was usually about three feet long, or as Ike said, 411 [115]

Wadátkuht

411 "pretty short". The juniper was cut and left to cure before it was made into a bow. Ike never mentioned backing the bows with sinew, so the assumption is that the Wadátkuht bow was a simple one.

[283] Bowstrings were made from sinew, tihiya tamu', "deer string" (Kitty called deer tuhu'^{ya}). Kitty said that bowstrings were made from sagebrush bark and sinew twined together. [824] She also said that bows were made from split willow (sagap^{i}) which was bent and dried. She said that chokecherry wood also could be used for bows.

[824] Arrows, pamos^{a}, either could be made of serviceberry, taúbui, or arrowcane, wakokob. When serviceberry was used a straight limb was taken and dried with the bark on. When the limb was dry the bark was scraped off. Crooked serviceberry limbs were straightened with one's teeth and mouth. The arrowshaft was sighted along its length to determine its straightness. The arrowshafts made from serviceberry had the undesirable propensity to return to their original crooked condition. When this occurred they had to be heated by holding them close to the fire, or by heating them on hot stones. They were then held in the teeth and bent straight again. [413] Arrowcane arrowshafts were better than serviceberry shafts because they remained straight. Arrows from arrowcane were straightened on a rounded stone that had been heated in the fire. It was not stated whether the stone was grooved, or not. Kitty said that arrows were heated near the fire and straightened with either the teeth or the feet used as the fulcrum point. The act of straightening arrows is called tapat^{u}, "to straighten".

Kitty and Ike were in agreement that all arrows had three feathers, although if a person did not have enough feathers he could use two on the arrow. Three feathers "carry arrow [237] straight". Duck wing feathers and sagehen tail feathers were best for feathering arrows. Though not stated, it is presumed that the feathers were radially attached.

[824] Greasewood and serviceberry were used for foreshafts of arrowcane arrows. The foreshafts often were rubbed in sap running from a freshly broken juniper limb. This sap was smeared on one end of the foreshaft, the foreshaft was pushed into the arrowcane shaft, and sinew then was bound around the base of the shaft to securely bind the foreshaft into the arrow shaft.

Wadátkuht

When shooting Ike held the bow vertically and used the primary release, that is to say, he gripped the arrow at the nock with his thumb and the second knuckle of his forefinger. He said that the Pit River men held the bow at a 45° angle, with the top of the bow to the left. 411

Kitty said that the quiver, called hugut^{na}, was a tanned wildcat, coyote or similar-sized animal skin which had been case skinned. The exterior of the quiver might be decorated with beads. Ike spoke of seeing a Pit River man with a coyote skin quiver. [415] [531]

Arrowheads were called daká, and according to Kitty were chipped with another piece of "flint". The use of stone against stone suggests percussion flaking, ordinarily not suitable for flaking delicate arrowpoints. [324]

With respect to slings Kitty was in no way familiar with them. Ike, on the other hand, was able to give a fair description of this weapon. It was called pagas^{i} tutabin^{o}, "String hit", and was made entirely out of leather. The leather patch was diamond-shaped, and one thong had a loop to go around the middle finger. The end of the other thong was held between the thumb and forefinger.

Stone Implements. Both the portable mortar and the bedrock mortar were used. The two names given for mortar are tutábin and pahá, and may or may not differentiate the portable from the bedrock mortar. The pestle was called poduhń. Long, cylindrical pestles with rounded ends were used at the bedrock mortars at the winter village of Matá. 415 412

The metate was called matá and the mano was called tusu. The mano was held with both hands and pushed back and forth with a snappy wrist action. When a metate became too slick through use a sharp, broken stone was used to peck the surface. This purposely roughened area on the metate was called tapongin. The stone used to peck the pits into the smooth surface was called tutápongin. Once the metate was sharpened it was "good for a long time, good for all winter".

A special biscuit-shaped hand stone for removing husks from seeds on a metate was called tutákongin. The action of rubbing the husks from certain seeds (e.g., the inner skin of acorns, and hulls from sunflower and other seeds) was known as tutakong.

by drying in the sun. Nowadays there is little root gathering, one very good reason being that the plants are no longer to be found. In May of 1930, however, a party of older Gidü'tikadᵃ women crossed the Warners to Davis creek[55] and there spent several days digging ya'pa'. 222 252

The digging stick in use today is a straight iron bar about three feet in length, pointed at one end, the other end turned in a loop or else provided with a wooden cross-piece as a handle. The old digging stick (bodo') was a straight piece of mountain mahogany (tu·pi) sharpened to a point with a stone knife or by being rubbed on a stone and hardened in the fire. Sometimes a limb at right angles made a handle of sorts, but ordinarily the stick was unhandled and the butt bound with buckskin to protect the hand. In digging, the butt rested against the body, one hand on it, and the other part way down the shaft. From demonstrations, the technique was one of pushing rather than of thrusting. 412

Roots of various members of the parsley family figured prominently in Paviotso diet, particularly ya'pa' (*Carum oreganum* Wats.), commonly known as epos. Quantities of it were gathered from the hills east of Surprise, and from the flats near Bear ranch in the south end of the valley. The roots were rubbed on an open twine tray to divest them of their skins and were subsequently prepared in a variety of ways. They might be eaten immediately, raw or boiled, or else dried in the sun and stored. Dried ya'pa' was boiled and sometimes pounded. Most kinds of dried roots were soaked and eaten without being either pounded or cooked. 251 252

Ha·pi"ⁱ was a root of some importance and was formerly plentiful in the hill country east of Surprise, although today it is difficult to find a single specimen. It is a *Lomatium*, probably *L. canbyi*, a species known from eastern Oregon. The roots were cooked in the earth oven, either fresh or dried. Ha·pi"ⁱ, like ya'pa', was skinned on a basket tray and dried in the sun. Tu·nu"yu (*Lomatium leptocarpum* C. and R.) was also found east of Surprise as well as near Bear ranch and in Fandango valley. The flat west of Bear ranch derived its native name, Tu·nu"yu-kama"ᵃ, from this root. Tu·nu"yu was eaten uncooked, either fresh or dried, and when stored, was mixed with ya'pa'. The roots are said to have spoiled if they became damp.

Hu"nibui (*Lomatium macrocarpum* C. and R.) also was eaten either fresh or dried. Charlie Washo thought it could be eaten raw

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[55] Achomawi territory.

All braiding was three strand. I was unable to verify the statement that women wore the hair loose over the shoulders.[105] Matrons and girls were not distinguished by hairdress. 302

Deer tallow was frequently used as a dressing, particularly by unmarried youths. Skunk grease never served this purpose.

Two kinds of hair brush (wuna'ts^{a}) were used, grass root and porcupine tail. The former was made of some kind of roots gathered in the creek or of rye-grass roots. Roots long enough to be doubled on themselves were selected, bunched, wetted, doubled over, and tied. When dry they were cut even at the end and the butt wrapped with hide. The porcupine-tail brush was called zagwū'd-wuna'ts^{a} (zagwū'd, porcupine). The skin was removed, stuffed with grass or shredded sagebrush bark, and allowed to dry. It was bent slightly and the edges sewn together. The quills were evened by burning. 302 412

A brush illustrated on plate 32a is about seven inches in length. The stuffing is untwisted sagebrush bark, doubled lengthwise, and wrapped with the same material. The filler is held in the skin covering by a cat-stitch lashing of sagebrush bark in two-ply twine. The sewing strand is knotted at the start and at the finish is secured in the transverse bark wrapping.

Youths and girls plucked the eyebrows for aesthetic reasons.[106] Ordinarily they used the finger nails. One would lie down and ask a friend to perform the service. The beard was also plucked. Informants insisted that men were beardless in the old days. 302

TATTOOING

Tattooing (naba'wits; also pawi'ts, the verb) was indulged in by both men and women but primarily by the latter. Nowadays the Paiute rarely tattoo the face,[107] although they may have done so in the old days. I have seen but one woman so tattooed; she bore four or five vertical marks on the chin and a diagonal line running down from each corner of the mouth. Informants state that Paviotso at Nixon and Reno tattoo the face, usually with vertical chin markings; the Gidū'tikad^{a} more frequently decorate the upper arm or forearm with simple motifs such as straight lines. Young girls and women may be seen today with initials, etc., on the arm. 304

Children were not tattooed; tattooing apparently had no connection with puberty and might take place either before or after mar-

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[105] Reported by de Angulo, 319.

[106] "They learned this from the whites" (P).

[107] "The Gidū'tikad^{a} didn't like that kind; they said it spoiled them" (DB).

The mouthpiece (na'bitsimᵘ) was made of rose. Minnie reported a hollowed elder stem; Daisy thought this material would be too soft, although it is known to have been used by the Klamath.[156] 276 324

Chipped implements.—Chipped implements were largely obsidian. The stuff is scattered plentifully, and informants deny any particular source, saying that pieces were picked up "just anywhere." An enormous deposit occurs at the south end of Cowhead lake.[157] Quantities were evidently transported from here to the camps on the north shore where piles of rejects may be seen, but these may antedate Paviotso occupancy. As the lake recedes, many artifacts are found in the sand, and some excellent specimens, including knives and a bewildering array of points, have been found in the neighborhood. 412 ● 324

Knives (wi'hi, applied to anything for cutting) were formerly two sizes. They were used for skinning and butchering and were carried in a sack at the waist together with the fire drill, or else in a buckskin sheath (wi'hi-mago"o; knife-container) attached to the belt. Some knives were hafted. Joshua said that his father's butchering knife had a bone handle a couple of inches long; Piudy said that the handle was of any kind of wood, not bone, and that service wood was strongest. Large blades which appear to be giant spearpoints were probably hafted knives.

Arrowpoints found archaeologically were used if in good condition. Most are notched at the base. Joshua had watched his uncle make arrowpoints. He warmed the stone on the coals then broke it into small pieces. These he worked in from the edge, using a pointed instrument (muka'nu) of deer or mountain-sheep horn. He wore no skin guard; sometimes he cut his hand, but "he was not afraid." Tom Anderson said that his grandfather held a piece of hide in his hand when making arrowpoints.

Scrapers were used in working hides, but I am not certain if they were actually made or if they were merely found archaeologically and put to use.

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[156] Spier, Klamath, 87.

[157] This means that they had ample material within their own territory without contesting the Achomawi right to Sugar hill. Kniffen (map 2) agrees in having Sugar hill indisputably Achomawi. Cf. de Angulo, 315.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godown, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅛ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

● 412

Pg 210 p

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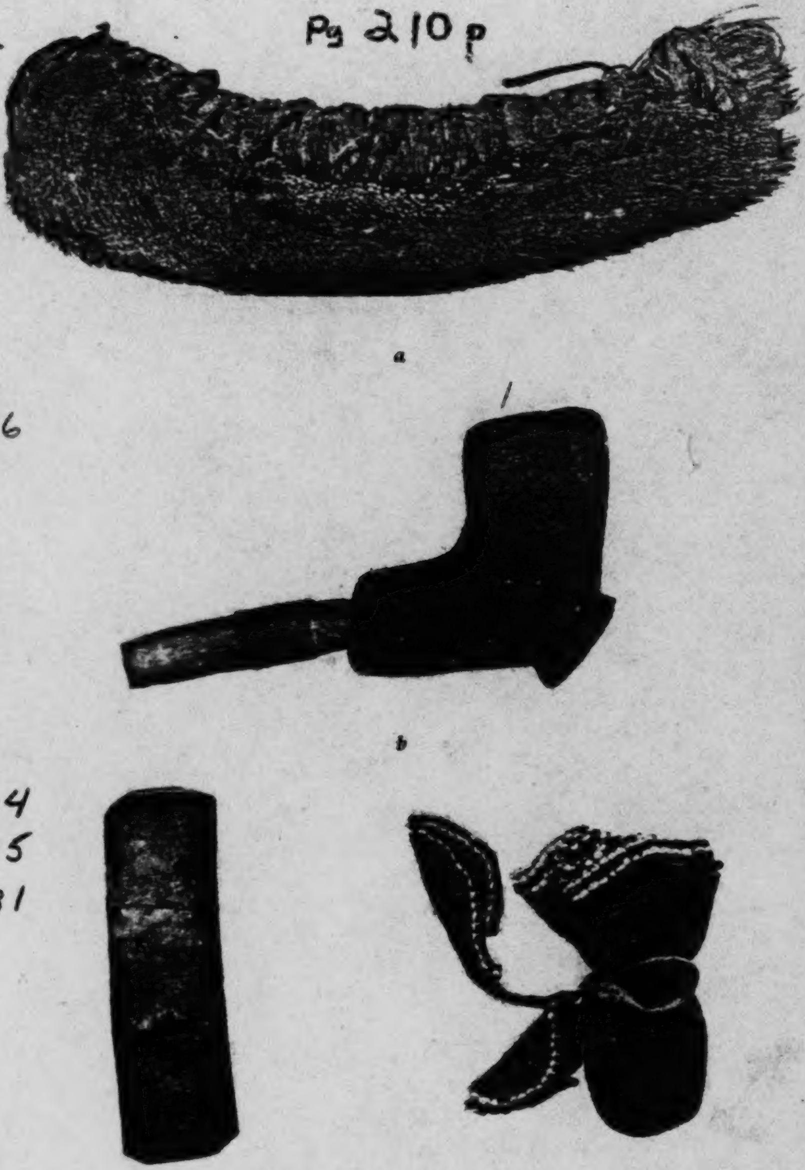

BRUSH; PIPE; GAME CYLINDER; PAINT BAG

210 P

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *quū'is*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs [243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914). [412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and [415] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were [252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds [251] were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled. Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs: *t'ūsá*, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgí*, wild carrot; *múə*, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ŭ''ūts*, little onions; *ásí*; *a'qō'*; *kusíak'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+į*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*; *wára*; *tubū́s*, a huskless valley seed.

262 252 [222] [171] Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement. The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant 412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is 222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called 415 *tūpá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a 462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a [412]
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *ási* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wïˋkwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāī*" seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tüm*$^{\varepsilon}$) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *ásúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tü'm*$^{\varepsilon}$ tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*$^{\varepsilon}$ together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were
used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up
and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries
were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for
the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic'* root was pounded
up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

METATES.

000 The Shoshoneans of Utah and Nevada employ the metate to reduce their seeds to meal.

Among the Paiute of Moapa the metate (*mār*) is used only on one side: the muller is called *mü'ə* (Fig. 3). Powell writes as follows about the Kaibab method:—

> . . . they grind the seeds into a fine flour, and make it into cakes and mush. . . For a mill they use a large flat rock, lying on the ground, and another small cylindrical one in their hands. They sit prone on the ground, hold the flat rock between the feet and legs, then fill their laps with seeds, making a hopper to the mill with their dusky legs, and grind by pushing the seeds across the larger rock, where it drops into a tray. I have seen a group of women grinding together, keeping time to a chant, or gossiping and chatting, while the younger lassies would jest and chatter, and make the pine woods merry with their laughter.[1]

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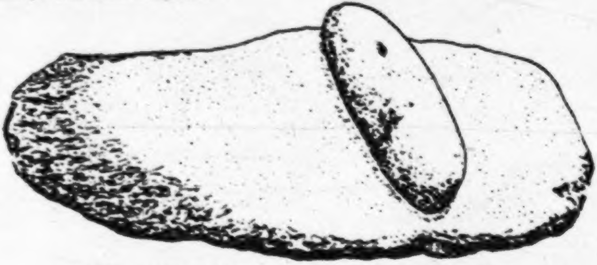

Fig. 2 (50.1-7909,7907). Paviotso Metate and Muller.

000 At Whiterocks, Utah, I saw three or four metates in my interpreter's house. They differed from those of the Paviotso in being trough-like, with two or three of the edges rimmed. They had been dug up in ploughing and were used by the Ute women for grinding coffee. I also saw a smooth slab metate, on which ripe *qō* seeds were said to be ground. My informants said that the flat and the rimmed metates were used in the same manner.

412 252 Among the Paviotso the metate (*matá*^{a}) was still in constant use in every encampment in the summer of 1914 (Fig. 2). Thus I saw a woman grinding *qōγá* seeds on a slab, scrape off the meal with her fingers, and put it into a tin can. Here I observed what I could discover among no other Shoshonean group,—a difference in the use of the two sides of the metate. In loosening the shells of certain seeds the women allow the slab to rest on a basketry tray (*tūm'*^{e}) and give the stone separator

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[1] Powell, 127.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 215]

252 (*wiαwdn*^{u}) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown
.412 out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

276 [170] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púiva'*$^{?u}$. It is a weed growing
[824] several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*^{a}. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsíabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawdγodp*^{i}, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

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DOGS.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and 342 describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over [824] a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212–214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 345.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size (Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. [412] The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a [415] beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside. [854]

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the 000 Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available. A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether [171] the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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[1] Mooney, 1040 f.
[2] Lowie, 183.

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
[237] maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-
[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cŏ'dzitd* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening
[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
285 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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[1] Mason, (b), 480 seq.

[2] Lowie, 178 f.

[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*^{n}, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tū'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nō*^{o}. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.

[531] →

[412] →

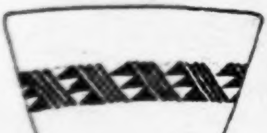

Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamō'"nō, ya'tā*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.

[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 237]

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i.e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 [411] For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club: a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

[714] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

Agriculture.

241 232 [412] They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

Foods.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region[1]. But

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[136] [316] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boil- 252
ing mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [776]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ac
780a. 3 or 4	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
781. Propulsion: with pole (willow)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
782. With hands and feet	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
782a. Swimmer towed it across stream	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
783. Rope to pull it across stream	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	*+	+	+	-	-
FIRE MAKING														
*784. Simple drill	-	-	-	*-	+	+	-	*-	-	-	-	-	+	+
785. Compound drill	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	-
786. Cane shaft	-	-	-	-	+	*+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
786a. Willow shaft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787. Hardwood shaft	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
790. Foreshaft spliced	+	+	+	+	-	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
791. Bow drill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-
*792. Artemisia hearth	-	-	-	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
792a. Juniper hearth	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	*-	-
*793. Charcoal in pit	-	-	-	-	*+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
*794. Ground stone in pit	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	*+	+
795. Bark in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
796. Indefinite number of pits in hearth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*797. Artemisia-bark tinder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
797a. Juniper-bark tinder	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
799. 2 pieces of rock struck for fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*-	-	+
800. Flint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
804. Bark-bundle slow match	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
805. Bark-bundle torch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
806. Fire preserved	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
807. By covering with earth	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
808. By burning sage into roots	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS														
Mortar (paha) and Pestle (podupe)														
*809. Stone mortar, large: portable, spheroid	-	+	+	*+	*+	*+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
809a. Made by known Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
810. In bedrock	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
810a. Made by known Indians	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
811. Made by Coyote or other animals	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
812. Made by prehistoric, mythical Indians	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
813. Portable, irregular	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
814. Portable, slab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
816. Stone mortar, small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
817. For paint, medicine, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
819. Wood mortar	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
820. Cavity in log end	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
821. Sunk in ground	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
822. Basket hopper used with mortar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*824. Stone pestle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
825. Cylindrical: length (in.), 12-18	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
825a. 18-24	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
826. Mortar and pestle used for: acorns	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
828. Piñon nuts	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
828a. Any seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
*Metate (mata) and Muller (tusu)														
829. Thin, oval metate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
829a. Made by known Indians	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

N
W
A
561

N
W
A
372

N
W
A
412

[p.381]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N W A 412 [252]

N W A [356]

N W A [252]

N W A [415]

	Ts	Kl	Kd	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
830. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
830a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
831. Use: for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
832. For meat	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
833. For bone	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
834. For paint	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
835. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	•−
836. With porcupine tail	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
837. With sage-bark brush	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
842. With grass-roots brush	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
841. Scraping with stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
835a. Did not clean metate	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
843. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•845. Rotary motion	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mush Stirrer														
•847. Looped stick (patu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	−	−
848. Paddle (ogo)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
•852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tcoko or taiku)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	−	−
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
863. Twined willow cup (toida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
863a. Coiled willow cup	·	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
•864. Stone bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
•866. Pottery bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+
•868. Biconical basket (osa; cf. 1096)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−
Knives (wiki)														
•870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	•−	−	−	+	+	+	+
•872. Flint blade hafted in wood	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	·	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	+
874. Bone knife	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers ([illegible])														
876. Stone, broken cobble	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, end notched	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
882a. Scapula	·	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Awls (wita)														
884. Horn	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
885. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	·	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

[p.382]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 412

	Te	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Ps	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
885a. Cannons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
887. Scapula	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
888a. Tibia	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
889a. Radius	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
890. Cactus spine (nava)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
892. Awl case: bark bundle	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
893. Buckskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Drill

	Te	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Ps	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	+	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
895. Shaft with bone point	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
895a. Unhafted bone point	·	·	·	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
896. Shaft with horn point	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Various

	Te	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Ps	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

FLINT FLAKING

N W A 324

	Te	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Ps	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
903. Flint (tupic*) flaker	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	−	−	−	−	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
909. Flint warmed	−	−	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
910. Buckskin hand pad	+	−	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

SKIN DRESSING

N W A 281

	Te	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Ps	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent cooked	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
927. Hide tied funnel shape	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
929. Juniper-bark smoke	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
930. Wood-chip smoke	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Done by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
932. Done by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A [462]

[p.383]

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [172] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

● N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians." N [773] [P. 4-31(N)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

Metate and Muller

N
● 412 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 239).

830a. Ki: - (Kelly, 138).

N 834. Tö: Paint was ground to a fine powder,
[303] mixed with water, shaped into a small brick and dried. Powder was scraped from the brick as the paint was needed.

A 835. AE: Mortars and metates were left out
[356] so that the rain would clean them.

N 844. Paviotso: Seeds ground on metate with a
[252] forward and backward motion (Lowie, 203, 204, fig. 2), but "a forward and sidewise motion" was also used (p. 215).

845. Most informants demonstrated a back-and-forth motion using both hands on the mano. However, the shape of some of the metates and the condition of their worn surfaces suggest that a rather indefinite rotary motion was used. Some manos were too small to be held in two hands, which would also indicate an irregular movement with one hand, probably rotary. I did not inquire whether one or two hands were habitually employed.

Mush Stirrer

847. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 246). Tg: Spoon of mt.-sheep horn and basketry ladle were used to stir mush. The looped stick used only to "fish meat from hot water." Wd: - (BJ).

Spoons, Dippers, Etc.

852. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b). Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b, g, i).

863a. Tö: "The old-timers never knew coiling. This just started with younger generation." It is possible that this is true for all Northern Paiute.

864. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 189).

N 866. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266). Stew-
415 ard, 269, cites Leonard's reference to pottery on Humboldt Lake which I criticized in note 338. Leonard visited Humboldt, Carson, Walker, and Mono lakes and refers to them collectively as "these lakes." Since he visited Mono Lake, and since we know they had pottery there, it would be safer to assume that is where he saw it.

867. Animal-stomach bag only used when other container lacking. Sometimes hunter will have no basket jug and then will use stomach of game.

868. Owens Valley: Steward, 273, translates osa, "water olla." Ki: Kelly, 124 (pl. 21,c), calls o'sa´, "water jar." Kü: Loud, 65, (pl. 67), "basket water bottle." Same as 1096.

N
412

Knives

870. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 277).

W
[412] 871. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[P-431(2)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

● N 412 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).

W [412] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. KH: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.

883a. KH: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).

890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). KH: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.

906. Tg: DS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.

909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.

N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).

935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).

N [172] [411] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m). AE: Sinew-backed

[P.432(A)]

EAR PIERCING

The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe 304 hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix.

BLANKETS

1. Rabbit skin blankets. The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then 281 tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off.

Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders. [291]

2. Other Blankets. Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

SKIN DRESSING

Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers re- [412] ported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire.

BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

1. Baskets. Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar 415 in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. 285 They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a [412] parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

412

inches in blade length. Some had spliced juniper or willow handles bound on with [411]
sinew or buckskin. The blade was of chipped obsidian or a white stone. The knife was carried in a buckskin sheath tied to the wrist, belt, or carried in the quiver.

5. *Special Knife-like Saw.* A six inch flint (hard rock) saw was used in cutting down trees. The bottom of the rock was chipped by heating it and striking with another stone. The tree to be felled was bent and rubbed with the sharpened edge of the rock.

FIRE MAKING

Fire making was similar to that described by Isabel Kelly. The composite drill was 372
usually made of wild rose with a sagebrush tip lashed on with buckskin. The hearth, with three or four holes, was made of juniper. A slow match of sagebrush with a four foot stick center was used in travelling. The strike-a-light was also reported.

WEAPONS

1. *Bow and Arrow.* The bow, arrow and quiver were similar in construction to 411
those reported by Isabel Kelly (p. 142). The simple curved backed bow with a two-ply [322]
sinew bowstring was made of juniper rather than oak. The quiver was made of raccoon, badger, wild cat or skunk skin. Dick Jonas denied the use of horn bows.

An arrow straightener was made of mountain sheep horn with two holes burnt [321]
through the horn. A deer horn arrow chipper was reported. Buckskin was put in the palm to protect the hand. Arrow poison similar to that described by Isabel Kelly was used.

2. *Round Shields.* Dick Jonas and Scarface Charlie had never heard of the Wadadika [281]
using round elk skin shields. Johnnie Pete reported them for the Tagudika.

3. *Slat Armor.* Dick Jonas had heard of slat armor but Scarface Charlie said that the Wadidika did not have it. Johnnie Black reported it for the Tagudika. He said that the frame and slats were of elderberry twined with buckskin strips, and that the armor extended from the chin to below the knees and was fastened around the waist.

4. *Tunic Armor.* Dick Jonas reported tunic armor made of skin; his grandfather told him that it was made of elk skin and was like a big apron which came to the knees and could be worn on either the front or the back. (The elk hide was toughened by roasting it in ashes.) Dick Jonas thought there was also some type of buckskin face protector attached to a handle.

5. *Clubs.* Dick Jonas reported a stone club about a foot in length with a rounded head which was covered with buckskin and attached by a thong to the wrist. Johnnie Black reported a round stone the size of a fist wrapped in deerskin with a thong handle, and also one with a seven inch wooden handle. Scarface Charlie thought that both of these clubs were Tagudika.

Scarface Charlie reported elk horn clubs made from the end of the antler. Holes were drilled in the small end and a thong tied through and worn over the wrist. This was also used as a horsewhip. Dick Jonas said that only the Hunibuidika used these.

Scarface Charlie and Dick Jonas reported mahogany clubs which also had thongs tied through a hole in the end so that they could be worn on the arm.

Wadátkuht

103 361 Ike Northrup visited the site with the author but knew nothing concerning its occupation.

7. Pagúshuhad ("Warm Spring"). This most eastern Wadátkuht winter village receives its name from a spring of warm water that pours out from the base of a series of spire-shaped rocks. It is said that east of this village [312] there were no camps or villages until one approaches Pyramid Lake. Lack of water is given as the reason for this region being unpopulated. This village is a desert village, being some 10 or 15 miles east of the timbered Sierra. It is located at the High Rock ranch east of Honey Lake and just west of the Nevada state line. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-88 (T29N/R17E/Sec. 36).

[412] Pagúshuhad was a winter village for Joaquin and his band of Wadátkuht. Informants report that there is a bedrock metate at this village site.

8. Ishuhpa ("Wolf Water"). This winter village was so-named because the spring here was a favorite place for wolves to obtain water. It is located about five miles northwest of Pagúshuhad, and similarly, has considerable archaeological evidence in the form of stone artifacts which have been recovered from the surface. The archaeological designation for Ishuhpa is Las-46 (T28N/R16E/SE¼ of Sec. 18).

9. Pam^{u} ("Hot Springs"). This name is given for both the hot springs at Amedee and at Wendel. The Amedee site has the archaeological designation of Las-99, the Wendel site, Las-28. Both of them were winter villages, although Ike Northrup said that the people could not remain at the Amedee Hot Springs in wet weather, or when the snow was melting, because the surrounding flat country became too muddy. They had to move to high ground about one mile to the east. This probably meant that the archaeological cave site, Las-90, approximately one mile east of Amedee was used when the area about the hot springs became too muddy.

10. Numúta ("Indian Hole"). Both Tommy Tucker Cave, Las-1 (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956), and Amedee Cave, Las-90, were given this name. It would seem that any cave utilized by these people might be given this same name. Amedee Cave was used by Kitty Joaquin when she was a small girl. She and her family (Joaquin's group, primarily) [172] camped there upon occasion. Recent archaeological excavation in this cave by the author has revealed numerous manos and

Wadátkuht

103 The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91,
361 and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more
[776] than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg° tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg°, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas
[226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers
[251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidü dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16
[412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said
[231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that
[417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadátkuht

224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the
informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Tóka
kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud),
the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of
Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at
Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at
the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants
did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and
butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any
case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide.
The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped
from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was
taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the
sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were
eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being
roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done
with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove
the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better
meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
[237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair
from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
[192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the
Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 439 262 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamōtkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunui^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Wadátkuht

When shooting Ike held the bow vertically and used the primary release, that is to say, he gripped the arrow at the nock with his thumb and the second knuckle of his forefinger. He said that the Pit River men held the bow at a 45° angle, with the top of the bow to the left. 411

Kitty said that the quiver, called hugut^{na}, was a tanned wildcat, coyote or similar-sized animal skin which had been case skinned. The exterior of the quiver might be decorated with beads. Ike spoke of seeing a Pit River man with a coyote skin quiver. [415] [531]

Arrowheads were called daká, and according to Kitty were chipped with another piece of "flint". The use of stone against stone suggests percussion flaking, ordinarily not suitable for flaking delicate arrowpoints. [324]

With respect to slings Kitty was in no way familiar with them. Ike, on the other hand, was able to give a fair description of this weapon. It was called pagas^{i} tutabin^{o}, "String hit", and was made entirely out of leather. The leather patch was diamond-shaped, and one thong had a loop to go around the middle finger. The end of the other thong was held between the thumb and forefinger.

Stone Implements. Both the portable mortar and the bedrock mortar were used. The two names given for mortar are tutábin and pahá, and may or may not differentiate the portable from the bedrock mortar. The pestle was called poduhń. Long, cylindrical pestles with rounded ends were used at the bedrock mortars at the winter village of Matá. 415 412

The metate was called matá and the mano was called tusu. The mano was held with both hands and pushed back and forth with a snappy wrist action. When a metate became too slick through use a sharp, broken stone was used to peck the surface. This purposely roughened area on the metate was called tapongin. The stone used to peck the pits into the smooth surface was called tutápongin. Once the metate was sharpened it was "good for a long time, good for all winter".

A special biscuit-shaped hand stone for removing husks from seeds on a metate was called tutákongin. The action of rubbing the husks from certain seeds (e.g., the inner skin of acorns, and hulls from sunflower and other seeds) was known as tutakong.

Wadátkuht

412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^{w}, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] **Brushes**. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called söukumtu'wa. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht. [137]

[302] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhds, or wunuhds^{u}. [237]

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] **Digging Stick**. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534 **Bullroarer**. The bullroarer, tupununoin^{u}, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother [821]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

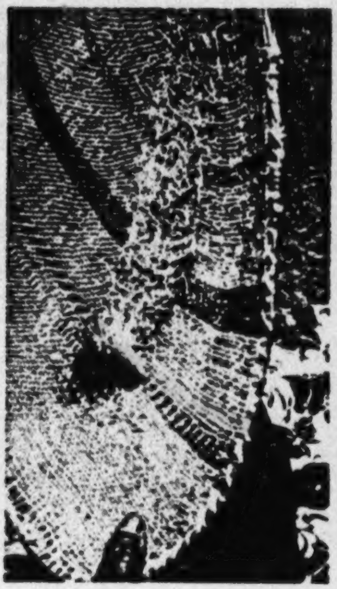
Wadátkuht

[P.91]

Plate 4

412
415
←
285
→

b. Metate and mano



d. Winnowing tray

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252

a. Grinding with metate and mano

c. Winnowing meal

[End Plate 4]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Tu	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
984. Or 4	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
988a. Meat, decayed	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
989. Liver	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
*990. Gall	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
*991. Decayed blood from heart	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
992. Rattlesnake poison	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
993. Red ants	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
994. Special plant: tavisigup	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
*995. Arrow release, primary	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arrow Straightener														
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1004. Perforated horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
*1005. Mt.-sheep horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
1006. Antelope horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
*1006a. Several holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
1008. 2 graduated holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
1009. 3 graduated holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1009b. 2 holes	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Quiver (Complex)														
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "peeling" off	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, resewed	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
*1013. Foxskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Fawnskin	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
*1017a. Piece of buckskin	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miscellaneous Weapons														
*1021a. Atlatl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1022. Thrusting spear	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
*1023. Shield (tupa)	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

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[p.385]

A 411 bow obtained by trade from "down below" in California. The Achomawi traded sinew for the finished bows, which informant called "hickory." Sinew glued on with fish glue.

N 411 940. Owens Valley: Steward, 259, cites Chalfant's account of (mountain) "mahogany bows with reverse curves at ends."

942, 945. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

946. KH: Sinew was wrapped not glued (AL).

948. Paviotso: "....the powerful recurved bow of mountain-sheep horn was not uncommon" (Curtis, 15:71).

953. To: - (LP).

954. To: - (BS).

960. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Ki: Undecorated (Kelly, 142).

960a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

Arrows

961, 966. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 262).

967. Paviotso: Arrows without foreshafts (Curtis, 15:71). Ts: Shaft usually made of chokecherry; some cane.

968. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, k,l).

969. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, b,c).

970, 970a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47,a).

971. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,a).

972. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,d). Sa: Arrows for ducks not wrapped, as in Owens Valley, but a feather was tied near point to keep arrow from sinking.

973. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,c).

975. None of my informants made arrow points. For the most part their knowledge of types was gained from arrow points they picked up. In private and public collections in the area several types occur. The 2-notch type seems to have been the most usual.

W [411] 976. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 262).

985. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

988. Owens Valley: Used a yellow mineral (Steward, 263). Ki: + (Kelly, 145): spleen, wild parsnip, and rattlesnake poison.

990. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

W [278] 991. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). K2: Decayed blood was mixed with a yellow berry which gets ripe in September.

992. Wa: + (Curtis, 92; Smith, notes).

995. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

996. Ts, Pa: Have secondary release, arrow held to string with thumb and index finger but middle and fourth fingers are used to help pull on the bowstring. Wa: Informant recognized that the Washo have same arrow release as Ishi had (University negative 15-5957).

Arrow Straightener

● N 413 W [415] 998. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, pl. 4, fig. 1, shows oval straighteners as described by other Paiute). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[p. 432(B)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

● N 413 [172]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N 415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).
1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.
1017. Ki: - (BA).
1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W [415]

1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 [172] W [411] A [411]

1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).
1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

N [231]

1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tökuivanu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.
1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N 285

Materials

N [172 177]

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tö: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172]

1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

N [432]

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

Wadā tKuht

222 winnowed to remove foreign material, then reduced to a flour with a mano and metate and made into a soup. Flour from the atsá seeds could be mixed with snow in the winter to make "ice cream".

In the summer currants, called pokóp^{shia} (*Ribes* sp.), were picked near Standish. In mid-summer red raspberries (Rubus sp.), called atsá pui, were gathered on Parker Creek and behind the 42 ranch (between Milford and Buntingville). Raspberries were eaten fresh or were dried for winter use.

About the beginning of August, before sunflower seeds were harvested, yapa and moa roots were dug in the Last Chance Creek area in Plumas County. Dixie Valley, in that area, is called Tasu^{P} ("Wild Game Spot") because it was a good place to hunt deer. Although the Wadátkuht went there to gather roots and presumably to hunt the region belonged to the Washo according to Gladys Mankins.

222 The moa bulbs (unidentified), after having been unearthed
252 with a digging stick and washed in a basket sieve, called yuhtá, were put in a large pile in a preheated pit lined with flat stones. Hot stones from a second fire were put on top of the bulbs and covered with oak leaves or fir branches. The oven was opened "after several days". The bulbs were removed from the oven and mashed with the hands and made into patties which were dried in the sun. A flat stick was used to turn the patties over as they dried.

222 The Joaquin family remained in the Last Chance area for
[251] about a month each summer gathering roots and drying the
[415] patties. At the end of this time the patties were loaded
into conical burden baskets, called túma, and carried back
[482] to the main winter camp of Matá at Milford.

While in the vicinity of Last Chance and Indian Creeks in Plumas County wild rhubarb was gathered at about the same [252] time as yapa (possibly *Carum* sp.) and moa. This plant was eaten raw but was not too well liked because it was too sour.

Seeds of two kinds of sunflower, pákuh and akú, were
● [413] gathered after wada was harvested. A seed beater, called
tsiku, was used to knock off the heads of the sunflowers into
a burden basket. The heads were taken home and beaten in
[251] order to knock out the seeds. The seeds were stored away to
be hulled and ground as needed. The ground seeds produced
[252] a flour, called aki, which was eaten without further preparation, or could be cooked into a mush.

Wadátkuht

352 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both
177 the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was
that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the
bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle
and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children
were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle
was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her
as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term
nutugwísh^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going
to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called
nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow
splints used for the active element were píwung. The bone
[413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as
witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from
that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys
Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and
its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants
had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string.
Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who
[824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from
a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark,
[237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide).
Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said
to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse
hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger
[492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part
of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they
[525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

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to produce powder which was mixed with water before being applied. Black paint, yadubi, was dug from the ground. 386

Skin Dressing. Deer's brains were boiled and dried and put away in a bag and kept until needed for use in tanning hides. When a deer was skinned the hide was left to dry for a bit and then soaked in water for about a week, until the hair began to slip. It was then taken from the water and a deer rib knife, pŏwhanuhn°, was used to scrape the loose hair off. 281

The dried brain, which had been stored, was dissolved in warm water and then the hairless hide was put into the solution and rubbed with the hands. This rubbing continued intermittently for several days until water would run through the hide. It was then removed and one end tied to a post and a stick put through the other end and twisted to wring the water from it. The damp hide was then warmed near a fire while it was stretched and pulled with the hands and feet. This latter action thinned and dried the hide. It was then placed over a smokey fire with the skin forming a sort of conical tent over the fire. The smoking process took about one-half hour, and the hide had to be carefully watched at this time until the color was just right. Willow or cottonwood was used for fuel, although oak was sometimes used.

The act of tanning a hide was called tusung oiya. White buckskin was made the same way as was the smoke-tanned buckskin except that the smoking process was not done.

When the hide was first removed from the carcass a rough stone about the size of a mano was used to clean the inner surface. This same stone was used during the tanning to "clean the skum off". Tanning a hide took at least three days, with softening the hide while drying it being the most tedious. The tanning of hides was done by both men and women. [413] [462]

Kitty said her father, Joaquin, smoked hides by sewing a piece of canvas to the skin along one edge. The canvas was pegged to the ground around a smoking fire-pit and the skin pulled up to a cone by a rope thrown over a limb.

Weapons. The best information with respect to the manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, as might be expected, was obtained from Ike who had used them when he was young. The bow was called adúh and was generally made of juniper, wap[1]. It was usually about three feet long, or as Ike said, 411 [115]

Wadátkuht

411 "pretty short". The juniper was cut and left to cure before it was made into a bow. Ike never mentioned backing the bows with sinew, so the assumption is that the Wadátkuht bow was a simple one.

[283] Bowstrings were made from sinew, tihiya tamu', "deer string" (Kitty called deer tuhu'^{ya}). Kitty said that bowstrings were made from sagebrush bark and sinew twined together. [824] She also said that bows were made from split willow (sagap^{i}) which was bent and dried. She said that chokecherry wood also could be used for bows.

[824] Arrows, pamos^{a}, either could be made of serviceberry, taúbui, or arrowcane, wakokob. When serviceberry was used a straight limb was taken and dried with the bark on. When the limb was dry the bark was scraped off. Crooked serviceberry limbs were straightened with one's teeth and mouth. The arrowshaft was sighted along its length to determine its straightness. The arrowshafts made from serviceberry had the undesirable propensity to return to their original crooked condition. When this occurred they had to be heated by holding them close to the fire, or by heating them on hot stones. They were then held in the teeth and bent straight again. [413] Arrowcane arrowshafts were better than serviceberry shafts because they remained straight. Arrows from arrowcane were straightened on a rounded stone that had been heated in the fire. It was not stated whether the stone was grooved, or not. Kitty said that arrows were heated near the fire and straightened with either the teeth or the feet used as the fulcrum point. The act of straightening arrows is called tapat^{u}, "to straighten".

Kitty and Ike were in agreement that all arrows had three feathers, although if a person did not have enough feathers he could use two on the arrow. [237] Three feathers "carry arrow straight". Duck wing feathers and sagehen tail feathers were best for feathering arrows. Though not stated, it is presumed that the feathers were radially attached.

[824] Greasewood and serviceberry were used for foreshafts of arrowcane arrows. The foreshafts often were rubbed in sap running from a freshly broken juniper limb. This sap was smeared on one end of the foreshaft, the foreshaft was pushed into the arrowcane shaft, and sinew then was bound around the base of the shaft to securely bind the foreshaft into the arrow shaft.

Wadátkuht

that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem 881
that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologically
for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch [413]●
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eligible 881
to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening. [574]

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in 165
camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white 177
people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{a}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medicinal 757
properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.

Wadaʿtkuht

frightened and ran away. Just as the buckboard was passing over a bridge the vehicle's tongue broke and both boys were thrown into the dry creek bottom. The two severely injured boys were taken into camp and a Pyramid Lake woman doctor worked on them. They were laid on the ground side by side with a can of eagle feathers between them, and each boy was separately encircled by a horse hair rope. The doctor, Tsudi, "Judy", Kitty's father's cousin, sprinkled water on the boys' heads, and also sprinkled black pigment in powder form on their heads. White chalk was mixed with water and given to them in a spoon. Two rings were drawn on each boy's chest with red paint, and a red circle was drawn on each boy's forehead. Since the eagle feathers in the can moved and did not droop the shaman got the sign that the boys were going to recover. The term for trying to bring a sick person back to health was tumánog. 755

A number of years after the accident Tsudi doctored Gladys' brother again, this time for headaches presumably stemming from his previous serious injury. Kitty, Gladys and Gladys' brother went over to Nixon for the treatment. The patient was very weak. Kitty asked Tsudi if she would take the case, and the asking had to be done before sunrise, since that was the traditional time to ask. Tsudi accepted. 757 755 [821]

Gladys did not entirely trust Tsudi, so watched her carefully. The shaman told them all to go outside if they did not have strong stomachs, and to leave her alone with the patient. Gladys started to leave with the others but turned back in order to watch out for her brother. The shaman had assured everyone that everything would be all right when she sent them from the room.

The doctor felt around on the patient's head until she found a vein to open. When she cut the vein with a knife chipped from bottle glass dark-colored blood spurted out. When the blood looked better, more red-colored, she put a quid of chewing tobacco from her mouth on the cut. Later a second quid replaced the first one - it was a "clean" one. After this second wad of tobacco was put on it was tied in place with a horse hair rope and then with a rag. Gladys' brother got better and was never bothered again with the headache.

The knife the doctor used was chipped from bottle glass by striking off flakes with a stone. She "cleaned" the knife with tobacco "juice" (spittle), mud and water. She [413]

received in powdered form.[69] Joshua listed the fish obtained through 439
trade as kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), yümi, tsis'ua, and tuwu'a.

Preparation of fish.—Fish were usually cooked in the ashes of the 251
fireplace, although they could be boiled. They were dried on a rack 252
or hung from the boughs of a juniper, but were never placed near the fire to dry as was meat. Usually fish were slit before drying but sometimes not, doubtless depending upon size. As a general thing, fish were not smoked.

Dried fish were packed in an open-twine tule or sagebrush-bark 251
sack "like those the Modoc use only not as well made." These bags 416
were called moga'o (general word for container) and were possibly four feet in length and two in width. Their size argues considerable quantity. Minnie Anderson said that fish did not keep very long; "they tasted funny." Dried fish were prepared by boiling or by roasting but were not pounded.

Fish eggs (a'gai noho) were dried and ground.

VEGETABLE FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION

The Gidü'tikadö, like other non-agricultural peoples, gathered 222
such seeds, berries, and roots as their habitat offered. All informants 187
stressed the great plenty of these foods in the early days, and their statements are corroborated by those of the first settlers, who maintain that, although now sage-covered, the whole valley was formerly meadowland. Plant specimens are difficult to obtain and on the whole the data are pretty meager. Surprise valley itself yielded little, but a number of specimens were procured on the southern shores of Cowhead lake, a few miles northeast of Fort Bidwell; some were also gathered west of the Warners and a few more near Beatty, Oregon. The seed material is particularly sparse; the list (below) probably includes less than a fourth of the original number. It does appear however, that the most important seed plants are represented. The list of berries and roots is somewhat larger and seems relatively complete.

Seeds.—In late summer women gathered seeds in a twined conical 222
basket or in a light sack of deer or antelope hide. For ordinary seeds, 416
such as grasses, the woman held the container in her left hand and knocked the seeds into it with the twined beater which she wielded in her right hand. She gathered other seeds, such as those of sunflowers, by pulling the dry blossoms and depositing them in the burden basket.

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[69] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

252
415
A standard procedure was followed in preparing seeds of all sorts. They were placed in a fan-shaped willow tray and parched with coals from a sagebrush fire. The hulls were then winnowed from the same tray, either by working them to one side with a rotary motion or by pouring and allowing the chaff to blow off. The remaining seeds were ground on the metate and the meal thus produced was ready for immediate use or for storage. In the latter case, it was placed in a buckskin bag and buried. Sometimes seeds were stored as gathered and were not parched or ground until needed. Seed meal was mixed with water and boiled in a willow basket by the addition of hot stones. These stones were handled by means of two sticks "of any kind," a flat stake some two inches in width, or by a willow bent into a loop. Boiling food had to be stirred constantly lest the stones burn the basket.

264
415
Seed gruel was served in individual willow bowls and was either drunk or scooped up with the first and second fingers. Young boys "who wanted more mush" used three fingers. The Gidü'tikadᵃ did not manufacture horn spoons but used instead a basketry spoon, a piece of bark, a split stick, or a rabbit or deer scapula. Most persons ate with their fingers, but men used spoons more often than women.

262
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Edible seeds included wüdü', sugü',[59] and magu'gᵃ, which are unidentified, and also the following: atsa' (*Sisymbrium sophia* L.) (?)[60]; gu'ha' (*Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.); wa'da (*Suaeda depressa* var. *erecta* Wats.); wa'ta' (*Chenopodium album* L.); üyü'p (*Chenopodium nevadense* Standley); a'gü' (*Wyethia mollis* Gray); pa[58] (*Helianthus annuus* L.) (?).[61]

A few observations may be made on the seeds listed above. Atsa' (red, so-called from its color) was mixed with snow, making a "sort of ice cream."[62] In the old days the principal gathering grounds of the ubiquitous a'gü' were in Goose Lake valley. Plate 17*c* shows a field of it in that region, along the western foot of the Warners. Stems as well as seeds of a'gü' were edible; they were pulled and eaten raw.

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[59] One informant thought this was a root, saying it was "like epos but grew only in the mountains."

[60] Which is intrusive in northeastern California. Mr. Howell tells me that two superficially similar species are *S. incisum* Engelm., and *S. pinnatum* Greene, both native to the region. I have evidently collected the wrong species, and atsa' is undoubtedly one of the two indigenous ones here suggested. *S. incisum* is used by the Klamath (Spier, 168).

[61] Which botanists consider native to the Middle West.

[62] Chamberlin, 340, notes that the Gosiute mixed ground seeds of a *Sisymbrium* with snow to make a "kind of confection."

Seeds were sometimes mixed with berries but never with meat. 252
Informants had not heard of eating sage seeds. They considered cat-tail (taib^a) seeds edible, although the root was a more important food. Cat-tail stalks were spread on the ground, fired, and the seeds gathered. These were shelled by being worked lightly on the metate and after this were prepared like other seeds.

Identified grass seeds include the following: waha'b^a (*Hordeum nodosum* L.); sopi'b^a (*Poa nevadensis* Vasey)[illegible]; mono'p^a (*Sitanion histrix* J. G. Smith), foxtail; waiya' (*Elymus condensatus* Pres.), rye-grass; ——— (*Alopecurus aequalis* Sobol); so'pi' (*Glyceria borealis* (Nash) Batchelder). 137

Pine-nuts (tü'ba) were of minor importance to the Gidü'tikad^a. 222
Aside from a few nut-bearing piñons near Bidwell mountain, they 252
are quite lacking in the whole territory. Informants knew them from 415 ●
Pyramid lake and several described methods of preparing them. Minnie Anderson said that the cones were beaten from the trees with long sticks and dumped into an earth oven. They were roasted for an hour or so, after which they were removed, picked, and the nuts spread to dry. The latter were then shelled on the metate and winnowed. They were further dried, then ground on the metate, and made into gruel. As the gruel cooked, it was stirred with a willow twig, one end of which was looped back and tied with the outer bark of the twig. Nannie Ochiho gave substantially the same procedure except that the nuts were ground unshelled. According to Joshua they were successively parched, shelled, winnowed, ground, and made into mush.

Fruits and berries.—Chokecherries (*Prunus demissa* Dietr.) (do'-isabui) were eaten fresh or dried. Preliminary to drying they were broken lightly with a stone, molded into cakes, and placed in the shade to harden. Such dried cakes were ground to powder on the metate and then boiled. Nowadays dried cherries are mixed with water and flour, possibly with seed meal in the old days. Chokecherries and wa'da seeds were sometimes combined. A beverage was [272]
made by pouring hot water on the fruits and a tea was made from chokecherry stems.

Wild plums (tuyu) were gathered in an open-twine burden basket. They were pitted but not crushed and dried in the sun. The dried fruits were "pretty strong" before sugar was available. Wild plums are quite plentiful in the Warners and are still gathered in late summer.

[illegible] And probably *Poa gracillima* Vasey as well, for which I have no native term.

Joining rods is called pita'kwin. A new rod (u'a'p) is pointed, but the terminating one is not shaved or beveled. When a new sewing strand is required, the old one is left protruding on the wrong side and the new one pushed through from the work side with an inch or so left dangling. The stray ends are broken off after the willow becomes dry and brittle. 285

In one or two specimens the rim receives special treatment. A small single-rod basket owned by Nannie Ochiho has the top rod caught to the preceding one at intervals of an inch, and along the intervening areas the rod is wound with the sewing strand. Mettie Petty of Beatty has an oval two-rod basket with a fairly involved finish. The top row is sewn by two alternating strands, one black and one white. The black and the white strands respectively interlock with every third stitch of the preceding row, leaving thereby a free stitch after each white overcast.

This same basket has the foundation rods unsewn at either end and twisted to serve as handles. Another large oval basket has handles of twisted rawhide.

Twined ware.—The generic term for basket is tsi'da.[128] Twining (nagwi'c) was made in a variety of forms including: conical burden basket, close or open twine (kudu's'); grater, fan-shaped, open twine (ya'ta'); parching and winnowing tray, fan-shaped, close twine (tsamü'n^{u}—said to come from the verb to roll); seed beater (tsi'ku'); dipper (tsoko'^{e}); spoon (kwasi'tsoko'^{e}); cooking basket (ü'pü'); mush bowl or cup (si'woboi); water jar (si'o'sa'); fish trap (wi'ha').

Informants claim not to have made plaque-like baskets.

Of the above list, the last six have not been manufactured in many years and it was possible to obtain only the most cursory description of them. It will be convenient to dispose of these now and then pass to forms for which there are more data.

The dipper and the spoon are probably one and the same. The former was described by Daisy, who said: 285
415

> It is made of willow. It is like the seed beater only smaller and pitched on the outside. Use this when you cook seeds, and serve food with it.

Piudy mentioned the spoon which he said was shaped like the seed beater but small, tightly woven, and unpitched. It was used for stirring seed mush. It differs from Daisy's description only in the matter of the pitch and in name. The latter difference is more apparent than

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[128] Nowadays it signifies crockery as well. De Angulo, 332, has evidently recorded names of special forms, i.e., mush bowl and parching tray.

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4/15

real, as the terms are identical save for the descriptive term, kwasi', meaning tail or handle.

The cooking basket was "round and had an open mouth." Nannie Ochiho remembered it as six or eight inches in height. It was watertight by virtue of close weaving, not through the application of pitch or gum.

The willow cup (si'woboi; si, said to be from süb', willow) was unpitched and was used for individual servings of food as, for example, pine-nut gruel. No further details could be procured, but presumably it resembled the Paviotso specimen figured by Lowie.[126]

The water jar (si'o'sa'; o'sa', any kind of jar) had a conical base. Piudy said that "it was easier to carry that way"; Minnie, that "in the old days they didn't know how to make flat bottoms." The jar was either set on its side, or a small hole was dug to allow it to stand upright. According to Minnie, such jars had willow handles; Piudy thought they were of deer hide; neither had heard of hair handles. A specimen (pl. 21c) made by Nina Naneo's grandmother, however, does have hair woven in the handles.

The jar just mentioned is made in diagonal twine. Several local specimens, all of unknown provenience, are in this same technique. In view of these facts and considering the Nevada data,[127] it seems safe to assume that the old Surprise Valley water jar was of similar construction. The Naneo specimen is an upward twine, provided progression is left to right as usual. It does not have the conical base;[128] the bottom is dented and in cross-section would resemble figure 6f of Spier's Havasupai. At the neck the warps have been cut short and the top overcast.

The basketry jar was made watertight with juniper or pine gum put on a flat stick, held over the fire, and then rapidly applied to the exterior. For the inside, four or five small stones were heated and dropped in with some pitch. The container was shaken vigorously until the whole interior was coated. The woman tested the basket by holding it to her lips and blowing to see if there were any holes. If there were none, she filled the jar with water and, if it did not leak, considered it finished. Such a jug lasted "a long time."

According to Joshua a family ordinarily had two basketry jars, a small one for the children and a larger one for the adults. On journeys, a woman carried the water jar. The neck was usually plugged with green grass; the Naneo specimen has a wooden stopper.

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[126] SE, fig. 13b.
[127] Lowie, SE, 234 and fig. 20a, b.
[128] In this respect resembling fig. 20b in Lowie, SE.

Of the fishing basket, there is only the most meager description. It was of stiff willows, five to eight feet in length, long, "like a sock," and had a constricted neck. It was presumably in open twine. 285 415●

For the remaining types of twined ware, there are fortunately a few specimens for guidance. Twining proceeds from left to right. With non-circular specimens (such as the grater and the parching tray) it is impossible to tell from the specimen alone in which direction the work goes. It seems safe to assume upon the basis of models made by Lizzie and Minnie, and from the uniformity of direction in spirally worked baskets, that the progress is from left to right in these as in other forms. The slant of the stitch is discussed at the end of the section on twining.

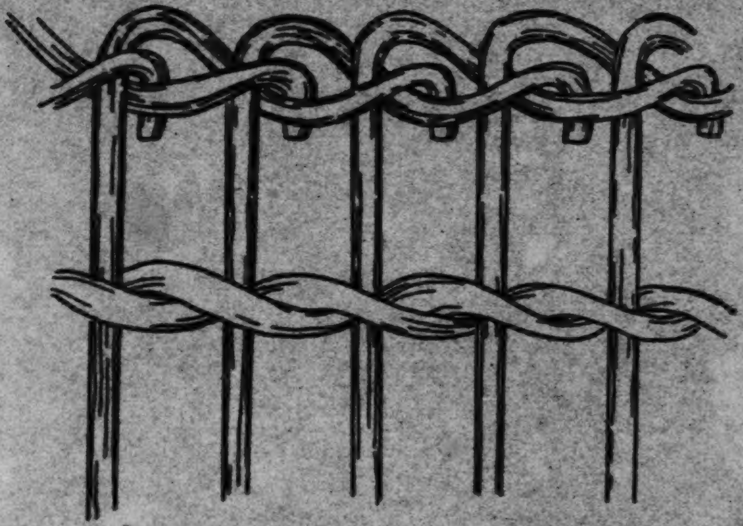

Fig. 4. Rim finish (exterior) of open twined burden basket, 1-28208.

The utility container, the conical burden basket, may be in open twine or close diagonal twine, the latter for seeds and berries, the former for wild plums and objects of like size. I have examined six burden baskets, three in open and three in close twine, but two of the latter are incomplete models made by Minnie and Lizzie.

Plate 24*b* shows an open twine conical basket. The start is on a pair of warp sets, each consisting of eight rods. The first few rows are twined on double warps. At the start the twine is solid; after two or three inches it becomes simple open twine with the rows spaced an inch or more. The rim finish is shown in figure 4. A willow hoop is lashed to the turned down warps and another hoop applied on the interior about halfway down. There is no 285

is turned downward and work continued left to right on the near side. 286
These shifts in position occasion no change in the direction of the twine or in the work side.

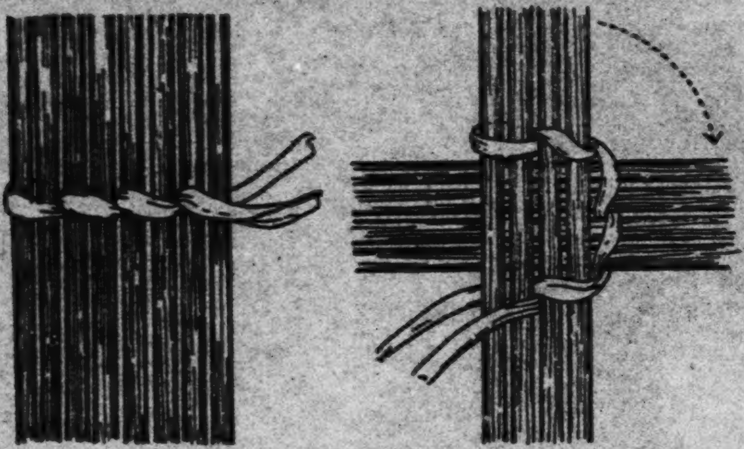

Fig. 6. Start of twined burden basket.

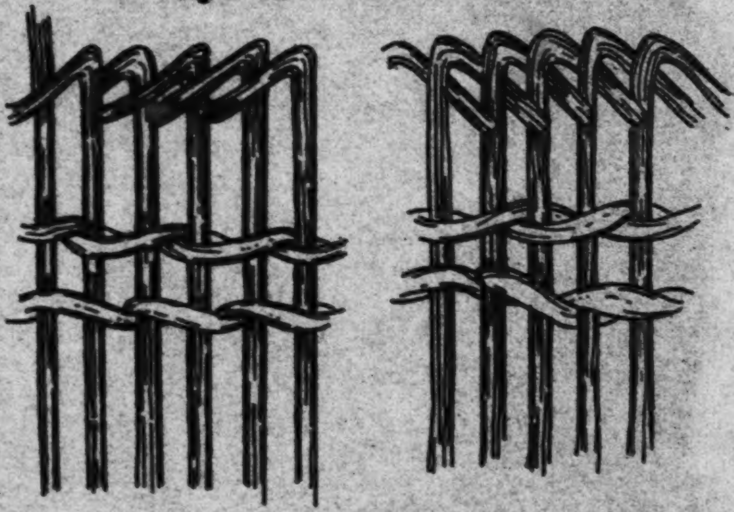

Fig. 7. Rim finish of twined grater, 1-28205. Left, upper or concave face; right, back or convex face.

Burden baskets become flattened through use, not deliberately. 285
Minnie volunteered, "This basket is no good; it's all flat on one 415
side." Seed gathering baskets were not coated with pitch as among the Gosiute.[129]

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[129] Chamberlin, 341.

The Gidü'tikad^{a} employed a two-post frame for the weaving. Informants said that the Nixon Paviotso used a frame of four uprights and two cross-bars.[144] With the two-post frame, the uprights, about five feet in height, were set as far apart as one could conveniently reach. The twisted skins were wound tightly from one post to the other, from bottom to top. The weft was twine (either wiha'b' or sagebrush bark), thongs, or, more recently, strips of cotton cloth. The worker started a row of simple twine at the lower righthand corner and worked it to the top. According to Daisy, the wefts were tied here and a new row started at the bottom, otherwise the blanket would be wrinkled. Joshua thought that the twining was continuous, turning at the top and coming downward. Piudy reported an extra-length blanket made by pushing the completed part off the posts and winding more skins on the freed poles. One blanket ordinarily sufficed as bedding for two persons. 286

Sagebrush bark blankets are said to have been made in the same technique, but without the frame. Such blankets, like those of rabbit skin, were used as bedding and capes. Leggings were also made of sagebrush bark, presumably in open twine. A model of the old time sagebrush moccasin is seen in plate 27*b*. The start is identical with that of the first cradle (fig. 9). The wefts consist of untwisted sagebrush bark. At the termination of each row, the wefts are twisted into string and left as a loop for lacing. The hanging warps turn up over the foot as a tongue. The cord is crisscrossed, catching the loops on either side.

Bags for food storage were made of tule or of sagebrush bark, presumably in open twine. They were described as "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." 285 415 ●

STONE WORKING

Stone archaeological remains are fairly plentiful, although not spectacular, and are ascribed to mythical pre-Paviotso inhabitants. Thus, "These stone things came from the stories. When animals were people they made them." Pestles are found near water, "because Nümüso'ho (cannibal; literally people-grinder) was driven into the lake." Another cannibalistic being, Bahi'zoho, who was "animal but looked like an Indian," has mortars ascribed to him. Nümüna (people's father) is held responsible for petroglyphs and for footprints seen along lake shores. 324

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[144] Like that described by Lowie, SE, 228.

324 *Axe.*—In the old days there was nothing in the nature of an axe. Wood picked from the ground was the sole reliance. Chipped obsidians, more or less hoe-shaped, are found archaeologically and in local parlance are known as tomahawks. Informants state that similar objects were sometimes found and used in tanning, but were not manufactured by the Paiute. They were used unhafted and were rubbed on the inside of hides in order to soften them. They were called düda'-soñoyin (düda', rub; soñoyin, soften). Daisy remembered that Nora Henderson's grandfather was once far to the east and killed a foreign Indian who had one of these implements tied to his wrist as a weapon.

Another type of archaeological specimen to which the name tomahawk is applied is a flat quadrilateral with rounded corners. It measures about five inches in length and four in width. The sides are notched as though for hafting. Examination shows that whatever this might have been, it was not a cutting or hewing implement. It has no suggestion of a blade or of abrasions which would result from chopping. It falls into the category of those Californian notched stones doubtfully designated as sinkers, but in this case, explanation in terms of recent ethnology is not possible since informants deny the use of the fish net. These stones, like the others, apparently date from pre-Paviotso days.

324
● 415 *Metate.*—The metate (ma'ta') is a flattish, unsquared slab,[145] the face worn evenly and untroughed. It occurs archaeologically and today is used for grinding seeds and coffee. Some metates were found already made, but "anyone might make one." A suitable stone was selected, pecked, and rubbed down. It took a "long time." Daisy said that men did the pecking, but Pindy said that men searched for good stones which the women smoothed. The country abounds in potential metates, but they are said to be most plentiful on the slopes of Eagleville peak which is known as Ma'ta'gan, metate mountain.

The flat surface of a large boulder was sometimes used as a metate. At the Anderson place on Cowhead lake was one quite worn from such use. My informant, Minnie Anderson, ground some seeds on it by way of demonstration. Contrary to Nevada practice,[146] only one surface of the metate is used. This follows the explicit statement of an informant, substantiated by an examination of several speci-

mens. When not in use, the slab is leaned face downward against the wall of the house. On journeys a small size metate was carried in the burden basket. 324 415 ●

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[145] "Sometimes they were oval" (DB). Beautifully shaped oval metates are collected from the Tule lake (Modoc) region; I have seen none from Surprise valley.

[146] Lowie, SE, 204.

The mano (tusu') is without special character; it is not beveled or rockered in any distinctive manner. Evidently any stone of suitable size was put to use with the metate.

Mortar.—My information concerning the mortar accords with that of Dr. de Angulo.[147] Strangely enough, considering the vast number to be found archaeologically, informants state that "they did not use them much."[148] They did not manufacture mortars, but if they happened upon one they might use it. In the absence of a mortar, any kind of rock served. Sometimes the mortar and pestle were cached "so that when we came around next time we knew where to find them." The pestles[149] are simply elongate stones, shaped through use as much as anything else.

Arrow smoother.—Two grooved stones (pa'a'bi; also poños-tüma'-nak^{a}; poños, arrow) are said to have been used in smoothing arrows. They were unsquared and resembled the Klamath specimen figured by Barrett.[150]

Pipe.—All agree that the old pipe (to'ï'c^{e}) was stone with a wooden mouthpiece, but with this, agreement virtually ceases. Informants are about evenly divided between the tubular and the elbow pipe, three claiming that the latter is a "white man's pipe." 324 276

Minnie described a plain tube which was smoked with head tilted back; Pindy reported a tubular pipe which the user leaned back to light, but smoked straight. Billy Steve, when shown plate 22 of Barrett, picked figure 7, a bone mesh measure, as most closely approximating the old form—an undoubted indication of tubular shape. Nannie Ochiho agreed that the elbow pipe was "white man's" but said that the old Paiute pipe was more curved than the simple tube. Joshua agreed with her that the old pipe was intermediate between the straight and the elbow types.

When Tom Anderson was shown a tubular pipe he emphatically declared, "not Paiute," selecting figure 9, plate 22 of Barrett as "a Paiute pipe." Daisy Brown likewise declared for an elbow pipe. Dr. Sam of Beatty, when asked concerning pipes, brought forth one he had made years ago. I understood that his was in the old style manner, but as I was pressed for time, I may not have stressed the point of age sufficiently. The pipe he showed was carved in the shape of a mountain-sheep head, nose pointing downward. The bore entered the head back of the horns, turned elbow-wise, and ran through the neck. The wooden mouthpiece was attached at the butt of the neck. The whole very much resembled a miniature tomahawk pipe.

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[147] P. 321.

[148] "What would we use those for? We have no hard seeds" (P).

[149] "The pestle is called tüta'bin" (JB); "poda'n" (P).

[150] Plate 21, fig 9.

231 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A
224 good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated.
492 The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha′b′ twine. The Paiute saddle (sado′, from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

● 415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watai′-mago″o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa′nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso′-yakwi′n^{e}; koso′, fire; yakwi′n^{e}, hold in the hand ?) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godown, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nellie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212; maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Pat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅛ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

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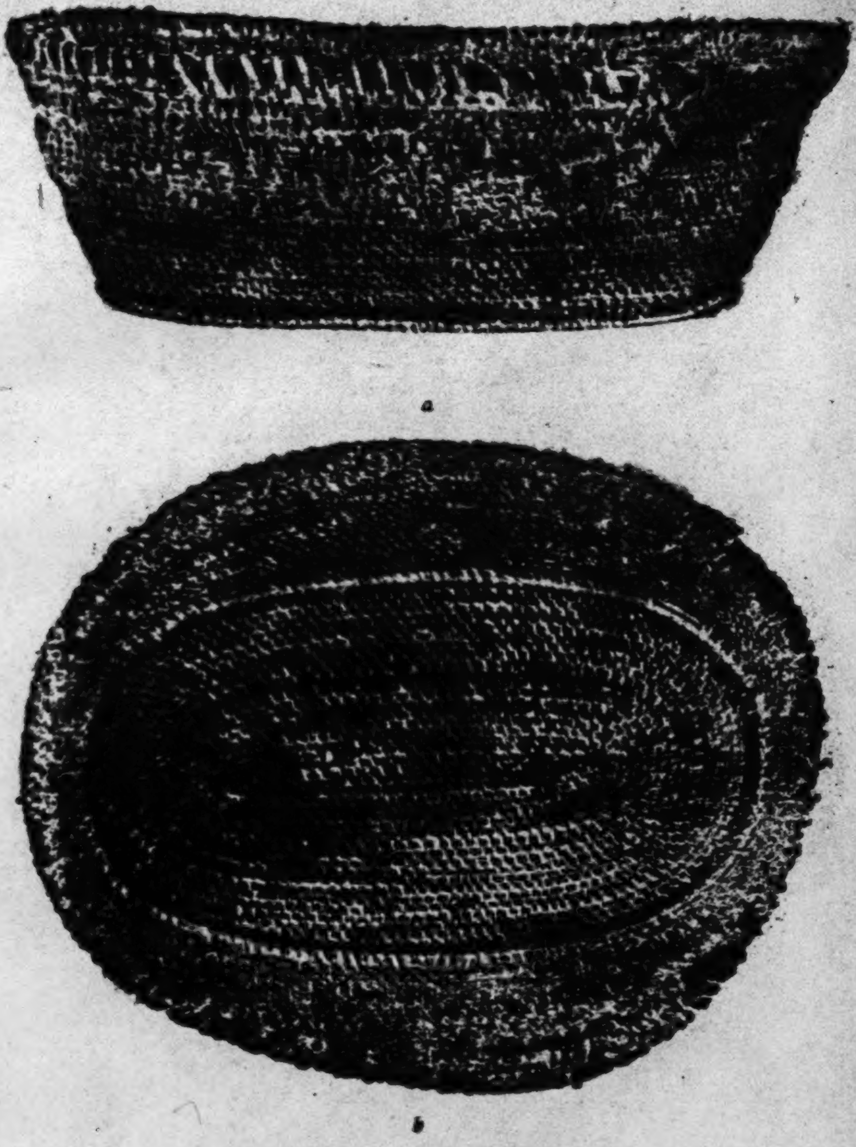

COILED BASKET, SIDE AND BOTTOM VIEWS

p. 210 g

1: Kelly -5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 24

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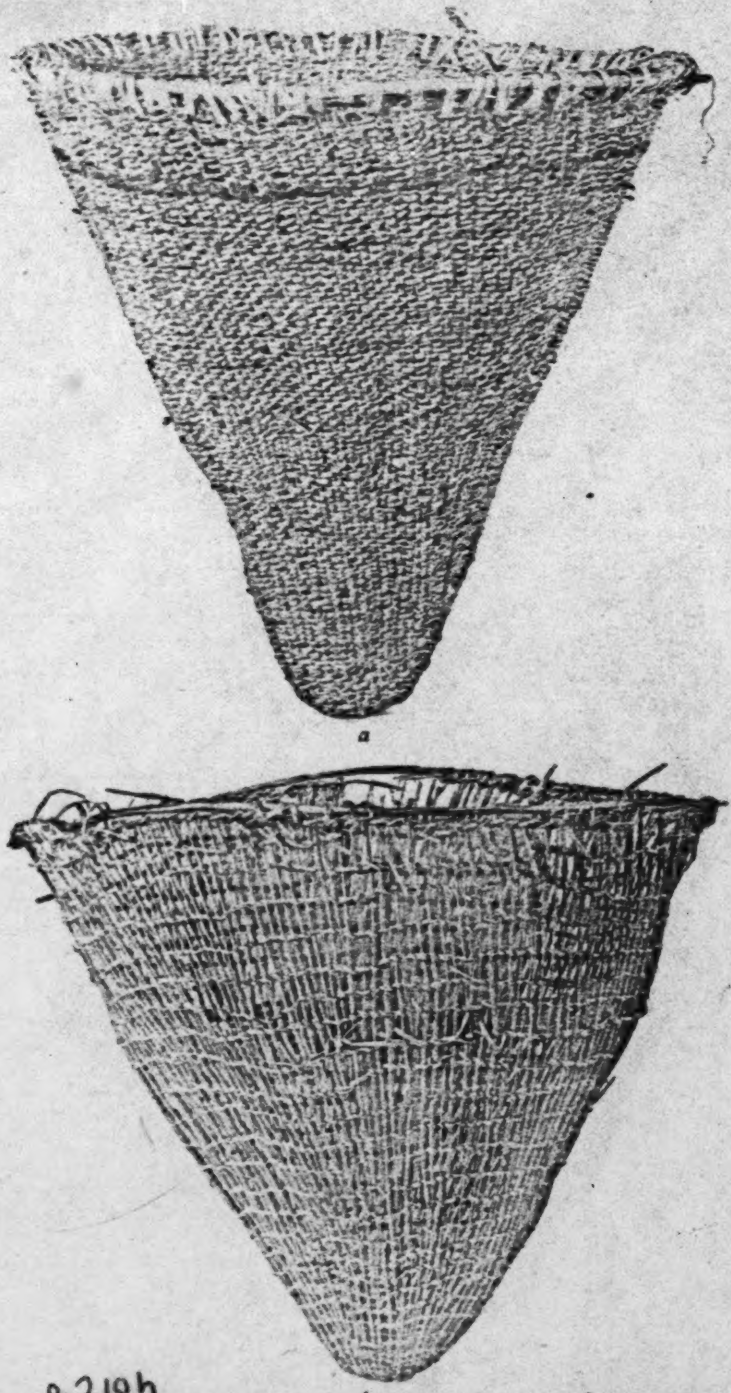

p. 210h

CONICAL BURDEN BASKETS

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Surprise Valley

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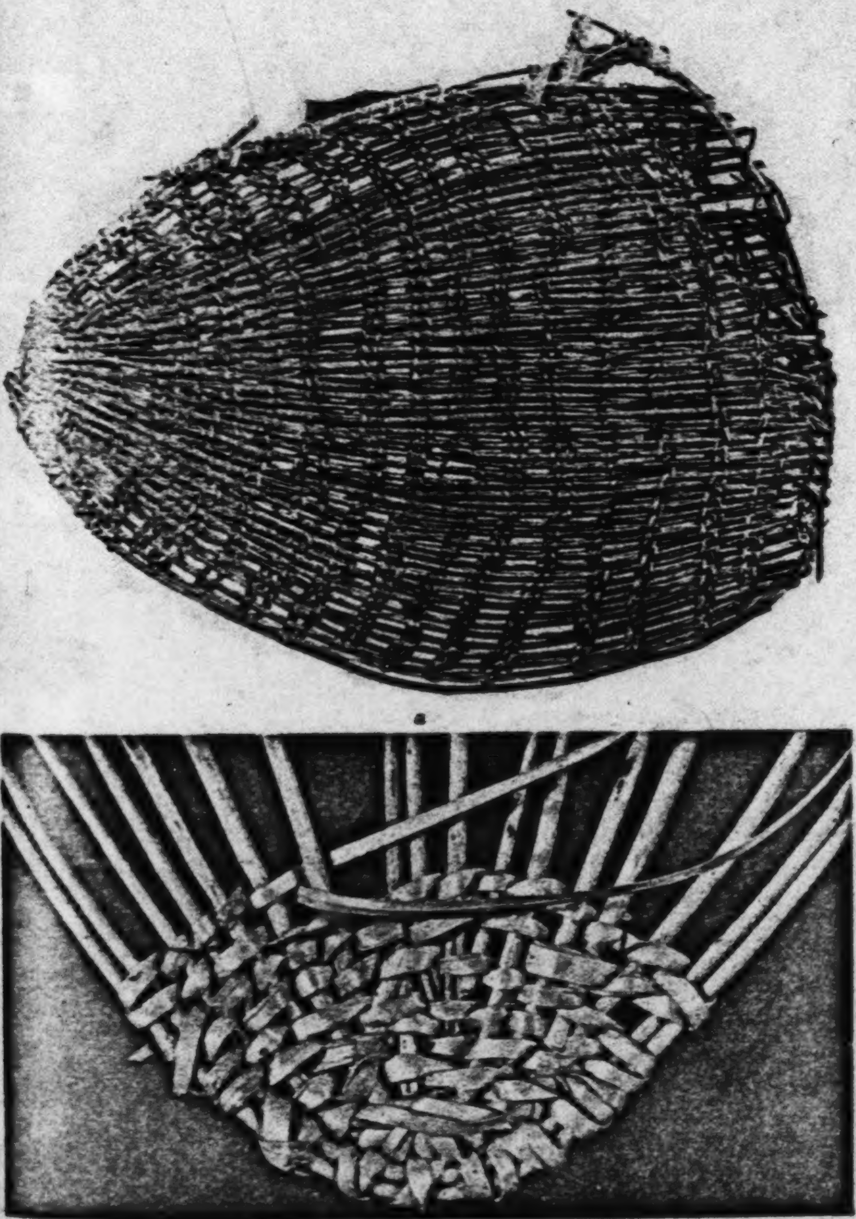

GRATING TRAY; START OF PARCHING TRAY

p. 210 i

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Surprise Valley

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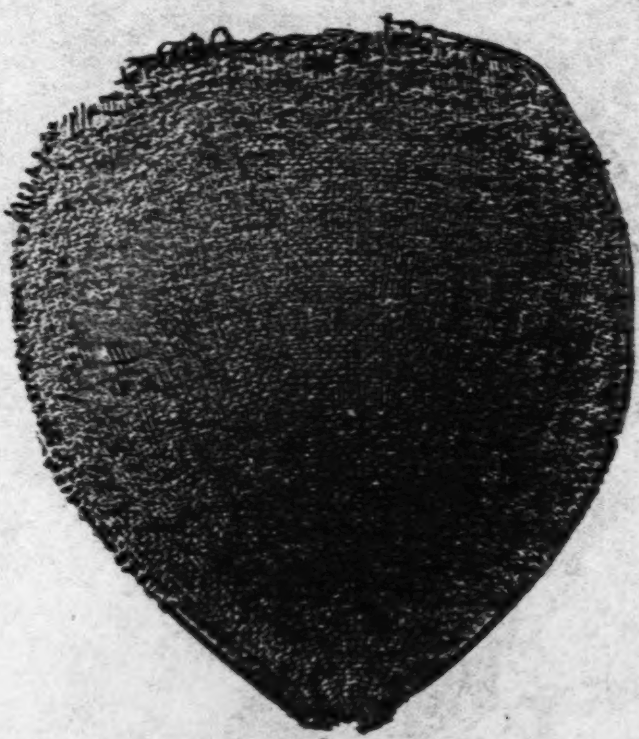

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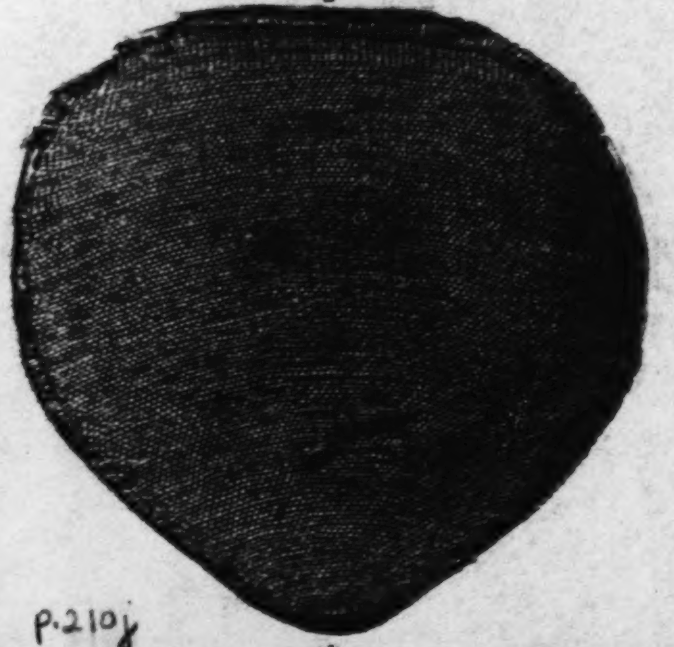

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p.210j

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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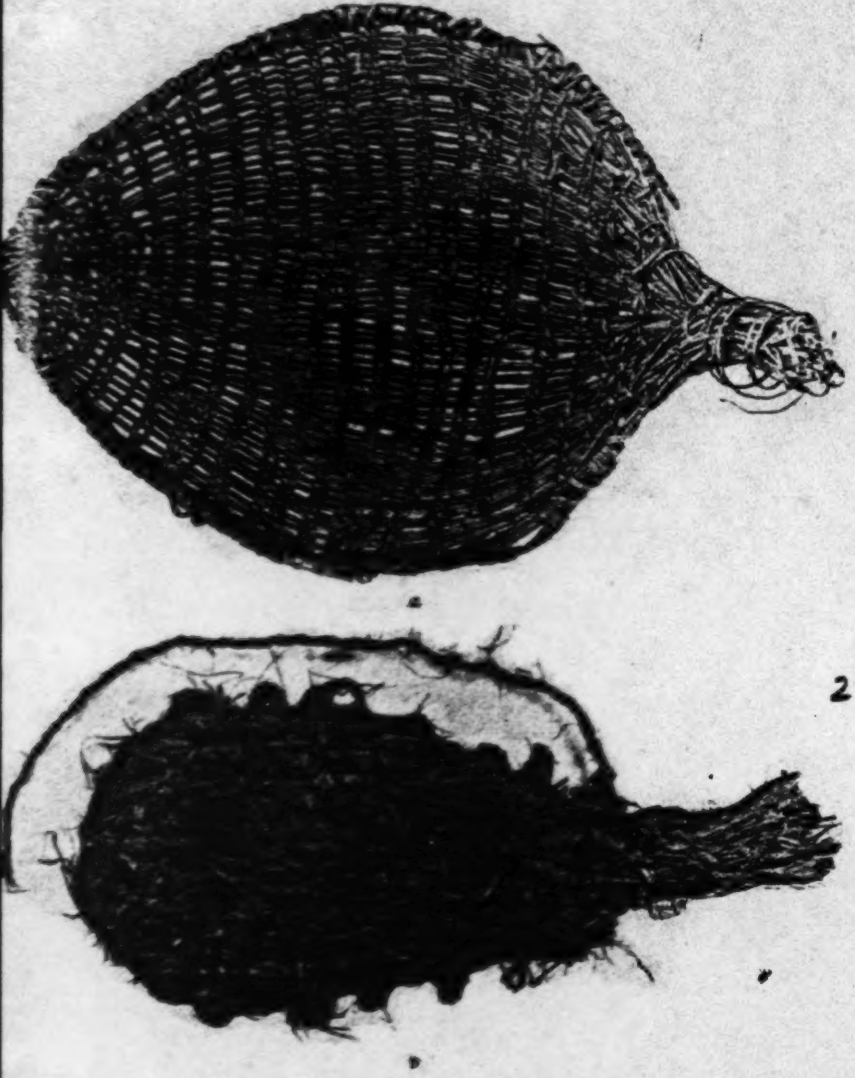

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SEED BEATER; SAGEBRUSH BARK MOCCASIN

p 210 k

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

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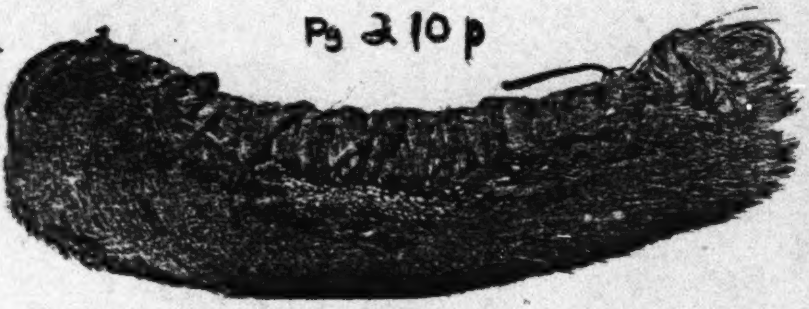

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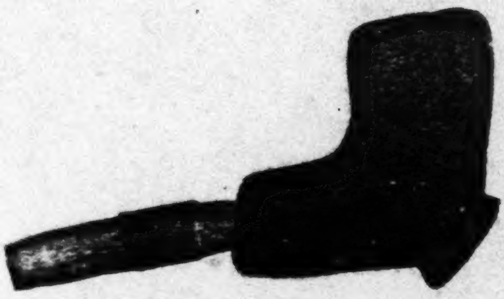

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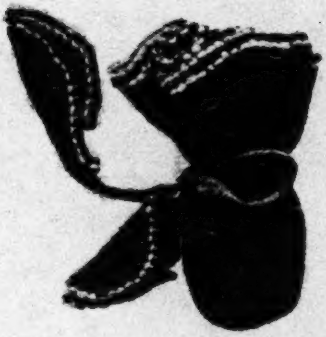

c d

BRUSH; PIPE; GAME CYLINDER; PAINT BAG

51C

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'ts*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
[412] In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
[415] the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
[252] everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
[251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'ūsá, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qȍgi*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ŭ''ūts*, little onions; *ȁsi*;
a'qȍ'; *kusiək'*; *qȍγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+į*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubȗs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tüpá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
462 thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415 •
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank [412]
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *ási* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāi*" seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tüm*^{e}) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *ásúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tü'm*^{e} tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*^{e} together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were
used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic*^{i} root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and 342
describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over [824]
a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size
(Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. [412]
The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a [415]
beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside. [854]

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the 000
Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available.
A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether [171]
the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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[1] Mooney, 1040 f.
[2] Lowie, 183.

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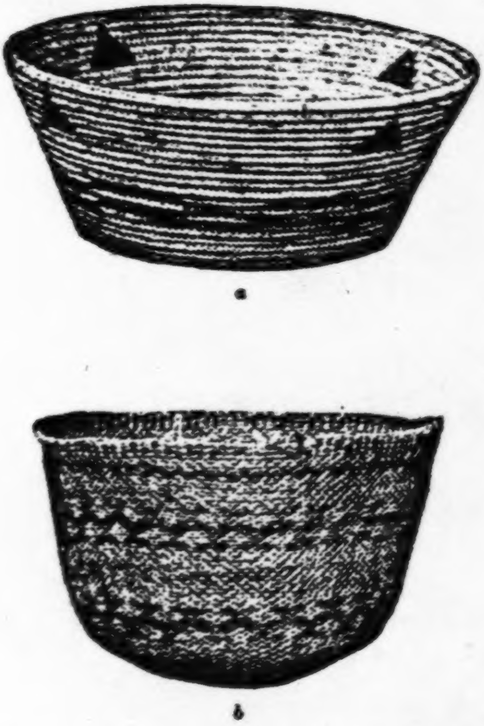

Fig. 13 a-b (50.1-7931, 7930). a, Paviotso Basket, Coiled; b, Paviotso Mush Bowl.

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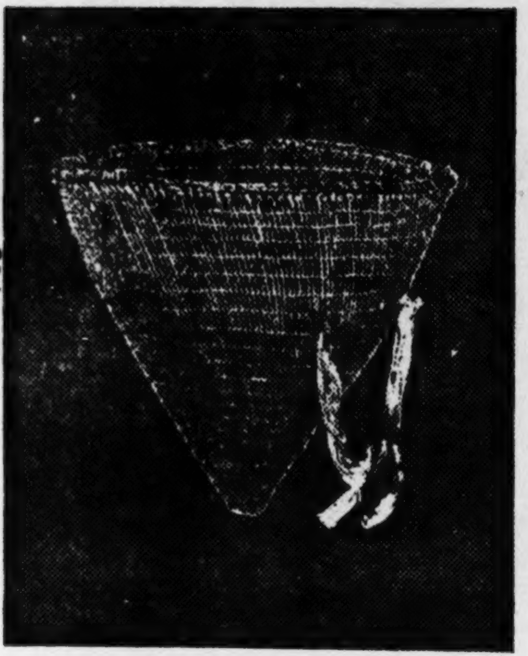

Fig. 14 (50.1-7926). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Openwork.

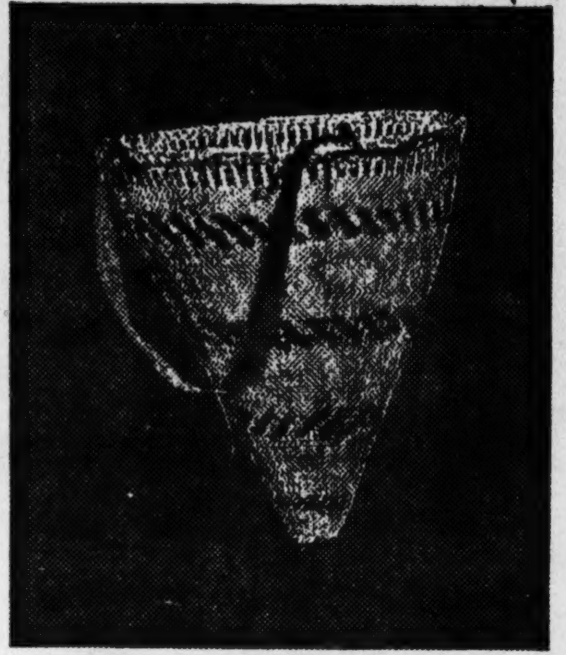

Fig. 15 (50.1-7924). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

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412
[252]

N
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[356]

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[252]

● N
W
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● [415]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
830. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
830a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
831. Use: for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
832. For meat	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
833. For bone	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
834. For paint	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
835. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	•−
836. With porcupine tail	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
837. With sage-bark brush	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
842. With grass-roots brush	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
841. Scraping with stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
835a. Did not clean metate	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
•843. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•845. Rotary motion	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mush Stirrer														
•847. Looped stick (patu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	−	−
848. Paddle (ogo)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
•852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tsoko or taika)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
863. Twined willow cup (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
863a. Coiled willow cup	•	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
•864. Stone bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
•866. Pottery bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
•868. Biconical basket (osa; cf. 1096)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−
Knives (wihi)														
•870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	•−	−	−	+	+	+	+
•872. Flint blade hafted in wood	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	•	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	+
874. Bone knife	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers ([illegible])														
876. Stone, broken cobble	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, end notched	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
883a. Scapula	•	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Awls (witu)														
884. Horn	•	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
885. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	•	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	K1	K2	Hn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
984. Or 4	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
988a. Meat, decayed	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
989. Liver	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
*990. Gall	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
*991. Decayed blood from heart	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
992. Rattlesnake poison	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
993. Red ants	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
994. Special plant: tavisigup	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
*995. Arrow release, primary	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Arrow Straightener														
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1004. Perforated horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
*1005. Mt.-sheep horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1006. Antelope horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*1006a. Several holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1008. 2 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1009. 3 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1009b. 2 holes	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Quiver (ingutsa)														
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "peeling" off	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, removed	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
*1013. Foxskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Fawnskin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
*1017a. Piece of buckskin	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miscellaneous Weapons														
*1021a. Atlatl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1022. Thrusting spear	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
*1023. Shield (tupa)	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

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Washo NT20
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	WE	K1	AS
1024. Rawhide	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1025. Wooden rim	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1026. Feathers attached	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1027. Armor	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1028. Club, stone headed (tökuinunu)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1028a. Stone in buckskin on end of thong	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1029. Plain rabbit club only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1031. Sling (takui'wu'wagö) as toy (cf. 1028a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1031a. For war and hunt also	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
X
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BASKETRY

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	WE	K1	AS
1032. Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1032a. Fish traps made by men	·	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Materials

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	WE	K1	AS
1033. Willow for coil foundation (tötsic'kwa)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1034. Willow for twine foundation (tötsic'kwina)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Coil and twine weft of willow sapwood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035a. Tule	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1039. Inner willow bark brown	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1039a. Fern roots for dark brown	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1040. Pussywillow black	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1040a. Material buried to dye	·	·	·	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1041. Red feather quills	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1042. Yellow feather quills	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1043. Strands scraped through hole in can	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
1044. Applied decoration: black paint	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1045. Red paint	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
1046. Yellow paint	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

Basket Weaving

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	WE	K1	AS
1048b. Wicker	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1049. Coiling	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1051. 1 rod	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1052. 2 rods	−	+	−	+	−	−		−	−	+	+	−	+	−
1053. 3 rods	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1054. 2 large, 1 small rod	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1055. 4 rods	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1056. Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1057. Counterclockwise	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1057a. Split stitch	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1058. Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1059. Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1060. Diagonal twine	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1061. 3-strand	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1064. Bead decoration, aboriginal	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1064a. Modern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1066. Feathers woven in	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

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Basket Forms

	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	WE	K1	AS
1067. Twined seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 285 415

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1071. Twined winnowing basket (timaba)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (yata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (teamo or tėma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a. Angular tray (tamo)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1080. Twined	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1082. Conical carrying basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1086. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091. Fishing trap (syakui)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a. Bipointed, opening on side		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. Men made	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kötomaG)	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1096. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1096a. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1100. Pointed bottom	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1102. Pitch on outside	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1105. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
1108. Handle: horsehair	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1109a. Willow	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1114. Food bowl (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115. Coiled	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1117. Pitch coated	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled		+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1119. Ladle (tüchama)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1129. Lids modern	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (maro'o)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1133. Of twined tule	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1134. Mat (sdmö)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A [482]

N W A [227]

N A [241]

N A [252]

[p.387]

796 Next I went to the creek alone and took a bath.
262 After the ceremony my mother and father and I
ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick."
The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the
birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described
by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only
heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat
his own game until after a special ceremony
which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5
deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother
chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage
and then sucked the boy's joints." He was sup-
A posed never to get tired after that. AE: Game
killed by youth was taboo until after a shoot-
[796 ing ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung
262] up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at.
As soon as he hit the target, but not before,
was the taboo lifted.

373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: - (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in
[793] water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from
dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: - (LP).

N
401. To: - (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd:
796 Had offering ceremonies similar to this one de-
scribed by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the
782 last morning of the big 5-day spring round
dance. Just before dawn a half circle was
formed at the west side of the dance place by
basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each
cup contained but one type of food, such as
seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts,
and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head
man took each cup separately, danced around the
circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all di-
A rections, and prayed for a good season for all
[782] things. AE: See note 25 AE.

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

N
410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade
262 or expedition from California, not important
439 in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + in-
sisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

N
413. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare
● 415 acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not
make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians,
N or maybe God, made them."

262 434. The use of cactus was denied only in

Achomawi 455

N
262

areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere is it common.

A
[222]

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to trade. I think the distance would prohibit such a thing before the horse was introduced. AE: Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good, were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

N
● [415]

466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N
222
423

467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although among several of the bands there was said to have been family ownership of plots, among none of these was it true ownership. One family might claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

N
252
262

468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N
252
222
262
N
[438]

471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as described by Steward, 245. Tö: The seeds of the tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important. Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moccasins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Stillwater (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Humboldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

137
222

Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

Metate and Muller

N
412 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 239).

830a. Ki: - (Kelly, 138).

N
[303] 834. Tö: Paint was ground to a fine powder, mixed with water, shaped into a small brick and dried. Powder was scraped from the brick as the paint was needed.

A
[356] 835. AE: Mortars and metates were left out so that the rain would clean them.

N
[252] 844. Paviotso: Seeds ground on metate with a forward and backward motion (Lowie, 203, 204, fig. 2), but "a forward and sidewise motion" was also used (p. 215).

845. Most informants demonstrated a back-and-forth motion using both hands on the mano. However, the shape of some of the metates and the condition of their worn surfaces suggest that a rather indefinite rotary motion was used. Some manos were too small to be held in two hands, which would also indicate an irregular movement with one hand, probably rotary. I did not inquire whether one or two hands were habitually employed.

Mush Stirrer

847. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 246). Tg: Spoon of mt.-sheep horn and basketry ladle were used to stir mush. The looped stick used only to "fish meat from hot water." Wd: - (BJ).

Spoons, Dippers, Etc.

852. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b). Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b, g, i).

863a. Tö: "The old-timers never knew coiling. This just started with younger generation." It is possible that this is true for all Northern Paiute.

864. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 169).

N
415 866. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266). Steward, 269, cites Leonard's reference to pottery on Humboldt Lake which I criticized in note 338. Leonard visited Humboldt, Carson, Walker, and Mono lakes and refers to them collectively as "these lakes." Since he visited Mono Lake, and since we know they had pottery there, it would be safer to assume that is where he saw it.

867. Animal-stomach bag only used when other container lacking. Sometimes hunter will have no basket jug and then will use stomach of game.

868. Owens Valley: Steward, 273, translates osa, "water olla." Ki: Kelly, 124 (pl. 21,c), calls o'sa', "water jar." Kü: Loud, 65, (pl. 67), "basket water bottle." Same as 1096.

Knives

N
412 870. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 277).

W
[412] 871. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[P-431(D)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 413 [172] 1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N ● 415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).

1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.

1017. Ki: - (BA).

1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W [415] 1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).

[172] 1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. W [411] Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

A [411] 1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tökuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was N [231] covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N 285

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by N [172 177] coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tö: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172] 1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

N [432] 1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

Washo NT20

N 235 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [285] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

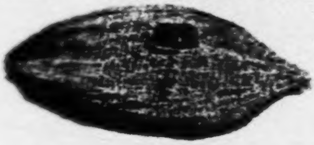
N [174]

Basket Forms

N 235 ● 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idīwa, kawono.

N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

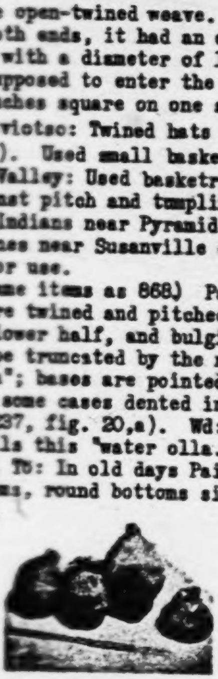


N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868.) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, To: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.



Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.434(W)]

EAR PIERCING

The ears of both sexes were pierced during infancy. Women usually had one lobe 304 hole on each ear. Men sometimes had three or four in the helix.

BLANKETS

1. *Rabbit skin blankets.* The rabbit skin was cut into one strip. Two strips were then 281 tied to a stick, free ends held down by the foot, and the stick rubbed between the hands, winding the strips together. The doubled skin was then stretched out and allowed to dry. A frame consisting of two vertical poles about four feet apart and shoulder high was set up. (Ellen claimed two horizontal sticks were also used.) The skins were looped around the poles in the shape of a figure eight. Skins were attached to each other by twisting the ends together. Sometimes it took as many as 50 skins to make a blanket. Ellen said a piece of buckskin was tied across the top and bottom of the poles to which the buckskin strips used in twining were tied. Susie denied this and said the ends of the buckskin strips were knotted. When the blanket was slipped off the frame, it was not finished off.

Rabbit skin blankets were worn over the shoulders. [291]

2. *Other Blankets.* Dick said wild cat and badger were also used to make children's blankets. The flesh side was tanned and two skins sewn together. Mountain sheep, elk hide, deer skin and bearskin blankets were also mentioned.

SKIN DRESSING

Similar to that reported by Kelly for Surprise Valley (pp. 118-119). Defleshers reported were: the lower back legbone of a deer with buckskin at the end to protect the [412] hands, an obsidean knife, a stone scraper, and a toothed scraper made of willow. A deer's foreleg or wrist bone or a sharpened horse rib were used to remove the hair. Bear skins were stretched and pegged to the ground, and the flesh side scraped with a stone scraper which had a spliced willow handle. A mixture of water and brains were smeared on the skin to help loosen the flesh. When the flesh had been removed, the skin was sprinkled with water and rolled up. After several days it was unrolled and rubbed, stretched between four poles, and softened by rubbing with a stone scraper. The same technique was used for elk and deer hides when the hair was not removed. Jenny thought that the hair was left on hides until more recent times. Hides were smoked over a fire of juniper lichen or bark or pine chips. The skin was sewed into a bag with the hair side in, and hung over a hole in which the fire had been built. Rocks were placed around the outside of the bag to hold it in place over the fire.

BASKETS AND OTHER CONTAINERS

1. *Baskets.* Paiute baskets were primarily open and closed twined willow ware, similar 415 in form and construction to those reported by Isabel Kelly for the Surprise Valley Paiute. 285 They included the following: a seed beater, sometimes twined with buckskin strips; a [412] parching tray; a grating tray; a conical burden basket; a water jug, pitch covered and sometimes colored with red clay; a small seed beater, closely twined, used for spoons and cups. My informants did not mention the twined cooking pots reported by Kelly, but

415 285 claimed that this type of basket was coiled. The coiled ware included a cooking pot the size of a bucket (two informants reported that this basket, used for stone boiling was covered with pitch); a coiled water jug, called by the same name as the twined jugs, was reported by three informants (no description given); a coiled rabbit brush cup; and a coiled berrying basket. The coiled ware was one or two rod. One informant mentioned large baskets made on a three rod foundation.

415 [281] 2. *Other containers.* A buckskin bag, the size of a 50 pound sack was made out of deer hide, sometimes surrounding a frame of three bent split willows attached to a hoop fifteen inches in diameter. One doe or buck skin was used. The head and legs were cut off, the skin folded and sewed at the bottom and side. Two buckskin strips were attached half way down the sides of the bag. They served as a tump line. This bag was sometimes used instead of the conical burden basket in gathering seeds, and was also used for storing seeds and berries. The bag was lined with juniper bark when used for berries.

[251] A sagebrush bag about two or three feet long was made of twined sagebrush and used for caching roots and fish. Nattie Dave (a Hunibuidika) also reported bags made of tule. Ellen had not heard of them.

415 281 A water bag made of the stomach of mountain sheep was also used to carry water. The top was pleated and a stick inserted to keep it shut. It was sometimes tied with a string.

Other bags: (1) Ellen reported a twenty inch narrow buckskin bag, gathered and tied with a string, used for carrying feathers. (2) An unsewn bag, made from the forehead of the deer with the hair left on, was tied to the belt. (3) A small round piece of buckskin with a buckskin tie was used for carrying paint. (4) A bag for storing deer fat was made from the pericardine of a deer. (5) Ellen described a pipe bag which sounded similar to the Blackfoot type described by Wissler (Occasional Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 5, Part 1, p. 71). (6) Ellen also described a carrying bag similar to the one described by Wissler (*ibid.*, figure 37).

415 Bark dishes, sewn out of juniper bark, were mentioned by Susie, but other informants thought that just the Hunibuidika used them.

Wooden dishes were mentioned by one informant, but no description was obtained.

[321] Spoons were made of plaited grass and juniper. The latter were shaped with a knife and were spatula like. Dick Jonas also described horn ladles. The mountain sheep horns were softened in boiling water, bent and scraped with a knife, and polished with grass or sagebrush.

TOOLS

412 1. *Metate.* A flat rock with a slight concavity was used for grinding seeds. A large round stone was used as a mano.

2. *Mortar and Pestles.* These were known, but did not seem to be commonly used except for pounding up chokecherries.

3. *Digging Stick.* A digging stick of mahogany wood, about four feet long with a fire-hardened point, was used for gathering roots, making the holes for the house poles, etc.

[411] 4. *Knives.* Both men and women owned knives. They varied from three to eight

10: Wheat E-5 (1958) 1959
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Soaking the cattails

Sorting them to make rope

[End Plate 2A]

[415]

291
396

PLATE 4

342 *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary [222 shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of 263] the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1960). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and [415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi. Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with [415 dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made water- 531] tight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for 252] cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117–22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the 222 water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of 251 worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that wash ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000
in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the
photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears
a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old
man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342
winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the
apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule
(Scirpus) tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361
Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342
Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui*
(Chamistes cujus, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built [101]
of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a
man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291]
while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket
which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [513]
a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright
willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at [482]
the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire
bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal
containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [245]
bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the
center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and
practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342
in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made
out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. [136]
The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud
and Harrington (1929, pp. 156–57).

PLATE 9

342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought [415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Paviotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there [177] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622 648 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

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[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

PLATE 4

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PLATE 5

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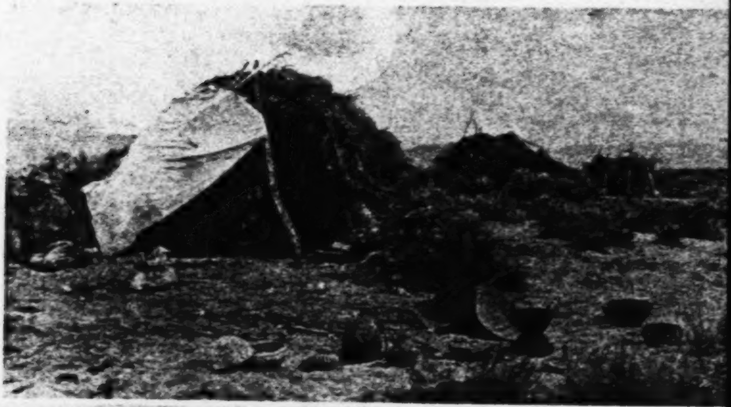

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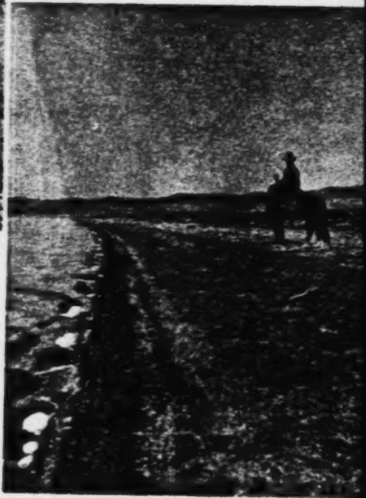
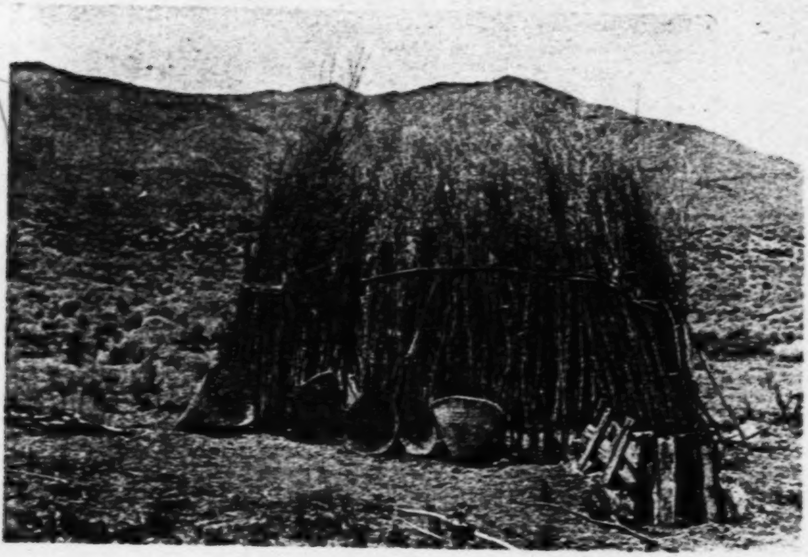


PLATE 8



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415 ●
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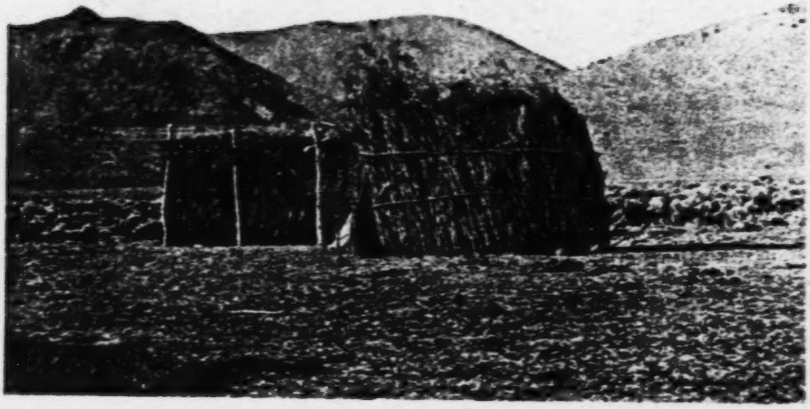

PLATE 9

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● 445
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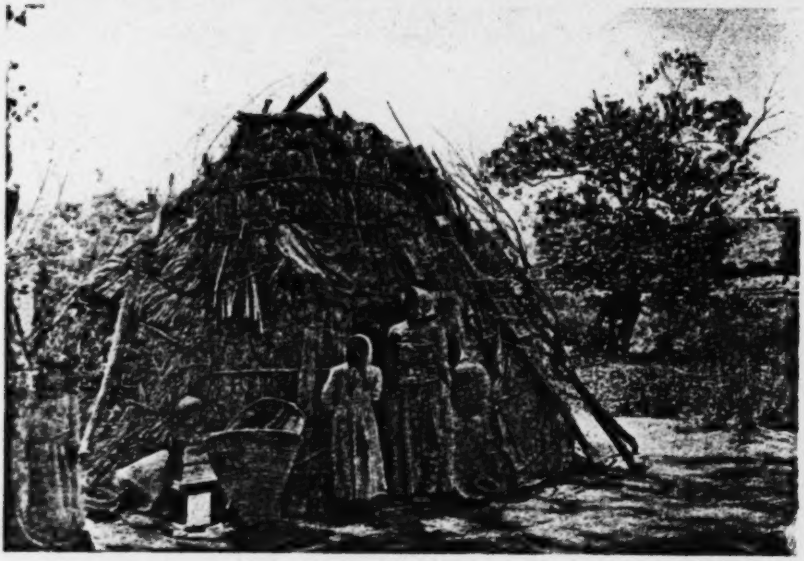

N
W

177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same
order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the
chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without
W Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the
[535] ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[79] It occurred while waiting for dinner
and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been
reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican
N peyote rituals.[80]

W Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting
[514] and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because
[415] poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to
N meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported.
W Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe
177 are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that
578 anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings,
*795 he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his
meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[81] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button
N for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[82]

W The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs
177 of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regard-
182 ing the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry
533 prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are
that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to
*795 see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

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[79] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[80] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[81] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[82] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

Wadátkuht

identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they [226]
swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught
in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught [251]
the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and
allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of
such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were
gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl
eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey
Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in
Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus^a (a plant
said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion")
and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they
occurred. The tops of padus^a, which had a white blossom and [262]
looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this
plant to grow was under willows along streams.

It was not until summer, however, that the products of
the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months. [252]
The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds
of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden
basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The
favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the
southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds,
however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly.
Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full
of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald
Mountain.

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds,
which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the
Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a
portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk^w). The seeds
of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as
the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute [101]
group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been
harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee
on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are
about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned [251]
buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in
the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were

Wadá-tKuht

222 winnowed to remove foreign material, then reduced to a flour with a mano and metate and made into a soup. Flour from the atsá seeds could be mixed with snow in the winter to make "ice cream".

In the summer currants, called pokóp^{shia} (Ribes sp.), were picked near Standish. In mid-summer red raspberries (Rubus sp.), called atsá pui, were gathered on Parker Creek and behind the 42 ranch (between Milford and Buntingville). Raspberries were eaten fresh or were dried for winter use.

About the beginning of August, before sunflower seeds were harvested, yapa and moa roots were dug in the Last Chance Creek area in Plumas County. Dixie Valley, in that area, is called Tasu^{p} ("Wild Game Spot") because it was a good place to hunt deer. Although the Wadátkuht went there to gather roots and presumably to hunt the region belonged to the Washo according to Gladys Mankins.

222 The moa bulbs (unidentified), after having been unearthed
252 with a digging stick and washed in a basket sieve, called yuhtá, were put in a large pile in a preheated pit lined with flat stones. Hot stones from a second fire were put on top of the bulbs and covered with oak leaves or fir branches. The oven was opened "after several days". The bulbs were removed from the oven and mashed with the hands and made into patties which were dried in the sun. A flat stick was used to turn the patties over as they dried.

222 The Joaquin family remained in the Last Chance area for
[251] about a month each summer gathering roots and drying the
[415] patties. At the end of this time the patties were loaded into conical burden baskets, called túma, and carried back
[482] to the main winter camp of Matá at Milford.

While in the vicinity of Last Chance and Indian Creeks in Plumas County wild rhubarb was gathered at about the same
[252] time as yapa (possibly Carum sp.) and moa. This plant was eaten raw but was not too well liked because it was too sour.

Seeds of two kinds of sunflower, pákuh and akú, were
[413] gathered after wada was harvested. A seed beater, called tsiku, was used to knock off the heads of the sunflowers into a burden basket. The heads were taken home and beaten in
[251] order to knock out the seeds. The seeds were stored away to be hulled and ground as needed. The ground seeds produced
[252] a flour, called akí, which was eaten without further preparation, or could be cooked into a mush.

WadátKuht

When shooting Ike held the bow vertically and used the primary release, that is to say, he gripped the arrow at the nock with his thumb and the second knuckle of his forefinger. He said that the Pit River men held the bow at a 45° angle, with the top of the bow to the left. 411

Kitty said that the quiver, called hugut^{na}, was a tanned wildcat, coyote or similar-sized animal skin which had been case skinned. The exterior of the quiver might be decorated with beads. Ike spoke of seeing a Pit River man with a coyote skin quiver. [415] [531]

Arrowheads were called daká, and according to Kitty were chipped with another piece of "flint". The use of stone against stone suggests percussion flaking, ordinarily not suitable for flaking delicate arrowpoints. [324]

With respect to slings Kitty was in no way familiar with them. Ike, on the other hand, was able to give a fair description of this weapon. It was called pagas^{i} tutabin^{o}, "String hit", and was made entirely out of leather. The leather patch was diamond-shaped, and one thong had a loop to go around the middle finger. The end of the other thong was held between the thumb and forefinger.

Stone Implements. Both the portable mortar and the bedrock mortar were used. The two names given for mortar are tutábin and pahá, and may or may not differentiate the portable from the bedrock mortar. The pestle was called poduhń. Long, cylindrical pestles with rounded ends were used at the bedrock mortars at the winter village of Matá. 415 412

The metate was called matá and the mano was called tusu. The mano was held with both hands and pushed back and forth with a snappy wrist action. When a metate became too slick through use a sharp, broken stone was used to peck the surface. This purposely roughened area on the metate was called tapongin. The stone used to peck the pits into the smooth surface was called tutápongin. Once the metate was sharpened it was "good for a long time, good for all winter".

A special biscuit-shaped hand stone for removing husks from seeds on a metate was called tutákongin. The action of rubbing the husks from certain seeds (e.g., the inner skin of acorns, and hulls from sunflower and other seeds) was known as tutakong.

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Wadatkuht

[p.90]

Plate 3

343 ←

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222 →

b. Frame of sweat house

d. Gathering atsátun"

● 415
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→

a. Bedrock mortars at Matá

c. Kukwaˀta or "Wind Hole"

[End Plate 3]

Wadátkuht

[P.91]

Plate 4

412
•415
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285
→

b. Metate and mano

d. Winnowing tray

516
252

a. Grinding with metate and mano

c. Winnowing meal

[End Plate 4]

000 interest in its bearing on the ultimate derivation of the Ute tipi. From the geographical location of the Ute we should be inclined to derive their specifically Plains Indian traits from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, but since the tipi of these peoples is of the three-pole pattern the assumption is untenable in this connection. On the other hand, if we knew that the Fort Hall and Lemhi Indians used the four-pole type, we should have a continuous distribution for this method from the Blackfoot and Crow southward to the Ute. The most plausible theory would then be that the Ute derived the tipi from the Wind River Indians, the Wind River from the Northern Shoshoni, and the latter in turn from their Blackfoot or Crow neighbors.

In Wilson's book there are reproduced pictures of Shoshoni lodges; the illustration of a brush-covered conical summer dwelling is especially noteworthy.[1]

FIRE-MAKING.

From the Shivwits I secured a model firedrill (*mârunù+inump*) apparatus (Museum specimen 50.1-8646ab). The hearth (*âx*) was formerly made from the wood of the *qwinúuramp* bush, which grows on the Colorado River, but for lack of this material *samásiù–ù+ip* wood was substituted. Pits were made all along the hearth. The drill was of mesquite wood, which was also used for the model; unlike the Paviotso specimen to be described below, it consists of a simple shaft.

I did not get any account of the Ute firedrill. One old informant said he had never made fire with it though he had seen others do it. For tinder the Uintah employed the bark of the sagebrush or cedar. People would get fire from a person who had some, laying down a stick before him by way of remuneration. Later they obtained strike-a-lights from the Mexicans.

372 [416] [824] The Paviotso braided sagebrush bark into torches and also used it for tinder. Their drill (*qoso"*) had the common Shoshonean characteristic of being composite (50.1-7962a).[2] Model specimens were secured. The standard apparatus was described as comprising a willow hearth with four pits (Fig. 10) and a drill of willow with a sagebrush tip. Doctor Spier calls my attention to the fact that a Havasupai specimen also has four pits. My interpreter naïvely supposed that it would take from half an hour to an hour to make fire with this apparatus. Sam Dick made a shaft of cane for me, stuffing it with charred greasewood as far as

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[1] Wilson, 16, 10, 81, 114, 184.

[2] Lowie, 189.

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were 342
wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'i-nobi (saib^{a}, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74]

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^{a}, rye grass). The grass, four or five feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at 462
the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the follow-
ing winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place. 342
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went 417
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dü'a-nobi; dü'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18*c*, is frequently seen at the present time. It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

342 sagebrush enclosure was even less formal than the shade, consisting of an unroofed circular enclosure about chest high. The single entrance was closed with a tule mat. The fireplace was in the center of the circle. An enclosure used for shamanistic treatment at the Bidwell camp seems to accord with the above description. Young willows were stuck in the ground to form a fair-sized circle. At the entry they were bent and turned back either side, overlapping with the adjacent willows. The bending was continued around the circle, making a neat top finish.

417

Several informants insisted that in the earliest times they had no shelter other than the shade and the enclosure. "In the old days they had no wickiup. When it was snowing they just kept on traveling. Some froze to death because they had no rabbit blankets. In the old days they had only two kinds of shades" (DB).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

291 The Gidü'tikad[a] of both sexes wore skin clothing of Plains type. It seems probable that this style was introduced at a fairly recent date[75] but beyond the recollection of oldest informants. The survival of an earlier California-Basin costume is suggested by the use of the fiber skirt by widows and poor women and by the occasional use of the loin cloth in lieu of the breechclout.

Women's clothing.—A widow or a woman whose husband was not a successful hunter would fashion for herself a knee-length skirt of sagebrush bark.[76] She braided it into a belt from which the bark hung loose in front and back but not at all on the sides. This is evidently the familiar California double apron. It was called nakwi', skirt; the front and back sections did not have separate names.

[171]

A more prosperous woman wore a buckskin dress (kwa'sü). Antelope hide could be used, but "it was pretty thin." Some women had two dresses, some three. All were alike; there was no "best dress." Two of the largest hides were required for the woman's garment, which hung from her shoulders. According to one informant additional pieces were used for sleeves, but this is doubtless a recent innovation. The head end of the hide was at the bottom of the dress;

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[75] De Angulo, 318, and Spier, Klamath, 207, feel that the Plains costume is late.

[76] "Just like the Hawaiians wear" (SA).

Wadátkuht

103
The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91,
361 and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more
[776] than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg^{o} tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg^{o}, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas
[226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers
ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers
[251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidū dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16
[412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite
boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said
[231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other infor-
mation concerning this village was obtainable, except that
[417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a
corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadátkuht

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). 622 [177]

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given. 421 [648]

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed. 428 [764]

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor. [756]

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method. 762

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink. [757]

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath
the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite
mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling
debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed,
although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of
sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This
seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably
displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part
to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that
aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers
and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the
Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that
if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their
trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
[422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of
friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from
the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and
had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them.
However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
[231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but
gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The
Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive
games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights
arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

224 756 [533] across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of
● [422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

224 237 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup^{i}, and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner.
It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization
or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman
acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual
[525] gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive
resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
420] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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[462]

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[1423
262]

	To	Kl	K2	Kb	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WH	Ki	Ak
398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Gathering														
410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
413. Grinding in mortar (purama)	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Miscellaneous Plants														
433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mütse)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
436. Needles burnt off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	•+
443a. Hooked pole (tsama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
451a. Piled on ground, covered	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
462. Nuts ground on metate (mata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

[p.374]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
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343
515

N
A
[757]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ak
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	·	−	•+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	−	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
748a. Optional	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	+
749. Smoking while bathing	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−
751. Women used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
752a. Up to 7	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
752b. 10 or more	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
753. Use as clubhouse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	−	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N

●[423]

N
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343
[341]

N
[764]

Miscellaneous Houses

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ak
760. Dog house	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
761. Small, domed willow	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
762. Special grinding house	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
763. Menstrual house	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	·	−	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−
763c. Burial in caves	·	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−

N
346

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ak
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−
765. For general gatherings only	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
766. Circular	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
767. Brush fence	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768a. E	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768b. Any direction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
770. Fires around fence	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
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501

NAVIGATION

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ak
772. Pole or log raft	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−
774a. 4 or more	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.); 8 or less	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
778a. 8-12	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
779. Prow curved up	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
780. No. of persons held: 2	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p.380]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Chiefs (vuhenavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinanömö)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugavu voinavi)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamövoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2160. For hunting generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2161. For pine-nut trip	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2162. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	•-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2167. Band owned fishing streams	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2169. Family owned seed plots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	•-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•-	•+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2177. Captives	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	+	•+	-	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Domed willow house	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	·	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	•+	·	•+	+	•-	•-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
2181a. 30 ("month")	·	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	·	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+

N
W
A
571

N
W
A
622
W
A
[624]

N
W
A
621
423

N
W
A
721
W
A
727

N
A
778
832
N
W
A
844

N
262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere is it common.

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to
A trade. I think the distance would prohibit such
[222] a thing before the horse was introduced. AE: Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good, were not important as food.

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: +
N (Steward, 242).

[415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N
222 467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although among several of the bands there was said to have
423 been family ownership of plots, among none of these was it true ownership. One family might claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

N
252 468-470. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

262 470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N
252 471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as de-
222 scribed by Steward, 245. Tö: The seeds of the
262 tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important. Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moc-
N casins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Still-
[438] water (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Humboldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts.

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

137 Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were
222 used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisilique Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^1-nö^{e}ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes). W [226]

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 W [721] 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. Kü: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute N [423] N 721 173 the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and 101 Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms 131 part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the [428] Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, or that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[26] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[27] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[28]

That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty- 101 signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems 648 evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[30] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[31] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[32] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[33]

Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two 101 Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre-

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily 101 used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting 131 in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known 221 as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadɨ (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall [224] they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region [423] west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise — Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver- 423 Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty 648 miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of 131 the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improbable in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band" living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

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2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by ethnographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1865-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
181 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chew-
[223] aucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p.
212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol.
1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of
Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew,
Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs
on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of
Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15,
24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt.,
1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on
Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute
from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation
see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley
Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
● 423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the off-
114 ing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342).

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51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129).

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52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

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53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381.

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

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55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431).

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Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen-

154. Warm Springs Agent John Smith notes Snake raids on the Agency from 1859 through 1863; in 1859 the Snakes ran off 700 head of horses and took over the Agency buildings for a time; in 1863 they stole 200 horses. No raids are noted for 1864-1866, but in the latter year Weawewa wintered on the Deschutes River and raided Scott's ranch on Trout Creek, twelve miles east of the Warm Springs Agency (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. John Smith to J. W. Perit Huntington, Warm Springs Agency, Ore., April 11, 1866; NA. WDC. DC. R-35-1866, clipping from Daily Mountaineer, April 19, 1866 enclosed with Smith's letter). The next year (1867) Weawewa raided Warm Springs and killed Past-am-ine, "one of the most intelligents Indians" (RCIA 1868 [CDS #1399] p. 579). In 1868, before Gen. George Crook's peace at Camp Harney was concluded on June 30, 1868 (see fn. 223), there were minor raids on Warm Springs, with a total of thirty to forty horses stolen (idem). 648 726 579

155. In 1862 and 1863, according to Capt. John M. Drake, Panai'na raided Warm Springs and also extended his activities eastward to the Canyon City road (WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 334). This road from Silver Lake to Canyon City, Ore., was then being used by heavily loaded supply trains and drovers, and was a new and lucrative field of operation for Panai'na. Gold had been discovered at Canyon City in 1862, and "work commenced in 1863 ... although the miners often suffered severely from the depredations of the Snakes." Canyon City was then "considered as good a mining camp as any in Oregon or Northern California" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Ore., Dec. 22, 1868).

Fear of attack from Panai'na and his warriors in the Warm Springs region persisted until 1867; in October of that year Huntington, apparently still skeptical of reports that Panai'na had been killed (see below), requested a military escort for the first annuity goods he was taking from Dalles, Ore., to Klamath Agency. He specifically asked for this escort "after leaving Trout Creek (which is about twenty miles North East of Warm Springs Agency and forty miles North of Crooked River)" because "Beyond Trout Creek is the country of Pauline and his band, the most dangerous of any on the route. I shall be very reluctant to go into it without escort" (NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73).

156. For location of Trout Creek see fn. 155. The Trout Creek region at this time was supposedly "neutral ground" between the Snakes and the Warm Springs Indians, and was used by the latter for hunting (Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 53). 648 423

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [177] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not [423 62] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

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[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have [754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 837] Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels [157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception [423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. [422] A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief [579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. [525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

puhágəm or tunápuhágəm (tuná, antelope; puhágəm, shaman). 224
If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756
is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124] memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423] shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is fre- 224
quently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756
string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was re- 533
ported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

Gathering seeds.—By October various seeds were ripe. The seeds of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, were especially mentioned, also the seeds from the cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The fine down to which the cat-tail seeds are attached is spread upon the hard ground of a playa to the depth of 1 or 2 inches and over a space of 5 to 10 feet in diameter. It is then burned. More of the down is gradually added and continually stirred with sticks in order that it may be fully consumed. At the end of a hard day's labor there may be a sufficient quantity of seed upon the ground to fill several sacks. The method of removing the nut-like shell of these and other minute seeds is explained in discussing the various implements. It was a common thing to make porridge of several seed meals mixed. 222 [262]

The one-leaf piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, a tree 8 to 25, or rarely 45, feet in height, is found on the range east of Carson sink at an elevation of over 1000 or 1500 feet above the valley. It formed so important a source of food that different bands of Northern Paiute held proprietary rights to certain tracts. Winnemucca claimed the particular mountain on which is located the mythical "Weasel trail," described later (p. 160; no. 1, pl. 68). Late in autumn the nuts were gathered and secreted in piles until opportunity presented itself for transportation. [423] ● [621]

Basketry.—The typical Northern Paiute hulling basket (tema) is a flat triangular tray, while other tribes, as well as the cave people, had circular hulling trays. A layer of seeds is placed upon such a basket, and pressure applied with a circular motion with a flat stone. This cracks the nut-like seed coverings, after which the kernel and shells are separated by winnowing. A hulling basket may be of coiled (pl. 30a)[z] or other weave, but it must be a tight weave, as it is used to hull small seeds. Tema baskets are also used in roasting seeds, either before or after hulling, by placing them on the basket with coals and shaking. For the hulling of pine nuts and the larger seeds a coarser basket called yata may be used. 285 252

A flat wicker tema basket, triangular in shape, 24 by 30 inches in size, was found several miles north of Lovelock cave, at the base of a cliff, at an elevation of some 300 feet above the level of the plain. It is undoubtedly a Northern Paiute specimen left on the spot in recent decades. It is made of willow, there being 32 warp rods and 40 courses of woof to 10 centimeters. The woof is single, unlike that in baskets found in the cave, and passes over two warps at a time, giving the basket a superficial appearance of being of diagonal twined weave. 285

[z] [See category 116, End Plate 30—Analyst]

Wadátkuht

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching for the native houses constructed at this village. Except for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not. 361 [824] [342]

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family getting there first expecting to have no competition unless they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often invited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn-rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility. 22 [171] [423] 22 648

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only among those families too improvident to secure and store an adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households that worked diligently collecting food during the other three 22 185 735

W

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off. 103

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road. W

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake. 103 124 W N

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region. 114 131 W [124] N [423] W N [648]

Northern Paiute NR13

175 648 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility [621] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute [178] led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated [423] with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 114 231 178 621 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

usually he has a song, in which event he does not carry the token. 756
Every shaman dreams his own songs. They are his exclusively and 787
are not sung by another.

Piudy thought that a dying shaman did not will his spirits or [778]
paraphernalia. The latter were destroyed upon his death; sometimes
they were burned, sometimes buried with him. Joshua thought that [424]
a shaman might will his power to his son, or daughter, or to his wife,
but he thought that they had to dream too. In other words, the
transfer was not automatic. According to Joshua, "Charlie Washo's
father was a doctor. When he died he left his things to his wife. She
was nearly able to doctor when her husband died." Dr. Sam stated,
"Four old doctors who were childless taught me. They taught me
when I was a little bit of a fellow. I dreamed of things and they
helped me cure people." This suggests that a shaman might teach
his son. Billy Peanuts, whom, by the way, some do not regard as a
full-fledged shaman, is assisted by his son.

A doctor's equipment consisted of beads, eagle feathers, a stone 756
pipe, and a deer-hoof rattle. These were carried in a sack about the 778
waist, nowadays in a suitcase. The beads were used "to see how the pain worked." Piudy thought that "eagle feathers were not always used in doctoring. We learned to use them from the people north, farther north than the Bannock." Two kinds of eagle feathers were used: a long tail feather and down from beneath the wing. The latter might be all white. Joshua said that eagle feathers were split and twisted about a thong so as not to break. They were not dyed. Sometimes the patient held the feathers; sometimes they were placed over the afflicted part. Before a doctor sang, he filled his stone pipe with tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') in order "to help his body." He removed his moccasins before smoking lest someone think him afraid of flying sparks from the fireplace.[230] The deer-hoof rattle was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Its particular function in healing is not clear, but it "helped."

It is of some interest that the usual correlation of the tambourine [534]
with shamanism does not hold for the Gidṳ'tikadᵘ. This rather argues
for the late introduction of the drum and seems to bear out Piudy's statement that the drum "came from the north and northeast when the white people came."

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[230] Cf. Lowie, NS, 214 and SB, 215. Apparently the Cochiti practitioner removes his "shoes" before smoking, Curtis, 16:94. Miss Cora Du Bois tells me that the Wintu adhere to the same custom.

756 424 Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about it so I am not a shaman."

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

> If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker [775] shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming [787] from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then her power tells her to be a shaman.

756 787 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the parent is still alive.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

[778] *Power quest.*—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 787 The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

> 159 [778] There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this mountain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams. I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the 756
past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also 622
possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, [668]
was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was re- 756
sponsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence 622
of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with 178
the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of 756
Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and 554
accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, [424]
the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^{1}-nó^{c}ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." W [226] Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

● N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no W [721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive N [423] right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. Kü: The N 721 173 only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

[p.440(B)]

report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648

Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca. Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721]
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympathizers when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Hunibui Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reserva- 727
tion in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were trans- 648
ferred to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reservation but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and [425]●
bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

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[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.

[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

WadátKuht

Kitty said the Paiutes never fought the Maidu, but they did fight the Pit River people who were called Sai'^{t} numusi hu uhd, "People's insides hung up". They got this name because they killed and eviscerated some Paiute people at the Paiute village of ^{t}'Pog on Pyramid Lake. This village was at a spring on a hillside on the Simon ranch. The Pit River people wound the intestines of the slain Paiutes on the sagebrush. This fight took place about 1851 when the whites first began to come into this area. 648

The Pit River people also killed some Paiutes near Likely, Modoc County, at about the same time as the fight at Pyramid Lake. During various other fights, however the Paiutes were able to kill some Pit River people.

Kitty had never heard of fights between the Washo and the Paiutes. However, the Washo and the Maidu never could get along together, and often fought.

The informants gave several accounts of stealing women by the different groups. Pit River men returning from fishing trips, and on their way back to their own country would capture Maidu women. Dick Wright, a Wadátkuht, captured a Maidu woman, Ginny, and kept her for his wife. Joaquin's father's brother, Baba Kuhku^{a}, captured a Maidu woman for his wife. A small Paiute man named Wihibigo'gai^{yuh} had two wives. One of them was a Pit River woman he captured during a fight with the Pit River people at Likely around 1850.

Ike told a story about the capture of a Paiute woman (from a band he did not identify) by the Bannock. The man who stole her already had a Bannock wife and the Bannock treated the captured woman badly. The Paiute woman had a son by the Bannock man. 648 539

The Bannock man's mother took pity upon the Paiute woman and made her several pairs of moccasins and told her to steal away and return to her own people. One day when everyone else was away hunting, the mother-in-law gave the Paiute woman a big dog upon which she had tied packs of food for the trip of the woman and her boy back to her own home. The two were able to make good their escape. When the boy grew up he went back to the Bannock to steal horses and on one trip was captured; at that time he discovered his father. [492]

Ike also gave information concerning horse stealing by the Paiutes. The only Paiutes who had horses in the early 648 425

Wædatkuht

648 ● 425 days were those individuals who walked north to the Bannock country and stole horses from them. One such man was Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Köpadkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiute man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] [492] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse stealing was one such element. The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

727 535 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'öpökama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaka', "that"; ö, "your"; pö, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

[766] 764 times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much. He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money." Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for [428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog." If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

[551] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt

8:Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1937
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595 two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

595 Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

182 It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connec-
595 tion with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as im-
● [428] portant as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3]
595 Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso,
587 unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although
[584] Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Caucasians. This stage of interracial contact which created the milieu of Indian groups under 622 pressure and who needed a strong leader, and of Caucasians who had to handle the "Indian problem" 648 by negotiation rather than by force if possible, is what may have led to the emergence of Old Winnemucca as a strong chief. The record is clear that he had much more prestige, support, and authority among the Paviotso in the 1860–1870 decade than in the 1880's when the Paviotso tribe no longer could be considered a "problem" (i.e., after the Indians had been "reduced" in the Pyramid Lake war).

After Winnemucca, although his name is today remembered and honored among the Paviotso, his son and successor, Natches, was much less important as a chief *because a strong chief was no longer required by the whites.*

The lineal descent of the chief's position survives today, but a man whose father and grand- 622 father were chiefs, and who today claims that title, may be laughed at for his pretensions by most of the Indians he claims to represent. That this is true of the Washoe tribe is probable, and in my own experience of thirty years ago, I recall that Skinny Dave at the Lovelock Indian Colony was the self-styled chief who was laughed at for this by most of his fellow tribesmen. His claim to the office was correct since his grandfather was Captain Dave, who was married to a daughter of Old Winnemucca—what made it different was that in 1930 Indian chiefs were no longer either needed or in vogue. Sarah Winnemucca (1882) says of this: "I will now speak [423] of the chief. His rank is inherited from father to son, the oldest being the chief by law. If he is dead, the one next to him became chief, or, if there are no sons, the next male relative; but never a woman."

For some reason which I do not understand, this subject has been practically ignored by ethnologists. Before Indian memories become too dim to provide accurate testimony, some student should make detailed inquiries into the matter of Paviotso chieftainship and combine these data with the rich documentary record to produce what is a much-needed study.

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Wadatkuht

756 The first type cured such minor things as headaches and used
massage as a major means of making cures. The second type
[755] seemed to be closely related to the first since he also used
massage, but in addition rubbed medicine into the patient.
The third type had a more complex method of curing. To become
a Numuhgunuhd (and presumably a Nutaigut) a person might dream
for several years that it was necessary for him to become a
doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as
he did not want to become a shaman, for being a doctor entailed
considerable responsibility and effort as in our own society,
but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought
to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The Numuhgunuhd, however, did not have to go out alone to some wild and lonely spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the Nuhpud, did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he tried out being a Numuhgunuhd. If he was not too successful as this type of doctor he had to try to become a Nuhpud.

Gladys was treated once by a relative, Tsudi ("Judy"),
[755] for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a Nuhpud and
used an eighteen inch long arrowcane to suck a clot of blood
from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming
a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's
dreams. It is also said that the mother probably wished her
[428] dreams to her daughter. This would suggest that doctors
tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a shaman
Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both
a Numuhgunuhd and a Nuhpud.

Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the
753 ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's
[775] soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a
sorcerer, who "poisons" (puha') people. It has also been
[754] shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a
call to become a doctor. Unpleasant dreams made people sick;
753 also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be
828 applied to the Wadátkuht, these dreams could have crippling
effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a cave
in which she was trapped. To escape she had to walk over the

Wadátkuht

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., 622
Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). [177]

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated 421
elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come,
first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was
picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no
ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be
told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they
could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as [648]
the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal
boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a
neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have
to be given.

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said 428 ●
that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed
anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all [764]
the personal possessions of a person were buried with him,
and in the old days a man's horse was even killed.

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example [756]
of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in
question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin
family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi,
in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor,
apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It
will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor.

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most 762
often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People
also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse
too fast, or by any other likely method.

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself,
was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so
unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently [757]
ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got
some cream for her to drink.

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584
parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls
were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry
the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated
her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man,
and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually
will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers
and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well,
usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The
girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer
of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually
sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over
and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and
shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to
catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often
encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered con- [585]
sumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings
presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431]
food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a
hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends,
wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a
whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534]
flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men [308]
and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the
menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a
man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [585]
mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848]
refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586
the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In
these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up
the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684]
person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned
their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives,
or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her
parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In
the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may
take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his
wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married
sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

WadátKuht

same ones who went with her each day.

881 Before Kitty's ceremony was completed, however, the family moved over to the village of Matá because the haying was finished at Will Dill's ranch. At Matá Kitty's aunt built a fire up the creek above the village and Kitty ran up there and jumped over the fire twice. Her aunt then took her and bathed her in a big tub and gave her a lecture on not being lazy, and on being good. At this time Kitty's family left a lot of new clothes, blankets, shoes, handkerchiefs... "a whole new outfit"...to pay for the time and effort Kitty's aunt had spent on the ceremony. While being bathed Kitty was scrubbed with sagebrush, sawubi. She and her aunt returned to camp together after Beowuhbi had packed up all of her presents. When they got back to camp there was a big [574] feast, and Joaquin gave presents to all assembled, which included Washo, Maidu and Pit River people as well as the [431] Paiutes. In fact, the man who sang for Kitty's puberty ceremony was a Pit River man by the name of Katkat.

Gladys also went through the puberty ceremony at the onset of menses. During the ceremony she was attended by girls who had been through the ceremony as well as by some who had not yet reached puberty.

On the first day of her menses Gladys moved out of the house with her bedding as she was considered unclean. Her mother went with her. She was not allowed to eat or drink out of any utensil which might be used by anyone else, she had to wear old clothes, keep away from people, and got very little to eat or drink. She did get some soda crackers, however, because that was about all they had on hand at that time which she was allowed to eat. The family was camped at the De Witt ranch near Wendel at this time.

On the second day, the family was in Susanville and Kitty, with Gladys, went to see Big Rosie George, a Maidu woman, who was related to Gladys' father, who was a Maidu. [797] Other people were notified that a ceremony was to be held and they all went up to where the Indian Mission now stands at Indian Heights (in Susanville) to look over the dance ground. People prepared abalone shell pendants, deer hoof [574] rattles and other things necessary for the ceremony. There was a "pot luck" dinner in the evening of the first and second [535] nights at the dance grounds. The dinner was followed by dancing. As for food, Gladys was not supposed to get anything to eat but someone sneaked her a slice of white bread.

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner.
It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization
or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman
acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual
[525] gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive
resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

N W 276 578 *795

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote. The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

N W [784] [832]

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

N W 182 554 *795

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

N W 182 435 511 *795

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

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A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle 795*
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of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecu- [434]
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Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the N
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in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be 795*
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The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, 182
wishful thinking, conscious ~~or~~ unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or
two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to 795*
cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what
to believe. N

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION
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Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly 177
or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural 795*
compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

N W 276 578 *795

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire N
for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[illegible] W

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, 182
wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or
two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to 795*
cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they
are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame
peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote
is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is
not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true
purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is
a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt
their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as
much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what N
to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

W

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly 177
or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural 795*
compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

N

Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one W
mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members. 159

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake 755
(California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at 795 *
the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of 797
digitalis,[illegible] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lan- N
caster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. W
When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the [578]
sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[illegible] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available. N

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding W
[435]

[illegible] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.

[illegible] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

N
W his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At
276 least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the
578 cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform
*795 School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a
congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that
marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same
sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote. The basis for this
accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and
burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some
N in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was
W a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been
[786] given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any dis-
[832] play of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is
N the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute re-
W actions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor
182 and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November,
554 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an
*795 attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank
Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the
rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it
detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the
United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans prob-
N ably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose
peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

W Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's
182 insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few
●435 who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment
511 for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The
*795 willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been
conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially
among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling
expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing,
shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to."
Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic
gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings,
Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the
N Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might pro-
vide them with jobs.

W Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the
182 Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rational-
493 izations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow
*795 man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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[434] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

Wadátkuht

291 sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty
[292] ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease,
was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with
[881] sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to
[352] Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had
[281] reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] Ornament. Joaquin made central California-type flicker
feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear
301 Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's
mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her
237 throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi,
and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, Colaptes
cafer), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands.
Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker
bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] Abalone shells are called nakákoab[1] (after naká, "ear")
and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears
[304] which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone
[881] shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry
seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and
were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads
were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five
cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell
beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people.
[435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents
apiece. Spire-ground Olivella beads were called pot' and
brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pizhuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
524
N
W
A
436

	To	Kl	K2	Ka	To	Tu	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Ty	Wo	Ki	AE
1887. Poggee	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1888. MONEY (kusitsa)	−	•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1890. Glass	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1891a. With middle finger	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1892. With thumb	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1893. With hand to elbow	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
TOBACCO AND SMOKING														
Pipe														
*1898. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1899. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1902. L-shaped bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•−	−
1903. Of stone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1904. With stem	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
*1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1906a. Bone	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
1907. Cane	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
1908. Elderberry	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
1909. Rosewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cigarette														
*1914. Cane filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
*1916. Chewing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Miscellaneous														
1921. Smoking any time	−	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	−	+	+	−	−	−
1922. Bedtime	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+
1927. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1927a. Sun lights pipe	·	·	·	·	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
***Tobacco (pui'pomo)**														
1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	−	+	+	+	•+
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+

N
W
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[756]
N
A
[763]

N
W
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[p. 402]

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524] 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).

1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.

1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).

1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.

A [224 441] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.

1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.

N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.

1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

N [177] 1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).

N [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GN denied any such games.

N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).

1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

● N 436 177 1888. Kl, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(B)]

N 436 177 439 insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - W [439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz. W [135]

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 172] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa^{cPu}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + W [534] (Smith, notes).

N [172 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [172] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

N [178 759] 1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

[p. 439(A)]

Largely because of this popu-
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [452]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been men-
tioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear,
the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may
be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect
felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general
feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with
supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's
death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of
such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths
among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the
weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these move-
ments. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the
dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remem-
bered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

Achomawi NS5

N 262 areas where it was said not to occur. Nowhere is it common.

443. Wd: BJ said he had heard that Kuyui brought piñon nuts to Burns in the old days to trade. I think the distance would prohibit such a thing before the horse was introduced. AE: Piñon nuts were obtained on the Saddle Back, W of Eagle Peak. The piñon nuts, small but good, were not important as food. A [222]

443a, 446. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

451, 453a, 458, 462, 464. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242).

N [415] 466. Owens Valley: Conical baskets and buckskin bags used to transport piñon nuts (Steward, 242).

N 222 423 467. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 242). Although among several of the bands there was said to have been family ownership of plots, among none of these was it true ownership. One family might claim a plot, but anyone who wished would get nuts there. No mention was made of quarrels or stone throwing resulting from trespass, as was recorded by Steward, 241, for Owens Valley.

467a. As with family ownership, so with band ownership. Each band claimed a certain area because it usually went there for piñon nuts; however, it went elsewhere, often to an area claimed by another band, in event of crop failure. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 241).

N 252 262 468-470. ~~Owens Valley: +~~ (Steward, 242).

470. Chilled mush is assumed to be flour made of roasted piñon nuts mixed with cold water and eaten without additional cooking. Mush is made the same except the flour and water are heated.

Miscellaneous Plant Foods

N 252 222 262 471. N. Paiute: "Cane" sugar was obtained at Carson and Humboldt sinks in same manner as described by Steward, 245. Tö: The seeds of the tövusi were so sweet that sugar was not important. Pa: The Agai and Pakwi went to Carson Lake for cane sugar. At: The Atsa traded buckskin, moccasins, Indian potatoes for cane sugar from Stillwater (Toe). Old trail from McDermitt to Humboldt ran just W of Santa Rosa mts. N [438]

471a. Sa: "Cane" sugar from Lovelock.

478-479. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Other Plants and Seeds Used

137 222 Specimens of about 60 plants, most of which were used by the Indians, were pressed in the field and were presented to the U. C. Herbarium. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert L. Mason for identifications, unless otherwise noted.

483. Identification: Radicula curvisiliqua Hook., Cruciferae family (Steward, 242). Sisymbrium sophia, S. incisum Engelm., or S. pinnatum Green (Kelly, 98). Mason identified specimen from Reno as a Crucifera. This suggests that different genera of Cruciferae may have been designated by the same native term.

[p. 428(A)]

226 (wi'ha') with constricted neck was known; it was described as a stiff willow "sock-like" basket, five to eight feet long and three feet in diameter at the mouth. Pindy noted that it was used especially by the Malheur Paiute. A woman held the contrivance in the stream while the men or boys frightened the fish toward her. When she felt a fish enter, she snatched the basket from the water, knocked the fish with a club, and placed it in a burden basket. Fish were not allowed to struggle because they would tire and taste badly.

The bone gorget (wina'in^{a}) was described by Dr. Sam for the Silver Lake band, but Gidū'tikad^{a} informants were openly doubtful or definitely denied its use. The gorget, usable only in lakes or deep streams, was unsuited to the Surprise valley small-creek fishing.

Pindy described a double-pointed fish harpoon (hu'ū) of willow, as long as the stick allowed, possibly eight feet. The point consisted of a forked stick to which bone points were fastened with sinew. This forked point, said to have been detachable, was tied to the shaft with wiha'b' twine. The instrument was thrust, not thrown, and did not leave the fisherman's hand. Pindy said that it was used in Buck creek because "there was more water there." Dr. Sam gave a similar description but added that trout were caught in this manner from a tule blind constructed near the spawning grounds. According to Nannie Ochiho, the fish spear (harpoon?) had a single point of greasewood. It was used for winter fishing through a hole hacked in the ice, presumably of Warner lake.

Fish were not shot ordinarily, but according to Pindy this was sometimes done in small streams near Adel. "If there are many suckers, make greasewood arrows without feathers and shoot the fish."

The same informant described a combined dam and trap which was used about Malheur. A frame was made by placing two rows of sticks together lean-to fashion with the series of projecting tops on the downstream side somewhat lower than on the other. The lower part of the frame was filled solid with willows and formed an effective dam. Fish proceeding upstream tried to jump the barrier and were caught in the trough formed at the top by the projecting crossed rods. This dam was called wa'ma and was used for "fish that were pretty big, but not salmon."

[386]
439 Red paint and roots, such as ya'pa', hapi'i, and hu'nibui, were given the Achomawi in exchange for fish which had been split and dried. My informants[57] expressly denied that dried fish had ever been

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[57] JB, SW. Pindy denied any traffic in fish.

received in powdered form.[illegible] Joshua listed the fish obtained through 439
trade as kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), yüani, tsia'ns, and tsowa'm.

Preparation of fish.—Fish were usually cooked in the ashes of the 251
fireplace, although they could be boiled. They were dried on a rack 252
or hung from the boughs of a juniper, but were never placed near the fire to dry as was meat. Usually fish were slit before drying but sometimes not, doubtless depending upon size. As a general thing, fish were not smoked.

Dried fish were packed in an open-twine tule or sagebrush-bark 251
sack "like those the Modocs use only not as well made." These bags 415
were called mago"o (general word for container) and were possibly four feet in length and two in width. Their size argues considerable quantity. Minnie Anderson said that fish did not keep very long; "they tasted funny." Dried fish were prepared by boiling or by roasting but were not pounded.

Fish eggs (a'gai noho) were dried and ground.

VEGETABLE FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION

The Gidü'tikad[1], like other non-agricultural peoples, gathered 222
such seeds, berries, and roots as their habitat offered. All informants 137
stressed the great plenty of these foods in the early days, and their statements are corroborated by those of the first settlers, who maintain that, although now sage-covered, the whole valley was formerly meadowland. Plant specimens are difficult to obtain and on the whole the data are pretty meager. Surprise valley itself yielded little, but a number of specimens were procured on the southern shores of Cowhead lake, a few miles northeast of Fort Bidwell; some were also gathered west of the Warners and a few more near Beatty, Oregon. The seed material is particularly sparse; the list below probably includes less than a fourth of the original number. It does appear however, that the most important seed plants are represented. The list of berries and roots is somewhat larger and seems relatively complete.

Seeds.—In late summer women gathered seeds in a twined conical 222
basket or in a light sack of deer or antelope hide. For ordinary seeds, 415
such as grasses, the woman held the container in her left hand and knocked the seeds into it with the twined beater which she wielded in her right hand. She gathered other seeds, such as those of sunflowers, by pulling the dry blossoms and depositing them in the burden basket.

[illegible] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

302 386 Pindy and Daisy had not heard of blue paint, but one informant stated that it occurred in the same place as red paint; another, that it came from the water (a mud ?). Certainly it was not in general use. One or two mentioned a black paint, possibly to be identified with the blue. Joshua stated that it was made from pine pitch. When asked concerning it, Daisy said, "We didn't use pitch. That's what the Achomawi used when they were mourning."

ORNAMENTS

301 Beads (tzomi'hi) were made from swan-wing bones, fawn hoofs, deer-toe bones, and rabbit-foot bones. Rabbit feet were placed in hot ashes in order to dry the bones for bead making. Beads were either attached to the dress or strung and worn about the neck and wrists. A necklace frequently consisted of alternate beads and juniper berries. Women wore beads more than men.

Flat disk beads, apparently clam shell, were highly prized. "Beads like this are called kwinñ'gaᵉ, and we had them for beads a long time ago. They are high priced beads. I paid fifty cents apiece for these, and they even traded a horse for a short necklace of them. The Warm [439] ●
Springs Indians used to come here and bring them" (DB). Piudy spoke of "beads which came from the northeast. If a man thought he was rich he wore some around his wrist."

301 304 Finger rings were unknown in the old days. Piercing the nasal septum seems to have been unusual even in early times, but in a Paviotso tale[110] Coyote sticks an ornament through his nose. Minnie Anderson could recall having seen "just one old man with feathers in his nose."

Ear lobes were often pierced in infancy in order to secure health and longevity for the baby or, according to another account, to prevent its crying.[111] The piercing instrument was a sharp stick of rabbit brush, not a bone awl. Deer grease was smeared on and a small stick worn in the aperture to keep it open. Later this was replaced by a clean stick. A small strip of deer hide was tied in the hole; for some reason or other Minnie thought that shells and beads were never worn pendant from the ear. The Gidü'tikad[8] pierced the ear only once, but Pindy could remember having seen a Paiute named Egan from "up north" who had holes all along the rim of the ear.

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[110] Lowie, ST, 200.

[111] "Not all persons had the ears pierced. I don't know any reason for punching a baby's ears. I'm a man; you had better ask a woman about that" (P).

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534
322
Flute.—The Gidü'tikad^a knew the simple flute, called woi'fi. Ku'nu"gib was also recorded as flute but seems rather to apply to a wood of which the flute was sometimes made. This wood was said to be "like a willow but growing in the mountains." More frequently the flute was of elder (hubu') stem from which the inner pith had been pushed. The flute was described as from twelve to fourteen inches long, cut slanting across the mouth end. In the old days it was never blown from the side or with the nose. According to Joshua, the instrument ordinarily had six holes, but formerly only four;[171] Piudy mentioned four holes, played by two fingers of each hand; Daisy and Charlie Washo reported eight holes, "just enough holes for four fingers of each hand." The flute was played only by men. Its use was entirely recreational; it was not used in courting. The bone whistle was unknown.

Rasp.—The notched stick is not Gidü'tikad^a. Dr. Sam described it for his band in connection with antelope charming, but Surprise Valley informants reported in its stead a plain stick wound with "string." Lowie[172] mentions the notched stick in the same connection for the Nevada Paviotso; but Sarah Winnemucca[173] is not explicit as to the kind of rasp used.

> My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound.

According to Joshua, "The notched stick is Shoshone; they use it in the Bear dance. It sounds like a washboard." Mettie Petty of Beatty said that it served her people as a dance accompaniment; Daisy Brown reported a similar use by the Nevada Paviotso.

Rattles.—Deer hoofs were sometimes tied about the knees when dancing. This practice had no special name. The deer-hoof rattle (witsa'baiya) was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Joshua described its manufacture as follows:

> Make (?) the hoofs all one size. Warm them and punch a hole in one corner. Run a string through the holes. Twist the string around a stick about 16 inches long. Then shake it up and down.

[439] Susie Archie knew of cocoon rattles which she said the Paiute bought from coast peoples.

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[171] Four is the customary number in California. Kroeber, Handbook, 824.

[172] SE, 303.

[173] P. 56.

TRADE

Trade seems to have been carried on to a moderate extent. Sinew, arrowheads, red paint, buckskins, and moccasins were bartered with the adjacent Achomawi. The latter seem to have held moccasins in particularly high esteem, for when an Achomawi killed a Paiute he invariably removed the moccasins for his own use. In return for the above mentioned articles, the Paiute secured the Achomawi bow which "was of young oak and good and stout. It had lots of sinew on one side." Achomawi arrows (atsa'-adi; red-arrow, so-called because of red paint on them) were also "pretty good." A person might exchange a rabbitskin blanket for an Achomawi bow and arrow. 439 ●

According to Joshua, the Paiute also secured baskets, including women's caps, from the Achomawi. This is not surprising in view of the execrable character of their own work. Piudy doubted there was much traffic in baskets; the only good Achomawi baskets, he said, were made far to the west, the craft of the eastern Achomawi not being much better than their own. Nowadays, at least, there is a certain amount of interchange, for I have noted several baskets purchased locally which are indubitably of Achomawi origin. Baskets of Klamath-Modoc type also crop up now and then.

Although Piudy minimized the traffic in food products, the Gidū'tikad[8] certainly obtained dried fish from their western neighbors. The fish were slit and sun-dried, not ground.[179] Joshua stated that the Paiute traded for kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), and yūani, tsia'na, and tsowa'm, the last three unidentified. In exchange, the Achomawi were given red paint and various foods such as ya'pa, hu'"nibui, and hapi'^{i}.

[231]

Informants report some trade with the Klamath, and there may possibly have been some with other Paiute bands, but on this I have no data. The Warm Springs Indians are said to have come from the north on trading expeditions, and it was from them that the Gidū'tikad[8] secured their first horses. "A nice looking pony" could be got in exchange for a sack of camas, but buckskin seems to have been the preferred medium.

> Our horses came from the northeast, toward the Bannock. The Burns Paiute got horses and the Warm Springs Indians stole them and brought them here to trade. We had horses before the whites came.

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[179] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

0439 White disc beads (clam shell ?) came from the north (Warm Springs) and even today are highly valued. Daisy paid fifty cents apiece for the five or six she has and stated that a short necklace once equaled a horse in value. Modern beadwork in Plains style is also purchased from the Warm Springs Indians. Some beadwork is done by the Paiute, chiefly belts and purses. Some make the belts without looms; but I saw one bow-shaped loom such as Lowie noted for the Northern Shoshone.[180]

RECKONINGS

TIME

805 Time of day was indicated by the position of the sun. The following list was given by Joshua; it has not been checked with another informant:

Taba'-a-gina (ta'ba, sun; gina, up, visible); before daylight, nearly day
Oha'-na-gina (oha', yellow); just before sunrise
Taba'-taibui-gina (taibui, come out); sunrise
Taba-pafa'tü-mana'ik^{e} (pafa'tü, high, higher; mana'ik^{e}, happen); a little way up
Awa'nna'^{e}-tabi'na (awa'nna'^{e}, morning; tabi'na, noon); halfway up
Tabi'na; noon
Yüšü'kwü; halfway down
Taba'-igia'ga'^{e}-dui (igia'ga'^{e}, down; dui, nearly); nearly down; at the top of the hills
Taba'-igia-mü'na (mü'na, already); sun down
Tuyu'pua-mü'na (tuyu'pua, twilight); dusk
Toga'-na-mü'na (toga', dark); dark

Four seasons were recognized as follows: ta'ma'n^{e}, spring; da'dza', summer; yü'ba'n^{e}, fall; tomo, winter.

The time count, based on descriptive designations for lunar periods, started in the fall with the rutting season of deer and antelope[181] and ceased in spring. Summer months were unnamed; "the real months they count are winter and spring; they don't care about counting summer." The number of days comprising a lunation (müha) was of small concern. Some informants placed it at thirty or thirty-one; others stated frankly that "they never counted the days in the month." A month started with the appearance of the new moon.

[861] In winter they watched for the new moon. The last day the moon was little and came just before daylight. When they saw the new moon they called it the first day. Then they made all the young boys run about a half mile, carry dry

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[180] Lowie, NS, 177.
[181] Determined by the taste of the meat.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
796 Next I went to the creek alone and took a bath.
262 After the ceremony my mother and father and I
ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick."
The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the
birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described
by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only
heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat
his own game until after a special ceremony
which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5
deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother
chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage
and then sucked the boy's joints." He was sup-
A posed never to get tired after that. AE: Game
killed by youth was taboo until after a shoot-
[796 ing ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung
262] up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at.
As soon as he hit the target, but not before,
was the taboo lifted.

373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: - (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in
[783] water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from
dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: - (LP).

N
401. To: - (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd:
796 Had offering ceremonies similar to this one de-
782 scribed by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the
last morning of the big 5-day spring round
dance. Just before dawn a half circle was
formed at the west side of the dance place by
basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each
cup contained but one type of food, such as
seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts,
and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head
man took each cup separately, danced around the
circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all di-
A rections, and prayed for a good season for all
[782] things. AE: See note 25 AE.

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

N
410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade
262 or expedition from California, not important
● 439 in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + in-
sisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

N
413. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare
415 acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not
make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians,
N or maybe God, made them."
262 434. The use of cactus was denied only in

[p.427(B)]

Washo . NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).

301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville

● [139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.

172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).

1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).

A 1333. Tö: Bought from California. AE: Only

[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads on dress. Obtained from California Indians W of Achomawi.

1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung to wear were the only bone beads.

W [301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl.

N [172] 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N 292 177 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).

1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.

N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face

302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).

296 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red

[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."

A 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,

[135] SE of Alturas.

1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).

N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green

[322] and blue.

N 1365. Kü, Tö: Yadupi was obtained in abun-

[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-

N rial as Fe_2O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is

[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena," which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil

A spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got

[439] from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2

302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of otter fur" (Curtis, 61).

1382. Ki: — (Kelly, 115, but she cites De Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).

1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed braiding style before white people arrived.

W [302] 1387. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [172] 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).

1396. Tö: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

N
436
177 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
459 ute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to
W use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
[439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N
276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field
Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe
N on her plate 32,b.

[177 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a re-
cent introduction.

172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men
[276 smoked much in old days.

756 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Moun-
[782] tain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering
[756 of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the
782] pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N
249 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa^{oFu}.
824 1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534
Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians
W when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
[534] (Smith, notes).

N 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).
[172 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only
756] by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N
[178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line
N along a buckskin string; the string is wound
[281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on
[178 skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa:
759] Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

[p. 439(A)]

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivalvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[43] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahaps, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wip.

pipebE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, siwapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[43] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329-405, 1911. [113]

Wadátkuht

103
361 17. ^{k}Távi wanud ("Fir Tree Basin"). The informants said the name meant "Cedar Basin", however, the name for cedar is pawap^{i}, that for juniper is wap^{i}, and for fir is ^{k}tavi. This village was located at the north end of Horse Lake, the remains of which are presumably represented by the archaeological site Las-13. The village took its name from a cedar (sic) tree which was growing in a sort of basin where the village was located. The region about Horse Lake is a juniper/sage environment so a cedar tree would be exceptional in that region. Susy Buster gave the name for this village and additionally stated that the lake belonged to the Wadátku

[172] Judging from the archaeological remains the village here must have been of considerable importance, and/or of long occupation. Numerous artifacts and at least one burial have been recovered from this site.

18. Sigu patsóna ("Sagebrush Spring"). This was probably the major village for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, and was Ike Northrup's home village. His father, Nunu' kai (nunu', "snake", kai, "no"), was a shaman and was headman for the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. The village was occupied until around 1900 and the houses were of native construction. One of these houses burned one winter with a complete loss of personal property. It was Ike Northrup's house and he lost his bow and arrows, rabbit skin blankets, some moccasins and other gear.

[439] Sam, or Nunu' kai, raised potatoes at this village for sale to the store in Janesville operated by Jim McClelland. He would trade the potatoes for food.

The archaeological designation for this village is Las-104 (T31N/R15E/Sec. 1). The site is among low sandy ridges about one mile east of where the county road turns west off Highway 395 to go to Karlo. There is a spring and a tall poplar tree at the site.

Although this important winter village may be classed as a nogat, a primary winter village, as is Matá at Milford, there were several other sites which substituted for this winter village. When a winter was too cold the Secret Valley group moved to Honey Lake Valley in the vicinity of Gibson's ranch several miles east of Litchfield. Another winter village was located about one mile west of Sigu patsóna on a sandy ridge overlooking a large meadow. This village, however, seems to have been a recent post-contact village

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be
263 obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to
have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamőtkuht
territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground
on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also
●439 traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black
262 root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith
Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the
people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht
call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Wadatkuht

222 The buckberry (wiápui, "iron seed", Elaegnus sp.) was
enjoyed by the Wadátkuht but does not grow in their territory.
These berries had to be gotten to the east about Gerlach,
[439] Winnemucca and Yerington, Nevada. They were undoubtedly
obtained through trade and visits to the areas in which they
grew.

The buckberry was good to eat fresh and "tastes like
fresh huckleberries". One person held the limb of the bush
[251] down while another person beat the berries off into a basket.
The berries were dried and stored to be used as needed.
[252] Dried berries were boiled for about fifteen minutes and then
strained through a basket sieve to remove the seeds.

MATERIAL CULTURE

342 Habitations. The relatively permanent, or winter type of house was the conical, tule covered structure called kani. Susy Buster said that no excavation was made for this house but Kitty Joaquin and Gladys Mankins said that a pit about one foot deep was excavated. Whether a pit was dug or not was probably left up to individual preference. The ground plan was circular and ranged from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. Vertical willow poles (Susy Buster said juniper poles were used) were sunk into the ground in a circle, and at the rim of the excavation. The willow poles were about ten feet long and were lashed to a hoop of willow at their upper extremities. The willow hoop was about eighteen inches in diameter and served as the smoke hole. The vertical uprights standing in a circle had, of course, to be bent inward to be lashed to the ring. Several, Susy Buster said three, horizontal elements of willow encircled the vertical, or rather upright elements to give additional stability to the house. The structure was then covered with tule matting (not mentioned by Susy Buster) and then with shingled frames of tules. These frames, called sikwat, consisted of two poles about eighteen inches apart with tules attached to a depth (thickness) of about six inches. These frames of tules were put on in such a way that they provided a shingled pattern. That is to say, both the frames and the underlying tule mats were first attached to the bottom of the house. The dirt from the excavation was banked around the outside of the house and brush piled all around the house for a windbreak and fuel supply for the winter. A ditch also was dug around the house to carry away rain water and melting snow.

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name mumútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

Wadátkuht

525 player was provided with a stick which he used as a marker. The marker was placed between two of the upright sticks in the semi-circle, the exact spot depending upon the number of points the player had just made. If the player happened to get points which allowed his marker to be placed between the same two upright sticks in the semi-circle that held the marker of the opponent, the opponent had to take his indicator stick back to the beginning. The object was for each player to try to get enough points to allow him to go all the way around the semi-circle and back to the starting point before the other player. The one who first reached his starting point in this manner won the pot. Sometimes as many as 80 sticks were used as uprights in the semi-circle.

[172] If Kitty's son has been correct in his identification of the pointed twigs recovered archaeologically we have evidence of such a gambling game being played in prehistoric times in the Wadátkuht area. It was not stated, however, if the Wadátkuht played this type of gambling game. Kitty's son played it in Nevada and may have learned it there rather than as a traditional game at home.

[789] The hand game in which bones were used is called na iakwi. The bones were "filled with something" to give the owner power, or luck in gambling.

525
● 439 It was pointed out by the informants that trade was actually carried out by gambling as such things as deer hides, baskets, and beads were at stake. Dentalia, called pahuka, were brought in and gambled for such things as horses. The Washo and the Paiute commonly traded with one another with the Washo bringing rabbitskin blankets and the Paiute deer skins. What was not gambled away was then traded.

526 Boys about eight years old played a game in which arrows were shot at a bundle of grass thrown on the ground about 25 feet away. Ike and about six other boys would take two shots apiece, unless one of the boys should hit it first. After the bundle was hit it was then propped against a bush and the boys stood back about ten feet and shot at it. Each was allowed two shots until the target was hit. The target was then put on the end of one of the bows and pushed back and forth on the ground in a V pattern. Each boy, again, was allowed to take his usual two shots until the target was hit. The boy who hit the target (most often?) became the winner and won all the bows and arrows from the other boys.

[P.229 a] Western Mono NS25
Northern Piute NR13

N 276 [431] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwɩ´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nɩč) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'ɩša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ɩniša´n nan wan upuš nɩm (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawanɩč or site´lši tawanɩč." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual division of labor was not ironbound but was sufficiently definite to permit of a general statement. Hunting was the male province, but women often assisted, as in communal drives and the capture of water fowl. Traps for small game, such as sage hens, might be set by women or even girls. All equipment connected with the hunt, such as weapons, snowshoes, etc., was made by the men. In net making women might twist the bark fiber, but men did the netting "because they knew how." Such stone working as there was seems to have been done by the men, although with a domestic article as the metate, women seem occasionally to have taken a hand. 462

Women were concerned with the gathering of roots, seeds, berries, and insects, but men occasionally assisted with the last mentioned. Women also prepared food, hauled wood and water, and generally concerned themselves with domestic tasks. Men, home from the hunt, are said to have done the grinding when women were out gathering. Handicrafts such as basketry and sewing were preeminently a woman's work, although it is interesting to note that a man sewed his own quiver.

Both men and women cooperated in house building, the men setting the frame, the women applying the covering. Both sexes also worked hides, although the skinning, as an adjunct of hunting, was always done by the man. Both sexes likewise made rabbitskin blankets.

It is quite apparent that the sexual division of labor followed normal cleavage lines, men engaging in the violent and sporadic tasks, women in the less active and more continuous pursuits.

HUNTING

A boy was eight or nine years old when he started to hunt. 224
After a light snowfall he was sent out to track cottontails and often 857
would bring a few home. A small boy was also directed to hunt wildcats as they climbed in the junipers. He stood beneath the tree and shot the animal with his bow.

When a boy was ten or eleven years old he learned to hunt deer. 224
He accompanied his father and was given instruction in technique. 868

> If I have a boy I tell him how to hunt. I say, "Get up before daylight and go to the hill. Soon you will see deer. Get close and kill one. You must watch

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'ï-nobi (saib^{a}, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74] 342

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^{a}, rye grass). The grass, four or five-feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at [462]
the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away
from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the follow-
ing winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place. 342
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went 417
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dïi'a-nobi; dïi'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18*c*, is frequently seen at the present time.
It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm
weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

301 "Shells from the ocean" (haliotis), called naka'goabi (naka', ear; goabi, shell), were secured from the Warm Springs Indians. The shell was filed into shape by being rubbed on a stone and was pierced with a bone awl. The shell was attached to the ear with sinew. Daisy Brown asserted that nothing else was ever worn in the ear, but complete reliance on a foreign product seems unlikely, and Joshua is probably correct in his contention that "stuff for earrings could be found on the edges of lakes. It was broken and worked with sand or rubbed on a rock."

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES

SKIN DRESSING

281 462 Skin dressing is one of the few old arts which flourishes today. Practically all the work is done by women, although men are acquainted with the process and are said to assist upon occasion. Virtually all the middle-aged women and most of the younger ones are thoroughly versed in the art. There is considerable traffic in buckskin gauntlets, but these are the only articles produced commercially. 292 Buckskin dresses and other kinds of clothing are sometimes made for wear at the fairs, but they are scarce and bring very fancy prices.

281 The skinning is always done by a man; "women don't know how." According to Piudy, the belly is first slit from mouth to crotch and the insides of the fore and hind legs cut upwards to meet the ventral cut. The hoofs are sometimes left on. A cut is made around the back of the neck, eliminating the face parts altogether.

My most complete account of skin dressing follows:

> To skin[112] a deer, cut up the inside of the legs, starting with the back legs. Then cut up the belly. When you are going to use the hide for gloves, cut from the lower lip to the ear, around the ear, and around the back of the head. Indians cut around the ears and horns and leave them on the head.
>
> Soak the hide in water which covers it. Lean a smooth stick against the house, and put the hide over it, catching it between the pole and the house. Clean the inside of the hide with a draw knife (horse ribs used formerly). Work the knife with both hands, downward, toward you. Then turn the hide and scrape off the hair the same way.
>
> Next put the hide in water and work it to get off the blood. When it is white, tie it to a post or tree and wring it. Then hang it on the clothes line.[113] It is

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[112] Piudy's account should be taken in preference to this, because feminine informants are less familiar with the skinning.

[113] "They didn't peg down a hide; they dried it from the limb of a tree" (P).

224 ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November 624 is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the [462] spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have to go a considerable distance.

223

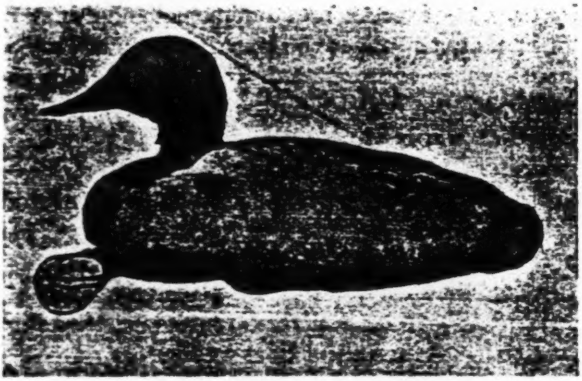

Fig. 1 (50.1-7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

224 624 In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

000 The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.[1]

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[1] Chamberlin, 335 f.

000 for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qu'ü'ts*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

262 Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs
[243] and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914).
In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and
[412] putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of
[415] the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were
everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds
[252] were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled.
[251] Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great
number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of
several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different
species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs:
t'üsá, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is
found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgi*, wild carrot;
múə, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ŭ''ūts*, little onions; *āsi*;
a'qō'; *kusiək'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+į*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*;
wára; *tubûs*, a huskless valley seed.

262 Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the
252 summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes
[222] called Pine-nut eaters.[1] The nuts are shelled by striking them with the
[171] muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement.
The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and
stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, con-
taining small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant
412 of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like
that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;[2] the green stick is
222 hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called
415 *tüpá-qwana* or *tü'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a
thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici- 462

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[1] Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.
[2] Barrett, (b), 16.

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller 222
type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below 415
with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, 462
Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank
Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a [412]
long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down
the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that [178]
nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to
two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away
for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and 272
seeds.

The *ăsi* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on 222
metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* 252
seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāī*" seeds grow in the 412
mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on
one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are
discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in
place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray
(*tüm*^{e}) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side
to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk [272]
either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not
shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then
put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with
cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *ăsúdz* seeds prepared for me.
The metate rested on a *tü'm*^{e} tray. The seeds were rubbed with a
sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which
were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm*^{e} together with the
dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed,
and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and
backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used 000
to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were
used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up
and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries
were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for
the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wic*^{i} root was pounded
up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

000 the ground proved to be about seventeen feet. Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a *four*-pole foundation. Summer shades were also noted. The usual type is the brush-covered four-pole structure shown in Fig. 7b, with the tipi in the background. More substantial than any of these was the earth-covered dwelling of one Ute which was directly patterned on the Navajo hogan and was said to be unique. An Ignacio informant confirmed the statement that four poles were used as a foundation by the Southern Ute. Here reference was made to a conical bark-walled or brush-covered wikiup preceding the buffalo-skin tipi. Both at Ignacio and among the Uintah I was told that twelve poles were used for the tipi, including the two on the outside for regulating the smoke. A Uintah said that the poles were of pine wood, and either elkskins, sometimes to the number of ten, or buffalo skins were sewed together for the cover. When skins were lacking, a smaller cedarbark lodge of round shape was put up; the strips of bark were carried from a great distance. When some distance west of the Great Salt Lake Stansbury saw some conical lodges "of cedar poles and logs of considerable size, thatched with bark and branches," which were warm and comfortable. They were presumably the as yet unoccupied winter quarters of Indians then (toward the end of October) pine-nutting.[1] Passing through the Reservation I saw some conical lodges at Ouray differing from the tipi merely in having a cover of brush; these were said to have also been used in the old days for a summer habitation. The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures. The door always faced east; the woman sat by the door, the husband in the rear, and visitors took up corresponding positions according to sex. The skin tipi is called *moγǒ'puqdn*; the bark lodge *moγo'qan*.

342 [354] The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake distinguish a tule lodge (*cathindai*, from *cathib°*, tule) and the old-style summer shade (*hunínosi, nánupia*), which faced the more permanent dwelling and had the form of a roofless semicircular brush shelter with a central fireplace. The modern shades are called *hāsá*. A large tule wikiup might accommodate as many as a dozen people. The poles were called *waidkwama*, the tule shingles [462] *siwat*ᵘ. Men and women coōperated in putting up the wikiup, the former erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles. 342 824 At Pyramid Lake I saw one tule lodge with an additional covering of canvas rags (Fig. 6) and had a model made, which differs somewhat in

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[1] Stansbury, 111.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
782
796

	Ts	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
398. Game believed immortal	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	*-	-	+	-	-	-	-
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	-	+	-	-	*+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
401. Offering of game kill	-	-	-	-	*+	*+	-	+	-	*+	*+	*+	-	*+
402. To "nature"	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
403. To spirit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
404. With prayer	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
405. Piece of gall	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
406. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-

N
W
A
232
252
251

Gathering

	Ts	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*430. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
412. Grinding in mortar (puruma)	+	*+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+

Miscellaneous Plants

	Ts	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mütsö)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
435. "Stems" eaten	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
436. Needles burnt off	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
437. Needles brushed off	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
438. Roasted in ashes	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

● N
W
A
● [462]

N
W
A
[423
262]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*-	+	*+
*443a. Hooked pole (tsama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
*445. End fire bent	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
451a. Piled on ground, covered	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
453. Cooked seeds stored	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*457. Unlined pit	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
*458. Grass lined	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*462. Nuts ground on metate (mata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
462a. In mortar	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
463. Parching	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
*464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
*466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
*467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
467a. Band owned plots	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
*468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
*469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
*470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	A
885a. Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
887. Scapula	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
888a. Tibia	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
889a. Radius	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
890. Cactus spine (mava)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
892. Awl case: bark bundle	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
893. Buckskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Drill														
894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	−	•+	−	−	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	[illegible]	−	.	−	−	+	•−	−	−	−	+	−	−
895. Shaft with bone point	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
895a. Unhafted bone point	.	.	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
896. Shaft with horn point	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various														
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLINT FLAKING														
903. Flint (tupic') flaker	+	+	+	+	•.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
909. Flint warmed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−
910. Buckskin hand pad	+	−	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SKIN DRESSING														
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent cooked	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
927. Hide tied funnel shape	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
929. Juniper-bark smoke	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
930. Wood-chip smoke	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Done by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
932. Done by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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	To	K1	K2	Ha	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1024. Rawhide	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1025. Wooden rim	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1026. Feathers attached	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1027. Armor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1028. Club, stone headed (tökuinama)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1028a. Stone in buckskin on end of thong	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1029. Plain rabbit club only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1031. Sling (takui'wa'wagö) as toy (cf. 1060a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
1031a. For war and hunt also	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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BASKETRY

	To	K1	K2	Ha	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1032. Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1032a. Fish traps made by men	.	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Materials

	To	K1	K2	Ha	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
*1033. Willow for coil foundation (tötsie'kwa)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
*1034. Willow for twine foundation (tötwie'kwima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Coil and twine weft of willow sapwood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1035a. Tule	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1039. Inner willow bark brown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1039a. Fern roots for dark brown	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1040. Pussywillow black	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1040a. Material buried to dye	.	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1041. Red feather quills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1042. Yellow feather quills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1043. Strands scraped through hole in can	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
1044. Applied decoration: black paint	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1045. Red paint	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
1046. Yellow paint	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

*Basket Weaving

	To	K1	K2	Ha	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
*1048b. Wicker	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1049. Coiling	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
*1051. 1 rod	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
*1052. 2 rods	-	+	-	+	-	-		-	-	+	+	-	+	-
*1053. 3 rods	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1054. 2 large, 1 small rod	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1055. 4 rods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1056. Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
*1057. Counterclockwise	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1057a. Split stitch	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1058. Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
*1059. Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1060. Diagonal twine	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1061. 3-strand	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1064. Bead decoration, aboriginal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1064a. Modern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1066. Feathers woven in	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Basket Forms

	To	K1	K2	Ha	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
1067. Twined seed beater (tsika)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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[462]

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[287]

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287

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[284]

WEAVING (other than basketry)	Ts	Kl	Sl	Hh	Ye	YD	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wr	Ki	Ab
Skin Blankets														
1137. Animal furs used (twisted strips)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1138. Rabbit (kamüdi) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1139. Rat fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1140. Wildcat fur	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1140a. Muskrat fur	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1141. Squirrel fur	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
*1141a. Mole fur	.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142. Coyote fur	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1142a. Meadow-mouse fur	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1143. Loom (wikato): 2 parallel bars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1144. 2 horizontal, equidistant from ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
*1144a. 2 horizontal, 1 above the other	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1145. 2 vertical	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1147. Warp: 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1148. Single strip	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1149. Plain stick for twisting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1151. Twisting on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1152. Weft: of string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1153. Of buckskin	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1154. Twined weave	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155. Sex of maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1155a. Female	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feather Blankets														
*1156. Bird skins used	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
*1157. Mud-hen skins	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1159. Skins sewn together	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1160. Skins woven, like with fur blankets (nos. 1137-1155)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1162. No. of ply warp: 1	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1162a. 2	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
(See also 1124-1126)														
1164. Material: juniper bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
*1165. Sage bark	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
*1165a. Tule matting	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1169. Weaving: twined	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1171. Nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1173a. Nets of dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi) fiber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1174. Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
1174a. Stick carved (like Hupa net needle)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−
1176. String ball on stick	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−
1178. Knots: bowline at edge	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	+	+	.	.	.
1179. Weaver's	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	.	.
*1180. Overhand	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	.	−	−	.	.	.
*1180a. Square	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	.	.
1180b. Mesh gauge: wood	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	.	−	+
1180c. Fingers	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	−
1180d. Stone	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	.	−	−
1180e. End of shuttle	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	−	−	.	−	.	−	−

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N W A 462

DIVISION OF LABOR

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WH	Ki	AE
2111. General seed gathering, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2112. Pine-nut gathering, both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2113. Knocking down, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2114. Picking up, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2115. Transporting, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2115a. Male	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2116. Preparing, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2116a. Male	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
2117. Cooking, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2117a. Male	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2118. Carrying water, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2118a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2119. Near camp, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2119a. Male	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2120. Long distance, female	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2120a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2121. Fire tending (gathering wood), female	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2121a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2122. Hunting, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2123. Fishing, female	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2123a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2124. Gathering: larvae, female	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2124a. Male	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Grubs, female	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
2125a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Grasshoppers, female	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
2126a. Male	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2127. Rats and mice catching, female	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2127a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2129. Pine nuts from mt. cache, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2129a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−

Manufactures

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WH	Ki	AE
2130. House, female	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2130a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2131. Baskets, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Skin preparations, female	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2132a. Male	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2133. Clothing, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2133a. Male	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2134. Moccasins, female	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2134a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
2136. Metate, female	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
2136a. Male	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2137. Skin blanket, female	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2137a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2138. Cord, female	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2138a. Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139. Weaving, female	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139a. Male	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2140. Rabbit net, male only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Group

N W A 621

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WH	Ki	AE
*2141. Sovereign body is: localized band (named group of defined region)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2142. Village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p.406]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

N 836

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Kl: "Charlie Lowry is N [842 848] tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (KN).

N [787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N ● 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravinoya, were old-time dance

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132 shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137 or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136 trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161 approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181 for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221 those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222 northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462 camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *hu. ni'bui* 824 (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227] storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over, the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251] the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224] birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221 about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222 Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462 [512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

221
early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462 ●
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[*]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[*] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wáda, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

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THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the 626 manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion.

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it 592 is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren. There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young [591] couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close by the parental household.

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many [595] households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the same man.

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, [586] he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him.

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. [462] The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut

592 [862] and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 [862] Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they collected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 562 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days, except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 593 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for economic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 861 867 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for being aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent prac-
titioner. It must also be remembered that shamans have no or-
ganization or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The sha-
man acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his posi-
[578] tion only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the per-
[525] petual gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of exten-
sive resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Wadatkuht

342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house called típugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. It seems quite likely [177] that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupínabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

Wadátkuht

to produce powder which was mixed with water before being applied. Black paint, yadubi, was dug from the ground. 386

Skin Dressing. Deer's brains were boiled and dried and put away in a bag and kept until needed for use in tanning hides. When a deer was skinned the hide was left to dry for a bit and then soaked in water for about a week, until the hair began to slip. It was then taken from the water and a deer rib knife, pŏwhanuhn°, was used to scrape the loose hair off. 281

The dried brain, which had been stored, was dissolved in warm water and then the hairless hide was put into the solution and rubbed with the hands. This rubbing continued intermittently for several days until water would run through the hide. It was then removed and one end tied to a post and a stick put through the other end and twisted to wring the water from it. The damp hide was then warmed near a fire while it was stretched and pulled with the hands and feet. This latter action thinned and dried the hide. It was then placed over a smokey fire with the skin forming a sort of conical tent over the fire. The smoking process took about one-half hour, and the hide had to be carefully watched at this time until the color was just right. Willow or cottonwood was used for fuel, although oak was sometimes used.

The act of tanning a hide was called tusung oiya. White buckskin was made the same way as was the smoke-tanned buckskin except that the smoking process was not done.

When the hide was first removed from the carcass a rough stone about the size of a mano was used to clean the inner surface. This same stone was used during the tanning to "clean the skum off". Tanning a hide took at least three days, with softening the hide while drying it being the most tedious. The tanning of hides was done by both men and women. [413] [462]

Kitty said her father, Joaquin, smoked hides by sewing a piece of canvas to the skin along one edge. The canvas was pegged to the ground around a smoking fire-pit and the skin pulled up to a cone by a rope thrown over a limb.

Weapons. The best information with respect to the manufacture and use of the bow and arrow, as might be expected, was obtained from Ike who had used them when he was young. The bow was called adúh and was generally made of juniper, wap[1]. It was usually about three feet long, or as Ike said, 411 [115]

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726 237 714 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

411 [824] [463] [237] Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ârō*) by the Paviotso,—*tsAsaʙi*, *poγo'nōʙ'*, and *ugwo'qowᵃ*, the last-mentioned being used for arrows (*poñossᵃ*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war. The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the *kuyúi* fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamûʙi*) twisted on [237] the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point. [237] Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one or two dozen arrows. [824] Another informant said that bows were of juniper wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. [531] The bow was decorated with designs traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirûpi'*). The arrow-head was sometimes smeared with poison (*nōtúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized with the thumb and index in shooting.

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[1] [illegible] 34.

[2] Reed 25, 70, 83.

[3] Powell [illegible]

The shamanistic performance is probably best looked upon as 755
a blend of the social and the religious. All who attend participate, [533]
at least in a small way, by singing, which is thought to be a powerful
aid in establishing contact through the shaman with the
supernatural forces. This in turn assists the shaman in gaining
control over malignant forces. When Paviotso shamanism was in
full swing, these performances, held in a small closely packed
house, must have been exciting and impressive. The singing and
the shaman's tricks appear to have excited the spectators to a
high emotional pitch which was followed by a relaxation of tension
attended often by a general feeling of satisfaction when control
of the sickness was demonstrated by the return of the soul or
the extraction of a disease-object. The social aspect of these
gatherings was and is today an important motive for attending.
There were occasions during the night for talk and gossip, an
opportunity never spurned by the Paviotso. The food provided
by the patient's family at midnight also held a strong social appeal,
for the religious tensions were largely relaxed for the moment.
Finally, in the absence of other important religious ceremonies,
these rites were charged with more feeling and emotion [781]
than any other type of community gathering.

At the present time, there is little specialization among shamans. 756
In aboriginal times, however, certain types of disorders were 463
treated by shamans known for their ability along special lines.
Shamans with power from the rattlesnake were believed to have
the greatest power for treating people bitten by that snake. Again,
only shamans who derived power from water-babies could treat
sickness caused by these beings. Shamans who secured their
powers from ghosts specialized in curing those whose illness resulted
from experiences with the souls of the dead. Still other
forms of specialization in curing seem to depend on the strength
of the shaman's power rather than upon its source. Some powerful
shamans are believed to be especially efficacious in curing the ill-effects
of dreams; others are famous for success in doctoring
wounds. On the Pyramid Lake Reservation at the present time,
one shaman is well known for assisting women in cases of difficult
labor, not because of any particular kind of power, but because
of a number of successful cures. As with this man, the renown of
shamans as specialists is based entirely on success in treating

756 certain types of afflictions. In still another form of illness, soul
463 loss, cures can be made only by shamans who have unusually strong power. Lost souls are restored not by virtue of power from a particular source, but rather by the aid of spirits far stronger than those possessed by the ordinary shamans.

755 The curing performance usually takes place at night. In case of a wound, a snake-bite, or very serious illness, a shaman may be summoned at any time of the day or night. In this event, the doctoring begins as soon as the shaman arrives. Apparently these emergency treatments take place infrequently. The performance at night which is thought of by the Paviotso as the orthodox form of doctoring is called tunſku'hu (literally, singing). An emergency treatment which lasts about three hours is known as sɔgɔ́nəbu'ᵘ. The meaning of this term is not known.

It is customary for the shaman to doctor a patient for two nights. Several informants insisted that the treatment must be kept up for this length of time even though the patient shows signs of recovery after the first night. The shaman does not doctor two successive nights, however, but rests one night between the first and second treatments. When a patient is dangerously ill, two shamans may be called in, though usually they do not work together, but alternately. One performs the first night and the other the second, and so on.

A member of the patient's family summons the shaman, usually visiting the shaman at sunrise. The shaman is reserved and aloof during the consultation, slowly smoking his pipe while considering the summoner's invitation. The fee is briefly discussed and agreed upon; it may also be paid at this time. In former days, beads,
465 skins, blankets, and horses were paid for a shaman's services; nowadays the usual fee is three to five dollars. No doubt the shaman's remuneration varies considerably, the better-known practitioners charging even more than the larger sum mentioned.

756 It is said that shamans who overcharge their patients become ill. The explanation offered is that the shamans' powers determine the fee and if the practitioner asks for more the spirit will be angry and punish the offender. On the other hand, shamans are required by their powers to collect a fee for treating patients; the giving of free services would endanger the life of the shaman.

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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups." [186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They [464 273] were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[16] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to [511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong [162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

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[16] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]●
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons. In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently [165]
many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

Wadátkuht

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[464] From about 1880 on the Honey Lake Paiute began increasingly to work as agricultural and domestic laborers for the white settlers, but pursued their old way of life in a modified form. The hunting and gathering cycles of pre-contact times was modified to include seasonal work on the ranches, primarily centered about haying. Many traditional camps and villages were abandoned due to a decrease in population and in order to take advantage of closer contact with particular ranchers from whom the Indians could receive certain benefits. A glimpse of this post-contact type of settlement pattern is given in a following section.

[312] According to Kitty Joaquin the Maidu people were anxious to have peaceful relations with the white people and urged the Paiutes to follow the same policy. The Paiute people, however, distrusted and feared the white people (tai'bo'^{o}) who were coming into their country. They wanted to be rid of these strangers. The first (sic) group of white men were soldiers who camped in a draw low on the mountain slope between Litchfield and the Gibson ranch which is located several miles east of Litchfield. As there is a spring in that locality it was a good place to camp.

[177] Kitty stated that the soldiers gave the Indians soap, flour, canned milk, tomato sauce, clothes and shoes. The Indians used the soap to make soup and put the muskmelons into the earth oven to cook. Kitty could not help but laugh as she told of the unsatisfactory results of both these experiments.

A short time after the white people came to Honey Lake Valley a band of Wadátkuht people, including Joaquin (Kitty's father), was on a hunting trip to Eagle Lake (Kitty stated on another occasion that they had gone to the lake to escape the soldiers). A group of soldiers, augmented by a number of Maidu men, were also in the vicinity. Hog-die Jim (Kwiduhu muhtsuad^{a}..."Feces to wipe"), Joaquin's uncle, was afraid that the soldiers and the Maidu would attack the Wadátkuht camp so advised Joaquin and the others to move their camp. Joaquin, however, felt that there was no real danger so was not willing to move camp. Hog-die Jim then took the dried meat, a rabbit skin blanket and all the horses and left.

The soldiers and the Maidu attacked Joaquin's camp and killed everyone except a baby in a cradle board, two women who jumped into the lake and swam to safety, a half-grown girl, and Joaquin. Joaquin, too, jumped into the lake to

Wadátkuht

361 [224] their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuum from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

[881] 4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

361 464 [221] The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361 5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.

He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then the patient is all right. 752 755

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. 756 [865] [753] [688]

About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to give back the fee. [579]

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power. 755 753

Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once. [841]

A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows. 756

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463 loss, cures can be made only by shamans who have unusually
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755 The shaman arrives after dark, usually about nine o'clock. He
756 is accompanied by his interpreter or "talker," called poínab·.[14]
469 The interpreter, like the shaman, receives a fee for his services; usually he is paid about half as much as the shaman. His function in the curing rites is to repeat, in a loud clear voice, everything that is said by the shaman. In the curing rites, the shaman mumbles and speaks rapidly in broken snatches. The interpreter sitting at his left listens attentively and repeats the words clearly in order that the spectators may understand. He also follows the songs that the shaman sings, repeating the words loudly to enable the spectators to follow them easily and join in the singing. The interpreter learns only through practice, as he does not have supernatural power to aid him. A shaman always uses the same interpreter, who becomes familiar with his songs and way of talking. Several people stated that formerly the interpreters were not numerous, that shamans outnumbered interpreters. It is also said that in earlier days only men acted in this capacity, but nowadays women also interpret for shamans. One informant asserted that the interpreter also "prays" to the source of the sickness during the course of the curing. According to this statement, before the shaman starts to doctor, the interpreter seats himself by the patient and addresses the "sickness" with some such words as these:

> Our doctor is here. He is a good doctor. He is a strong doctor. You are poisoning this man. This doctor will find out about you. He knows you. Go away and leave this man alone. We do not want him to be sick. Go away and do not come back again. (Joe Green)

This informant stated that later in the performance, when the shaman had diagnosed the cause of illness, the interpreter again prays. This time he addresses the shaman. He might say,

> Cure this man. Make the sickness disappear. Make this man well. Suck out the sickness that is inside him. Show us the sickness that you suck out. Then he will recover.

Other informants did not confirm this function of the interpreter. The general opinion seems to be that the interpreter's duties consist only of repeating the words of the shaman and leading the spectators in singing his songs. Qualifications for this posi-

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[14] It may be noted that a chief and the head man of a communal undertaking are also designated by the same term.

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tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing 756
throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be 755
noted. This is the dancer (wūtád^{e}). The dancer is always a woman 535
and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous.
She may be either married or single. This performer carries a
bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This [534]
type of rattle (wədákət^{i}) is held close to the front of the body
and jerked up and down in time to the dance step. The dancer
follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets
up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction.
Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but
others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while
he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short,
quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee [465] ●
equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for 755
if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means that in the summer the curing does not get under way before ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are
also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One [756
may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his 757]
clothing in a particular way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
218. Brush	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
221. Rodents flooded out	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

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W
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228

Eagle (and Other) Catching

	Ts	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
228. On net	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
229. Carries cage	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
240. Caged	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
246. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
248. Chiefly dove	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·
249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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[231]

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231

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W
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226

Fishing

	Ts	Kl	K2	Eh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
257. Rabbit net used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
258. Wading in stream	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
258a. Ice pick	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
259. Net used through ice	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260. Weir	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
262. Platform built over river	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

● N
● [476]

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[p. 370]

361 621 592 [595] holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 224 [476] [731] [231] *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared, even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 462 476 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 183] In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

592 and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large
[462] part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town
of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The
men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the
women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her
father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her,
it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support
him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated
in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they col-
lected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom
[462] of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained
meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

● 476 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days,
562 except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a
man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for eco-
593 nomic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity
of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for be-
861 ing aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a
867 child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

The preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 573 within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626 among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476] not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggregations [221] of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622 Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177 drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders 657] came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626 have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622 other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623 692 could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 681]

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
735 that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost
their food supply through no fault of their own, or those
people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and
children) were given more consideration than those whose
hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

Northern Paiute NR13

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[177] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim-
161 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the max-
182 imum food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects
[226] of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
● [476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be-
[571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the ap-
22 pearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

N
been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership with- 621
in a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for ante- N
lope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also con- [222]
centrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger group-
ings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as op-
posed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership [619]
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad dif-
ferentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476] ●
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against [628]
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

W

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evi-
dence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once ex-
tended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they repre- 197
sent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

was reported by Piudy, "Take the stem (wood) of sagebrush and twist it with bark. Then light the end and it will keep burning. Keep waving it." 372

The eyeshade was not used, but people traveling in the snow smeared charcoal under the eyes to prevent blindness. 293 751

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481 ●

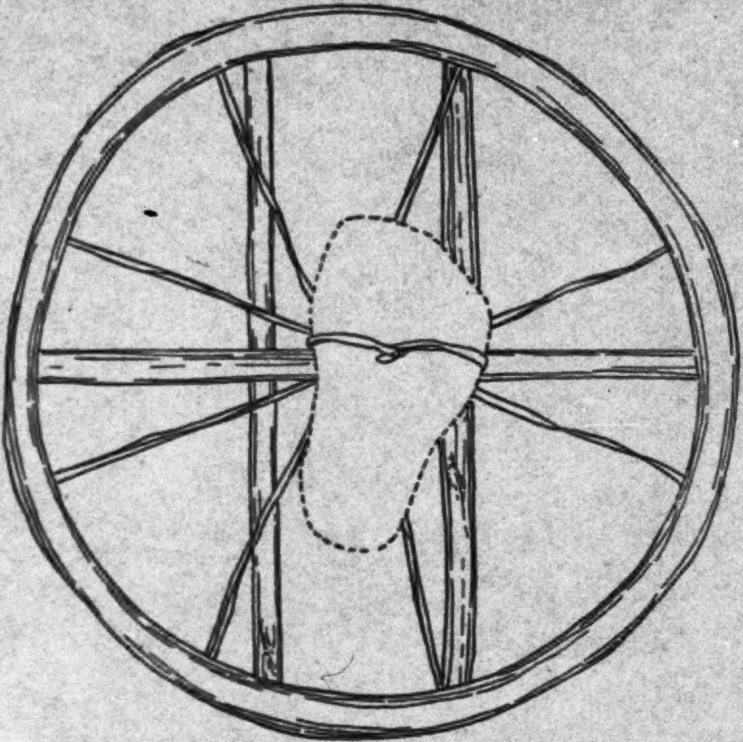

Fig. 10. Snowshoe. Redrawn from a sketch by Charlie Washo.

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes (sikü') were made by men "because they knew how." Women did not wear snowshoes. The frame was sometimes of willow, but usually of service, and was round. Small sticks of the same wood were used in lieu of netting. According to Daisy, two sticks were crossed at right angles and the ends lashed to the frame. The foot was placed over the center, and a thong passing across the instep was tied at either side to the stick. This could not have been very secure, but she denied the use of additional fasteners. Piudy said that the foot was tied three times from toe to instep and

292
481 once about the heel. Daisy remarked that the Klamath snowshoe figured by Barrett[177] "would get all out of shape because they used skin instead of sticks."

The diagram in figure 10 is from a sketch by Charlie Washo. It calls for three crossing sticks instead of two and for radiating thongs of deer hide.

[789] Nellie Townsend said that formerly snowshoes were boiled to bring rain and that nowadays they were fried instead of being boiled. This was called "killing the snowshoes." Other informants seemed unfamiliar with this practice.

501 *Balsa.*—The balsa (sai'-saki') was used on the lake when hunting ducks and young geese, but not for fishing. A single bundle of tules was kept alongside on which to place the birds killed. Two informants said that the balsa was sometimes used "up north" to cross streams. It was not required in the Surprise region.

The balsa consisted of two bundles of tule (saib^a) tied at the ends with the same material[178] or with bark twine. Both ends were turned up so that the craft could proceed in either direction. The balsa was always made by the men. For a single individual it was about four feet long; larger ones held four or five people, a "whole family."

Various methods of propulsion were reported. Pindy thought that the balsa was punted with a long pole. According to Joshua it was paddled (*not* punted) with a willow ten or twelve feet long. Daisy claimed that "they had no oars, paddles, or poles. They just used their hands and feet, and they used to get pretty wet." Pindy thought that the last mentioned system was used only by persons unable to swim.

Some said that the balsa was not used a second time, but was discarded and a new one made; others, that it could be used again if removed from the water.

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[177] Plate 17, figure 1.

[178] A specimen which Lowie purchased at Fallon was tied with toib^a, cat-tail. SE, 249.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

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W
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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1532. Sole molded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1533. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1535. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1538. Tongue added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1538a. Olivella-shell beading	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1545. Uppers added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1559. Rabbit hide	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
*1562. Sandal	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-
1564. Bark	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-
*1564a. Tule and rushes	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1570. Sinew	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
[256]
N
W
481

GAMES

N
A
524

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1577. Ball Race (wetakoi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1579. And return	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1583c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1585. Propulsion with feet	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Bare feet	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 395]

Washo NT28
Achomawi N55

N 291 1481-1483. Paviotso: "The more prosperous wore skirts reaching to the knees" (Curtis, 69).

1488-1497. Paviotso: "Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind" (Curtis, 69).

A [291 287] 1493. AE: A shredded-bark apron was part of shinny costume, its only use.

1503. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 53). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): fiber skirt used by poor people.

W [291] 1508. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Leggings

1516-1517. Paviotso: Men wore fringed buckskin leggings; women wore no leggings (Lowie, 217).

1517. Ki: + (Kelly, 109).

Footgear

N 291 281 294 1527. "Two-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; additional top or tongue might be added to either type (Loud, pl. 21). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 47).

[172] 1538a. Lovelock Cave: Moccasins beaded with Olivella were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 21).

1539. "One-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; tongue, top, or sole may be added. Wd: + (BJ). Ki: Kelly, 110, figures a moccasin in construction, and remarks it is like Wissler's pattern 8.

1540. Wd: - (SC).

1549. Wd: - (SC).

N [172] 1554a. Small moccasins with hair on found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 22,e).

1555. Ki: Kelly, 109 (pl. 27), describes and pictures bark moccasin. (Figured are John T. Reid specimens.)

1556. Wd: - (BJ).

1560. Kü: + (AL); she said badger hide toughest material for soles, and that hair left inside to keep feet warm.

1561. To: + (BS). Wd: - (SC).

N [171] 1562. Sandal a sole with strings or straps to hold it on the foot. Kü: + (AL). Although many sandals were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, pls. 22, 23), GN insisted that "the Paiute didn't wear shoes like Jesus wore. I've seen pictures of Jesus." Paiutes mostly went barefoot in old days and traveled at night to avoid hot ground, GN said. AL said she saw old Indians wearing sandals of tule, grass, and rush.

● N [48]

[p.436(b)]

Wadátkuht

and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called the wind. 534 [824]

Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snowshoes and said they were a circular frame strung with strips of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet. 481

Ike was able to give some additional information on snowshoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. The snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's back until soft snow was encountered. [482]

Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959. 501 [824]

Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub[1], was used to make willow-bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used. Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles were blown by boys just for the fun of it. 534 [824]

The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrow-cane and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin, a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. She also said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring. [824] [755]

231 224 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

● 482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 492 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated. The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago"o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^{a}; koso', fire; yakwi'n^{a}, hold in the hand ?) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.[1] Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all. 000

Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes. 482. 171

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wading, but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").[2] 000

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *posintsaxdp*^{i}; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*ū*^{u}*s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *simpuv*^{i} grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saib*^{i}, while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toib*^{i} or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success- 223 501

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[1] Wilson, 104.

[2] Ibid., 20.

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000
in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342
winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361
Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342
Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui*
(*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built [101]
of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a
man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291]
while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket
which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [512]
a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright
willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at [782]
the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire
bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal
containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [415]
bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342
in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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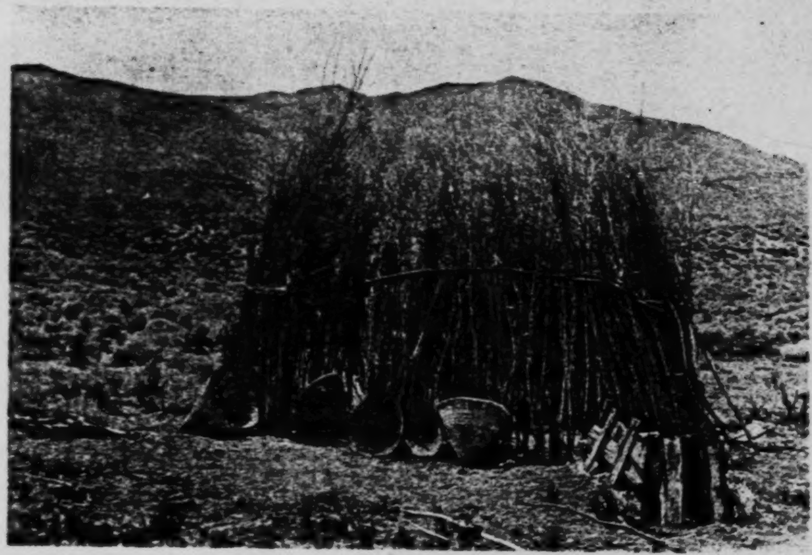
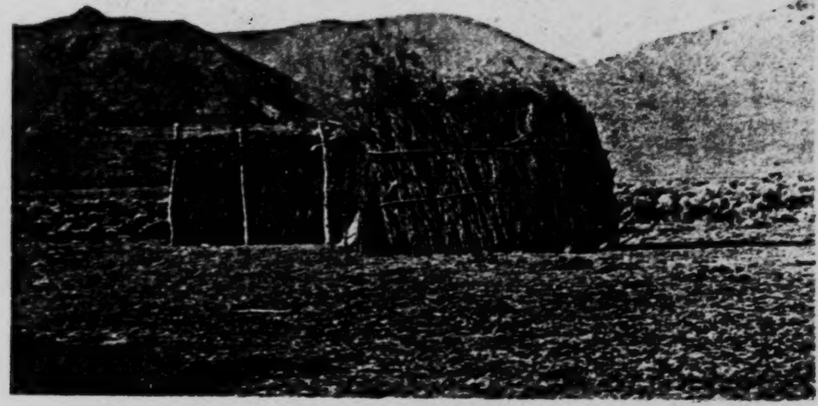
[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. [136]
The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156-57).

PLATE 8



342
415
482
133



342
133

PLATE 9

342
133

342
415
291
482

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ki	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1071. Twined winnowing basket (tisimba)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (yata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (tasmo or tämo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a. Angular tray (wano)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1080. Twined	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1082. Conical carrying basket (kurum)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1081. Fishing trap (aryalmi)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1081a. Bipointed, opening on side	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. Men made	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kotomamo)	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1096. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1096a. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1100. Pointed bottom	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1102. Pitch on outside	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1106. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
1108. Handle: horsehair	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1109a. Willow	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1114. Food bowl (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115. Coiled	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1117. Pitch coated	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled	·	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1119. Ladle (timthama)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1129. Lids modern	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (maro'o)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1133. Of twined tule	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1134. Mat (söma)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
285
415

N
W
A
[1482]

N
W
A
[227]

N
A
[291]

N
A
[352]

[p.387]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
283

	Te	K1	K2	Kb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1182. Nat (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1185a. Tule	·	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1195. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BURDENS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kōtsumpa)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand hold under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1240. Bag (maro mokwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	·	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kurua)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tsa kibopö)														
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	·	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1255. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

N
W
A
[323]

N ●
W
A
482 ●

N
W
A
854
285

[p. 389]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
854

● N
W
A
● [912]

	To	Kl	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ya	Wi	Kl	At
1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MUTILATIONS

N
W
A
304

N
W
A
301

N
W
A
304

N
W
A
[301]

N
W
A
[846]

	To	Kl	K2	K3	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ya	Wi	Kl	At
1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1274a. With porcupine quill	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1275. With bone awl	–	+	•	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	–	+	•	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1277. When child	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1278. When youth	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1279. All males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1280. Most males	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1281. Some males	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1282. All females	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
1284. Some females	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1285. Men's ear ornament	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1285a. Anything	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
1286. Bead on string	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1287. Glass beads	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1288. Shell pendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1289. Stone pendant	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1290. Wooden stick	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1291. Bone tube	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1292. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
1294. Flint	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1295. Women's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Bone tube	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1299. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
1302. Males	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
1303. Females	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1304. Men's bone nose pin	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
1305. Women's bone nose pin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1306. Tattoo (navasigi)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1307. Cactus needle	•	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1307a. Porcupine quill	•	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1310. Gray colored	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1311. Done when: child	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
1313. Any time	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1315. Arms	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1316. Legs	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1317. Body	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1319. Head-shape correction	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1320. Done with hands at birth	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 390]

N 413 [172] 1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N 415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).

1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.

1017. Ki: - (BA).

1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W [415] 1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).

[172] 1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. W [411] Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. A [411] AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

1028. K2, Kü: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Küpa using them. DM described the tökuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. N [281] The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

1028a. Kü: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N 285

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. N [172 177] Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. To: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172] 1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, N [432] pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

[p.433(A)]

N 285 [248] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [285] 1039a. K2: DM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use.

W [285] 1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [174]

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

N [177, 172]

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Kl: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

N
283
[172]

string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N
323
N
[114]

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N
854
482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W
[854-482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[304-756]

MUTILATIONS

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

N
304

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kü: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

W
[304]

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(A)]

[P. 5]
[P.4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author
396 arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy
[182] (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Stillwater marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs
[482] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes
283 of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would
[521 make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another
223] set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst
825] of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

Wadá tKuht

222 winnowed to remove foreign material, then reduced to a flour
with a mano and metate and made into a soup. Flour from
the atsá seeds could be mixed with snow in the winter to
make "ice cream".

In the summer currants, called pokoṕ^{shia} (Ribes sp.), were picked near Standish. In mid-summer red raspberries (Rubus sp.), called atsá pui, were gathered on Parker Creek and behind the 42 ranch (between Milford and Buntingville). Raspberries were eaten fresh or were dried for winter use.

About the beginning of August, before sunflower seeds were harvested, yapa and moa roots were dug in the Last Chance Creek area in Plumas County. Dixie Valley, in that area, is called Tasu^{P} ("Wild Game Spot") because it was a good place to hunt deer. Although the Wadátkuht went there to gather roots and presumably to hunt the region belonged to the Washo according to Gladys Mankins.

222 The moa bulbs (unidentified), after having been unearthed
252 with a digging stick and washed in a basket sieve, called
yuhtá, were put in a large pile in a preheated pit lined with
flat stones. Hot stones from a second fire were put on top
of the bulbs and covered with oak leaves or fir branches.
The oven was opened "after several days". The bulbs were
removed from the oven and mashed with the hands and made
into patties which were dried in the sun. A flat stick was
used to turn the patties over as they dried.

222 The Joaquin family remained in the Last Chance area for
[251] about a month each summer gathering roots and drying the
[415] patties. At the end of this time the patties were loaded
into conical burden baskets, called túma, and carried back
● [482] to the main winter camp of Matá at Milford.

While in the vicinity of Last Chance and Indian Creeks
[252] in Plumas County wild rhubarb was gathered at about the same
time as yapa (possibly Carum sp.) and moa. This plant was
eaten raw but was not too well liked because it was too sour.

Seeds of two kinds of sunflower, pákuh and akí, were
[413] gathered after wada was harvested. A seed beater, called
tsiku, was used to knock off the heads of the sunflowers into
a burden basket. The heads were taken home and beaten in
order to knock out the seeds. The seeds were stored away to
[251] be hulled and ground as needed. The ground seeds produced
[252] a flour, called akí, which was eaten without further prepara-
tion, or could be cooked into a mush.

343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame of such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called saínovi.

285 [177] Basketry. Kitty Joaquin made various types of basketry and would copy Maidu Baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come frpm the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsikú, or tsaíyun. The tsikú was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munísh, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called síoshá ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was covered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

● [482] 352 177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakono'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was taínope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "sling-shot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

Wadátkuht

and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called the wind. 534 [824]

Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snowshoes and said they were a circular frame strung with strips of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet. 481

Ike was able to give some additional information on snowshoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. The snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's back until soft snow was encountered. [482]

Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959. 501 [824]

Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub[1], was used to make willow-bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used. Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles were blown by boys just for the fun of it. 534 [824]

The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrowcane and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin, a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. She also said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring. [824] [755]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Klamath NR10

Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12. K 648

17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says: N K 648 162

"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827). N K 361 484 ● 648

19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged. N K 114

N
W
103
162
171
● 484
#795

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on middle of p. 123]

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

N
W
171

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

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[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1936.

(Concluded on next page)

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

N
W
171

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

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[171]
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columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	180 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

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579 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes."[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's
648
131 Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that
[487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> [609] "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even
> [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now.[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some sea-
[224] sons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Eleven years after Work had been at Abert Lake John C. Frémont discovered Summer Lake, which Frémont named. Frémont and his party traveled south along the west shore of Summer Lake, following a well-beaten Indian trail which led to Chewaucan River and Chewaucan Marsh. At the marsh the ground appeared as though it had been ploughed; Frémont concluded that Indians had been digging tubers, but what these were he could not discover.[112] In the vicinity of the marsh Frémont also found "frequent trails, and fresh tracks of Indians," but encountered no natives.[113] From Chewaucan Marsh Frémont went eastward to Abert Lake, which he also named. On the eastern, or Abert Rim side of the lake Frémont found a well beaten Indian trail, which he followed southward,[114] but again he met no Indians. It was not until he was well out of the Summer-Abert lakes region and south of the 42nd parallel that he actually encountered "some Snake Indians"; by accident. members of his party almost rode over two huts of Snakes, in Long or Surprise valleys, early in January, 1844.[115] 131 487 [222]

From 1845 onward the Silver-Summer lakes region may have been visited in its northern half by loosely organized companies of Oregon pioneers in search of the "Blue Bucket Diggings," but of such parties we know little, except that their members were often attacked by "Indians."[116] "Some morning about daylight, twenty or thirty red blanketed men, with hideous yells would attack the sleeping men. Then would result a stampede....The few cool heads would make a stand, while the savages after getting away with the horses, would beat a retreat, leaving the gold hunters to straggle afoot back across the mountains [Cascades] to the [Willamette Valley] settlements."[117] Such attacks, however, seem to have been mostly north of the Silver-Summer lakes region. 648

In 1853 "the lost wagon train of 1853" went south of the lakes (Malheur and Harney lakes, or Silver and Summer lakes?) instead of north of them, trying to reach the Willamette Valley, and had "a very hard time of it."[118] In that same year, as we have already noted, Superintendent Joel Palmer sent Indian Agent J. M. Garrison to visit the Indians between the headwaters of the Willamette and Fort Boise, but Garrison failed in this mission.[119] The next year Capt. Jesse Walker, commanding a company of California volunteer militia, campaigned in Surprise

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

116. Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 27-29; Kennedy, Pioneer Campfire, pp. 116-118; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 173-176; Lockley, Capt. Sol Tetheroe, pp. 8-9. 000

117. Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 29.

118. Budlong, Memories, pp. 5-6.

119. See fn. 8 above.

120. Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14.

NK 487 131

121. The Crooked River route led eastward to the Snake River via the South Fork of John Day's River and Burnt River; a branch led to Harney Lake via Silvies River. This trail and its branch had been used since Ogden's time (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-352) and was the route H. D. Wallen followed to Harney Lake in 1859 (Affairs in Oregon) and which Enoch Steen took in 1860 (RCIA 1860 [CDS #1087] pp. 398-400). The Southern Oregon Emigrant Road, or Old South Road, was laid out in 1846 by a company of Oregon pioneers, among them Jesse and Lindsay Applegate. This road led westward from the Humboldt River region in Nevada to the Willamette Valley settlements in Oregon via Black Rock Desert, Surprise Valley, Lassen Pass, Goose Lake, Tule Lake, Lower Klamath Lake, and Rogue River Valley. Feeder roads diverged from it to Red Bluff and Redding, Calif., to Yreka, Calif., to Jacksonville, Ore., and to Ft. Klamath, Ore. For accounts and maps of this important east-west immigrant road into Oregon see Stone, Southern Route; Lindsay Applegate, Notes; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; RCIA 1861 (CDS #1117); p. 778; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 132-143; Winther, Development of Transportation in Oregon, pp. 231-232; Old Oregon Country, pp. 116-117; Camp, James Clyman, p. 56; Drew, Official Report, p. 9; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 90; Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. 1, p. 549.

122. RCIA 1857 (CDS #919) | p. 207. 000

123. Which Frémont had so named in 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 207).

124. For an early description of this high desert region see WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

125. NA. BIA. Geary to Greenwood, Portland, Ore., Dec. 15, 1859; RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412.

126. Diagram of Public Surveys (1863); Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 29-30, 33.

127. See fn. 53, above.

128. Idem.

13: Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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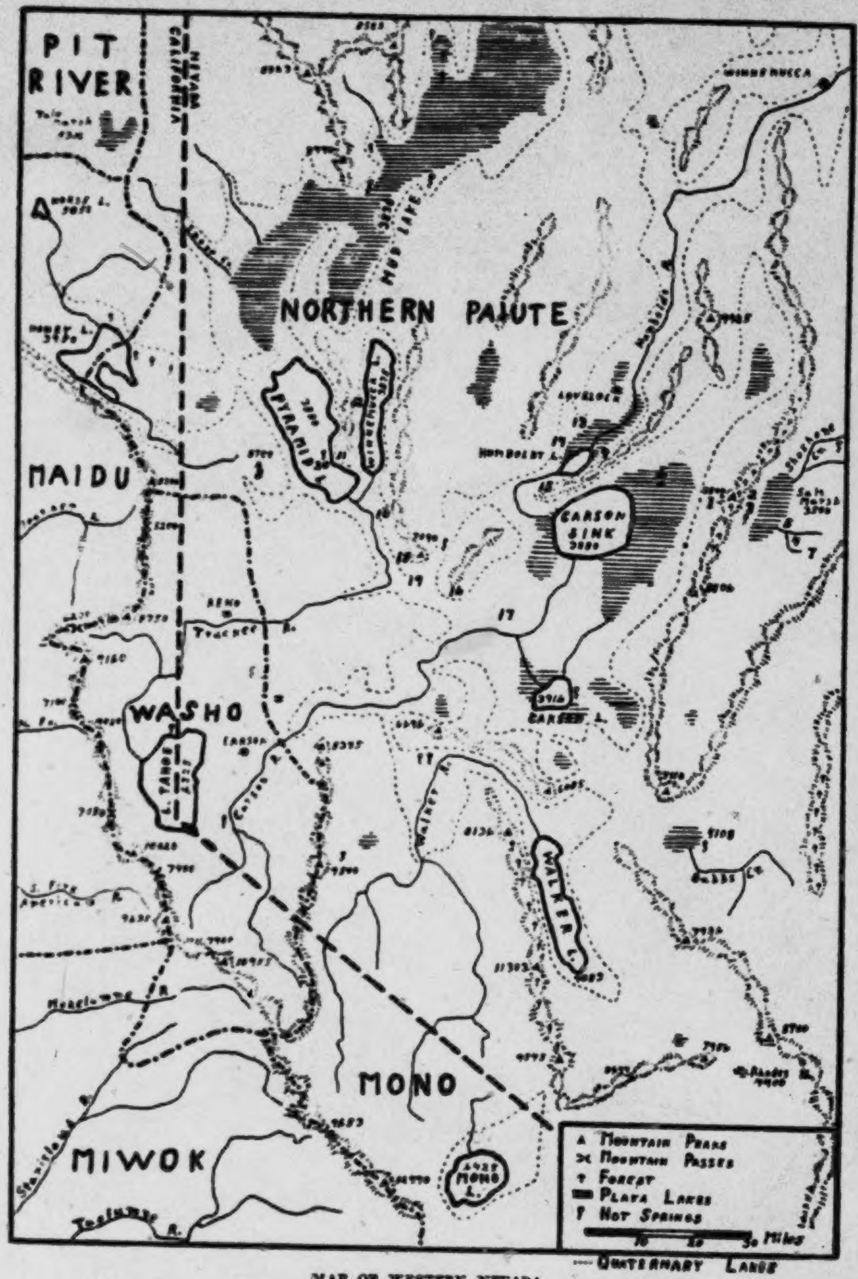
PIT RIVER
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
MUD LAKE
WINNEMUCCA
NORTHERN PAIUTE
PYRAMID L.
WINNEMUCCA L.
LOVELOCK
HUMBOLDT L.
CARSON SINK 3880
MAIDU
RENO
Truckee R.
WASHO
L. TAHOE
CARSON
CARSON L.
WALKER L.
MONO
MONO L.
MIWOK
Mountain Peaks
Mountain Passes
Forest
Playa Lakes
Hot Springs
10 20 30 Miles
Quaternary Lakes

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]
[End plates 31-67 not processed]

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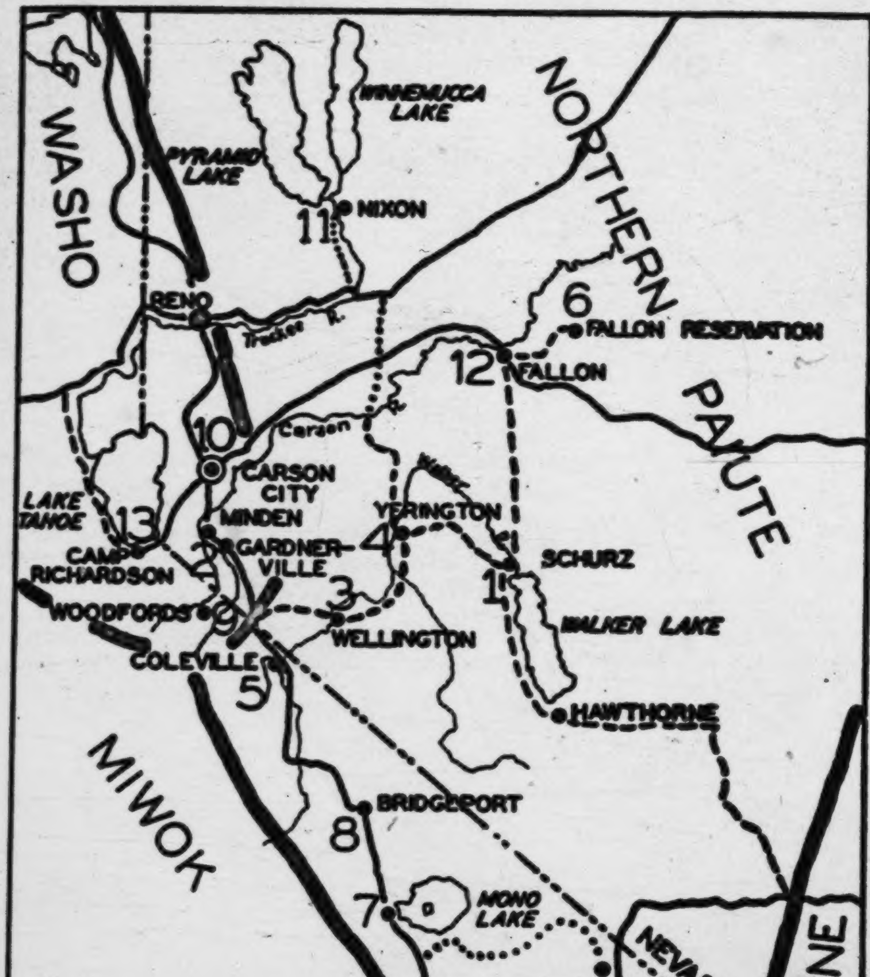
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
MIWOK
SHOSHONE
WINNEMUCCA LAKE
PYRAMID LAKE
11 NIXON
RENO
Truckee R.
6 FALLON RESERVATION
12 FALLON
10 CARSON CITY
Carson R.
LAKE TAHOE
13 CAMP RICHARDSON
MINDEN
GARDNERVILLE
4 YERINGTON
Walker R.
1 SCHURZ
WALKER LAKE
3 WELLINGTON
WOODFORDS
9
COLEVILLE
5
HAWTHORNE
8 BRIDGEPORT
7
MONO LAKE
BENTON
NEVADA
CALIF.
Owens R.
14 BISHOP
LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
PAVED U.S. HIGHWAYS
PAVED STATE HIGHWAYS
GRAVELED ROADS

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

534 322 *Drum.*—The drum (witu'a) is apparently recent. Pindy states that it came from the north and northeast at the time of the white advent. The late intrusion seems in keeping with the fact that the drum was rarely, if ever, used by shamans. According to several informants, tribes to the north employed the drum in doctoring. In recent times, the Gidū'tikad[8] have used it as a dance accompaniment. It is the usual tambourine drum—hide stretched on a circular frame.

A modern specimen which I was allowed to examine[174] was about sixteen inches in diameter. The frame was chokecherry, although juniper is more usual. Horse hide (with the hair surface facing in) was stretched taut over one side. It was held by six thongs radiating toward the center of the under side from as many slits spaced evenly along the margin of the turnover. Each thong was slit a short distance from the end and pushed through the hole in the skin cover. The body of the thong was then brought through its own end slit, just as merchandising tags are attached. The six thongs converged in the center, but their fastening was obscured by several rows of cotton cloth in wrapped stitch. The radiating thongs constituted a handle behind which the single drum stick was thrust when not in use. The stick to this drum had been lost but was described as short and hide-wrapped on one end.

A band of red paint encircled the rim of the drum, but the face proper was undecorated.

Joshua said that the drum was sometimes painted red, sometimes yellow. The coloring was applied around the edge and in the middle, the latter perhaps in stripes.

DOGS

231 [492] There is practically unanimity on the subject of the native dog, soko'puku. It was very scarce, very small, and looked "just like a coyote." It was of virtually no assistance in transportation, Dr. de Angulo's assertion that "they used dogs for packing"[175] being contradicted by all informants. One[176] admitted under pressure of persistent questioning that "if a dog were good and strong he might carry a pack, but most dogs were poor, and they were pretty scarce." Certainly the dog pack was very much out of the ordinary. The travois was unknown; Bige Archie asserted that it was introduced with the horse, but this was denied by all other informants.

[261] Because of their scarcity, dogs could never have been very important as food. The majority denied ever eating dog, but two had heard of its being eaten in times of great shortage.

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[174] In possession of Nellie Townsend, Fort Bidwell.

[175] P. 322.

[176] MA.

231 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A 224 good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated. ● 492 The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago''o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^{a}; koso', fire; yakwi'n^{a}, hold in the hand ?)) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

PLATE 5

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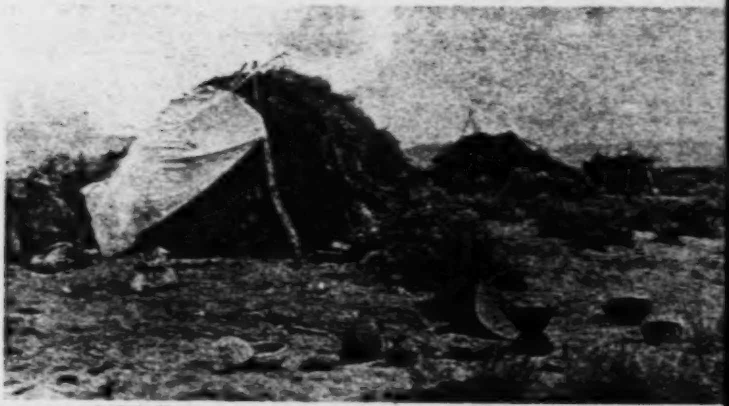

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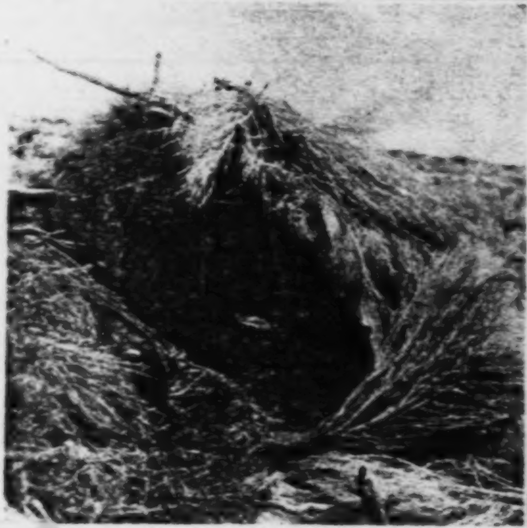

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501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

RÉSUMÉ.

105 171 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit even fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.)[1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

GENERAL IMPRESSION.

197 193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

PHONOLOGY.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

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[1] See KROEBER's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

Wadátkuht

352 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both
177 the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was
that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the
bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle
and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children
were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle
was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her
as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term
nutugwish^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going
to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called
nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow
splints used for the active element were píwung. The bone
[413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as
witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from
that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys
Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and
283 its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants
had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string.
Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who
[824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from
a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark,
[237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide).
Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said
to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse
hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger
● [492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part
of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they
[525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

WadátKuht

Kitty said the Paiutes never fought the Maidu, but they did fight the Pit River people who were called Sai'^{t} numusɨ hu uhd, "People's insides hung up". They got this name because they killed and eviscerated some Paiute people at the Paiute village of ^{t}'Pog on Pyramid Lake. This village was at a spring on a hillside on the Simon ranch. The Pit River people wound the intestines of the slain Paiutes on the sagebrush. This fight took place about 1851 when the whites first began to come into this area. 648

The Pit River people also killed some Paiutes near Likely, Modoc County, at about the same time as the fight at Pyramid Lake. During various other fights, however the Paiutes were able to kill some Pit River people.

Kitty had never heard of fights between the Washo and the Paiutes. However, the Washo and the Maidu never could get along together, and often fought.

The informants gave several accounts of stealing women by the different groups. Pit River men returning from fishing trips, and on their way back to their own country would capture Maidu women. Dick Wright, a Wadátkuht, captured a Maidu woman, Ginny, and kept her for his wife. Joaquin's father's brother, Baba Kuhku^{a}, captured a Maidu woman for his wife. A small Paiute man named Wihibigo'gai^{yuh} had two wives. One of them was a Pit River woman he captured during a fight with the Pit River people at Likely around 1850.

Ike told a story about the capture of a Paiute woman (from a band he did not identify) by the Bannock. The man who stole her already had a Bannock wife and the Bannock treated the captured woman badly. The Paiute woman had a son by the Bannock man. 648 539

The Bannock man's mother took pity upon the Paiute woman and made her several pairs of moccasins and told her to steal away and return to her own people. One day when everyone else was away hunting, the mother-in-law gave the Paiute woman a big dog upon which she had tied packs of food for the trip of the woman and her boy back to her own home. The two were able to make good their escape. When the boy grew up he went back to the Bannock to steal horses and on one trip was captured; at that time he discovered his father. [492] ●

Ike also gave information concerning horse stealing by the Paiutes. The only Paiutes who had horses in the early 648 425

Wadatkuht

648 425 days were those individuals who walked north to the Bannock country and stole horses from them. One such man was Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Köpadkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiute man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] ●[492] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse stealing was one such element. The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

727 535 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'öpökama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaká', "that"; ö, "your"; pö, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

292 481 once about the heel. Daisy remarked that the Klamath snowshoe figured by Barrett[177] "would get all out of shape because they used skin instead of sticks."

The diagram in figure 10 is from a sketch by Charlie Washo. It calls for three crossing sticks instead of two and for radiating thongs of deer hide.

[789] Nellie Townsend said that formerly snowshoes were boiled to bring rain and that nowadays they were fried instead of being boiled. This was called "killing the snowshoes." Other informants seemed unfamiliar with this practice.

● 501 *Balsa.*—The balsa (sai'-saki') was used on the lake when hunting ducks and young geese, but not for fishing. A single bundle of tules was kept alongside on which to place the birds killed. Two informants said that the balsa was sometimes used "up north" to cross streams. It was not required in the Surprise region.

The balsa consisted of two bundles of tule (saib^{a}) tied at the ends with the same material[178] or with bark twine. Both ends were turned up so that the craft could proceed in either direction. The balsa was always made by the men. For a single individual it was about four feet long; larger ones held four or five people, a "whole family."

Various methods of propulsion were reported. Pindy thought that the balsa was punted with a long pole. According to Joshua it was paddled (*not* punted) with a willow ten or twelve feet long. Daisy claimed that "they had no oars, paddles, or poles. They just used their hands and feet, and they used to get pretty wet." Pindy thought that the last mentioned system was used only by persons unable to swim.

Some said that the balsa was not used a second time, but was discarded and a new one made; others, that it could be used again if removed from the water.

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[177] Plate 17, figure 1.

[178] A specimen which Lewis purchased at Fallon was tied with toib^{i}, cat-tail. SE, 249.

TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or 000
horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.[1] Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all.

482
Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets 171
carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes.

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wad- 000
ing, but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").[2]

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *posɪntsaxdpᶦ*; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*ū"s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *sɪmpuvᶦ* grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a 223
balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat 501
shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saibᶦ*, while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toibᶦ* or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success-

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[1] Wilson, 104.
[2] Ibid., 20.

223 fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long
501 willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for
a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some
specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting
occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward
the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed
aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it
alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the
171 tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in
501 the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the
balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc,
Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal,
Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

000 The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's "lattice" form.[1]

171 As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is
the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the
854 Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle
of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the
bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and
Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awning
000 above the infant's head. The largest cradle in the possession of the
Museum (specimen 50.1-6930) is of this category; it was bought from a
Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b)
shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle; to enhance the æsthetic effect
the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece
closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre
Ute[2] and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern
and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1-6930 also shows the
two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge
the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back
has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni cradle,[3] which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

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[1] Handbook, vol I, 357.
[2] Mason (a), 526.
[3] Lowie, 1909.

000

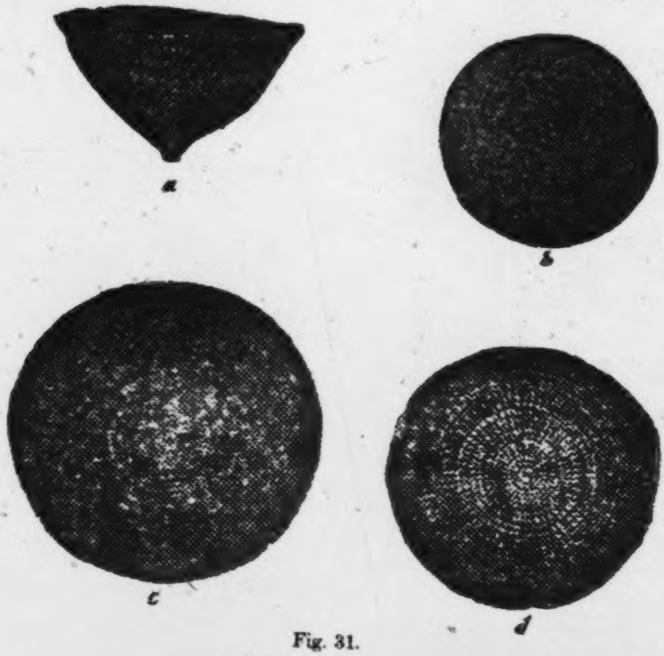

Fig. 31.

501

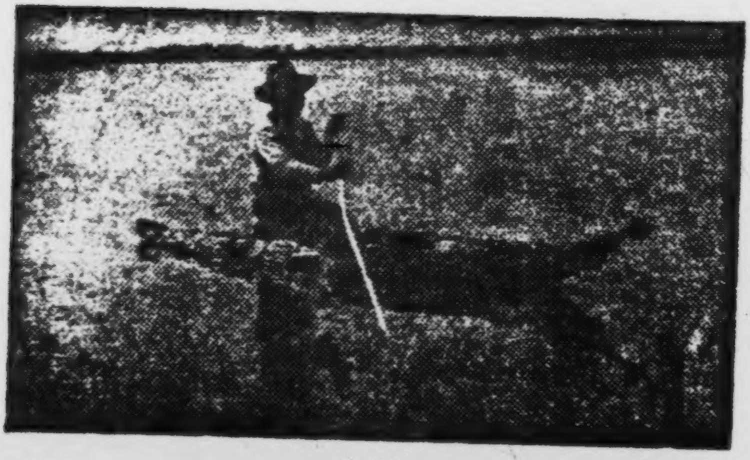

Fig. 32.

Fig. 31 *a–d* (50–1554, 1550, 50.1–8644, 50–1549). Basketry Hat and Trays. *a*, *b*, *d*, probably Ute; *c*, Shivwits

Fig. 32. Paviotso Balsa, Fallon, Nevada.

[P. 264 is blank]

● 501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

Résumé.

105 171 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit eved fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.)[1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

General Impression.

192 193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

Phonology.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

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[1] See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
A
343
515

N
A
[757]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	A
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	·	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	-	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
748a. Optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
749. Smoking while bathing	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
751. Women used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
752a. Up to 7	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
752b. 10 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
753. Use as clubhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
[423]

Miscellaneous Houses

N
A
343
[341]

N
[764]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	A
760. Dog house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Small, domed willow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Special grinding house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
763. Menstrual house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	·	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
763c. Burial in caves	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
765. For general gatherings only	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
766. Circular	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Brush fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768a. E	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768b. Any direction	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
770. Fires around fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
346

NAVIGATION

N
W
A
501

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	A
772. Pole or log raft	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
774a. 4 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
778a. 8-12	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
779. Prow curved up	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
780. No. of persons held: 2	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p.380]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
780a. 3 or 4	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
781. Propulsion: with pole (willow)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
782. With hands and feet	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
782a. Swimmer towed it across stream	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
783. Rope to pull it across stream	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-

N W A 561

FIRE MAKING

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
*784. Simple drill	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
785. Compound drill	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
786. Cane shaft	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
786a. Willow shaft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787. Hardwood shaft	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
790. Foreshaft spliced	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
791. Bow drill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*792. Artemisia hearth	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
792a. Juniper hearth	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
*793. Charcoal in pit	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
*794. Ground stone in pit	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
795. Bark in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
796. Indefinite number of pits in hearth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*797. Artemisia-bark tinder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
797a. Juniper-bark tinder	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
799. 2 pieces of rock struck for fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
800. Flint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
804. Bark-bundle slow match	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
805. Bark-bundle torch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
806. Fire preserved	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
807. By covering with earth	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
808. By burning sage into roots	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 372

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar (paha) and Pestle (podupo)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
*809. Stone mortar, large: portable, spheroid	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
809a. Made by known Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
810. In bedrock	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
810a. Made by known Indians	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
811. Made by Coyote or other animals	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
812. Made by prehistoric, mythical Indians	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
813. Portable, irregular	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
814. Portable, slab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
816. Stone mortar, small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
817. For paint, medicine, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
819. Wood mortar	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
820. Cavity in log end	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
821. Sunk in ground	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
822. Basket hopper used with mortar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
824. Stone pestle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
825. Cylindrical: length (in.), 12-18	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
825a. 18-24	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
826. Mortar and pestle used for: acorns	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
828. Piñon nuts	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
828a. Any seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 412

*Metate (mata) and Muller (tusu)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
829. Thin, oval metate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
829a. Made by known Indians	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

[p. 381]

223 (Kelly, 89). Tg: In early times one disguised man was killed because another hunter mistook him for real antelope. Since then antelope disguise considered dangerous and so little used.

143. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254, fig. 2, which represents general Paiute "figure 4" type trigger for deadfall trap).

224 150. To: - (LP). At: The only pitfall used was a pit 8 or 10 inches deep dug just at the entrance to ground-hog hole. In the spring when the young rodents first came from their burrow they fell in pit. Being young and weak they could not get out.

Booths and Blinds

223 155. Ki: + (Kelly, 90).

156. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): "blinds" resembling wickiups or summer houses."

159. To: - (LP).

160. Ki: + (Kelly 89): near "dance" ground.

165. Ki: Sage hens struck with stick as they "danced"; young geese and mud hens caught by hand (Kelly, 89-90). To: Sometimes disguised head and walked with body submerged until a duck's legs could be seized from under the water.

Decoys and Disguises

Decoy called tüa.

178-191. Wd: Checked with SC and BJ.

180. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255), although Steward cites Simpson's description of their use on Carson (p. 85) and Walker (p. 480) lakes. To: Lowie, 198, fig. 1, shows duck decoy from Fallon. Similar specimen obtained by me is now in U. C. Anthr. Museum. Ki: + from 1 informant, - from others (Kelly, 90). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 49, and pls. 33, 34). Tg: Informant had heard about stuffed-duck decoys and thought that old-time Tagö had used them, but he was not sure and had never seen one although he was about 80 years of age. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

181. Ki: Strings were attached to decoy (Kelly, 90).

183. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

183-187, 189. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Waterfowl Hunting

192. To: Fledglings and flightless adults of certain species hunted by numerous Indians in [501] tule balsas on Carson Lake (Curtis, 15, 73). Paviotso: Lowie, 197, describes 2 types of communal waterfowl hunting; both methods were similarly described by my informants. When mud hens were too fat to fly they were driven on to the land and caught when they tried to hide. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

194b. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255). Ts: Rabbit net was stretched near shore to keep birds from running too far. When net was not used fowl were allowed to hide under brush and

[p. 424(R)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [177] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis N [773] Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians."

[p. 4-31(A)]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-
648 pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. In-
622 deed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all
their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panaiʹna's name
103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panaiʹna's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Des-
101 chutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habita-
tions, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and o-
bliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 501
valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137
the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating 133
waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the
marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas.
They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an
aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians 501
made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to 824
group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occasionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward,
while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of [391]
reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were
usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swimmer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsos of northern 342
Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical 824
houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great
Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule 121
balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater,
Nevada.

—The Editor.

[P.3]

[P.6]

When the two tule bundles were tied together and trimmed, Jimmie laid a bunch 596 of cattails across the bow and with a twisted cattail rope tied it to the front of the boat. With more cattail rope he tied similar bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat, this time fastening them with knots instead of by twisting as he had done before. Another small bunch of cattails was laid across the stern of the boat and tied down. Finally the tips of the cattail bunches were tied to the boat along the sides. These bunches were tied along the sides of the boat to make a rim which was used to keep the harvest of duck eggs, ducks, mudhens, etc., from rolling off the boat. Wezzie said that cattails were used for the rim instead of tules because they are much stronger. Then Jimmie stepped into the center of the boat to make a deeper hollow.

The completed boat was eight and one-half feet long and so light that it could 501 easily be lifted by one hand. Jimmie demonstrated how the boat was used in the water. It held his weight without trouble. He said that the boats were always poled and never paddled. Most of the time it was used as a raft to carry the game and the gun and was pushed ahead while the hunter waded. It was not pulled, he said. When the boat was taken from the water it was quite heavy from absorption and would have to be dried out before it could be used again. A boat would last for only one year. Only one person could ride on these rafts and they were used more to carry the waterfowl the hunter had bagged or the eggs which had been collected than for transporting people. Formerly each hunter made his own boat.

MAKING A CATTAIL HOUSE

The Nevada Artists Association requested the All American Unit of the 114 A. W. V. S. to display an exhibit of Paiute Indian arts and crafts at the California 342 Building in Reno, Nevada, on April 19 and 20, 1958. The exhibit included a cattail house. In the old days such houses were built near the source of the material and were, therefore, common in the valleys near marshy areas. On April 17, 1958, Jimmie and Wezzie George of Stillwater, Daisy Aster, Lily Shaw and Dora John of Wadsworth, Nevada, all Paviotsos, made the house at Wadsworth after which it was transported to Reno. Jimmie and Wezzie George and Daisy Aster had made cattail houses before. Lily Shaw had lived in one but had never seen one made, while Dora John had never seen one before, but had heard of them.

The material for the house, which had been gathered prior to building, con- 342 sisted of eleven willow poles which were over ten feet long, many smaller willow sticks about five feet long, and a large quantity of dried cattails. Pieces of worn blue denim were available to be torn into strips for ties. In the old days dried cattails were used instead of the cloth for tying the elements of the house together.

Lily and Daisy dug small holes in the ground in a circle, loosening the dirt with sticks and knives. In these holes the willow poles for the house framework were set and the dirt packed around them. Lily then trimmed the poles. Daisy and Jimmie tore the pieces of denim into strips for tying the willow frame. Jimmie started tying willow sticks horizontally around the standing poles. This horizontal brace was about two and one-fourth feet above the ground. He used the torn denim strips for ties. While he tied on the reinforcing willows, Daisy steadied the uprights and Lily tore more rags and hung them across the brace where they were handy. Wezzie trimmed the sticks. On the east side they left an opening for a door. Lily said the door was toward the rising sun. When all the cross pieces were secure, a

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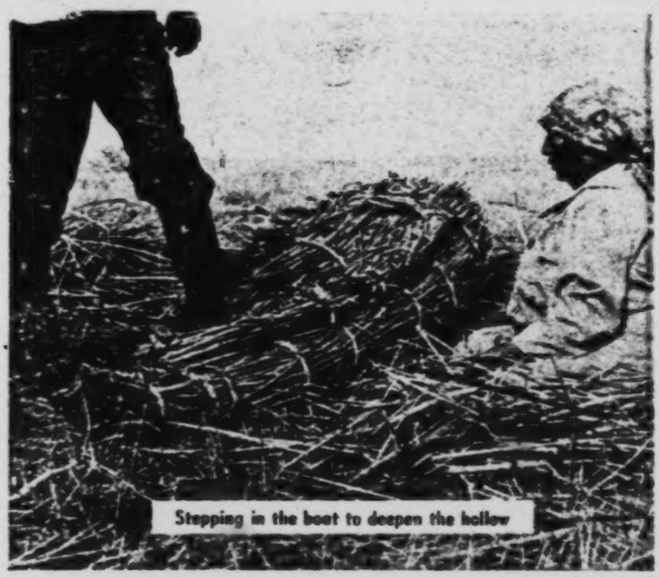
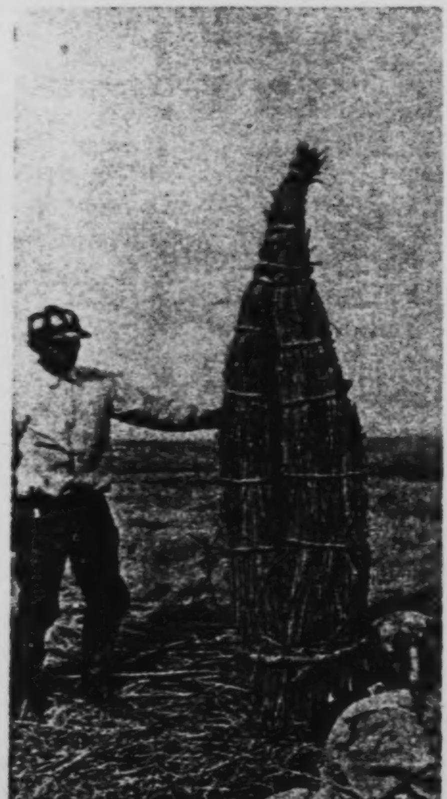


Stepping in the boat to deepen the hollow

291
501



[End Plate 5A]

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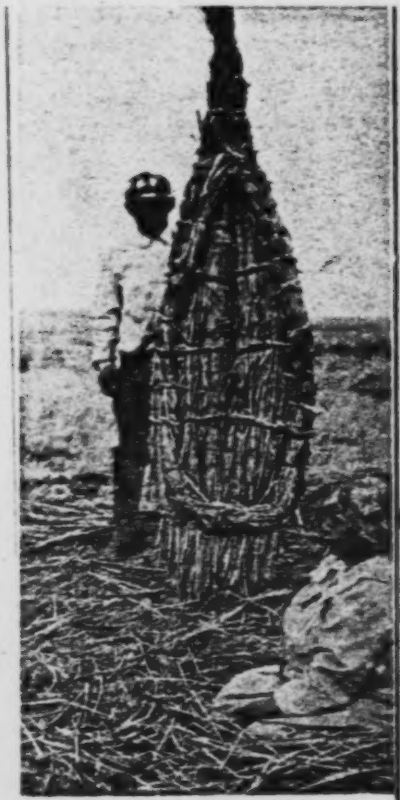
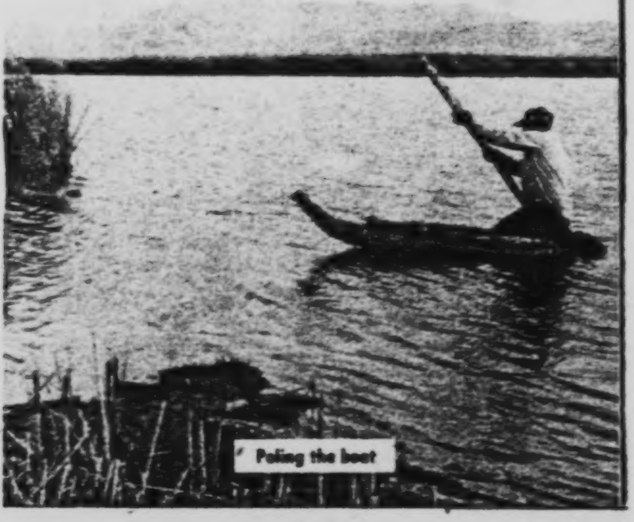
501



The completed boat

[End Plate 5 B]



Poling the boat

Wadátkuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan° (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section. 285

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

Wadátkuht

and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called the wind. 534 [824]

Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snowshoes and said they were a circular frame strung with strips of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet. 481

Ike was able to give some additional information on snowshoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. The snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's back until soft snow was encountered. [482]

Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959. 501 [824]

Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub[1], was used to make willow-bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used. Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles were blown by boys just for the fun of it. 534 [824]

The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrow-cane and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin, a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. She also said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring. [824] [755]

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N ● 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [172] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolie Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians." N [773]

[p. 4-31(A)]

648 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under
131 Tcháktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation,
in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868,
Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted
[161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as regards
511 food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing....
[262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and
seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had
ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231]
reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax
creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reservation[232]
[161] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who
show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire
to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from
Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin
Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes"
or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver
and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when
[166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve
Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children
came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly
pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring
in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number
of their people."[235]

648 For several years after they settled on the Reservation,
726 hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not
unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M.
Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer
Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according
to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds.
belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two
head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the
Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands
to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received). N 648 N [511] [291]

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868). N 649 726

143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5. K N

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102). 101 222

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon 1,"). N 648

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

648
657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups."
[186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most
of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They
[464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some
273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing
industry of the town[18] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as
they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying
and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In
1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to
[511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per
house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong
[162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters.
Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at
Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm
Springs.

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[18] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can
work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the
category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have
jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons.
In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The
younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning
for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has
changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions,
drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty,
and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire
family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very re- [165]
cently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison
with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

N
W his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At
276 least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the
578 cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform
*795 School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote. The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

N
W Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been
[784 given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any dis-
832] play of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

N
W The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor
182 and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November,
554 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an
*795 attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

N
W Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's
182 insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few
435 who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment
● 511 for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The
*795 willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

N
W Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the
182 Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rational-
483 izations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow
*795 man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[434]

From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jack-
rabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred
individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of
the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire re-
gion over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one
person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was
denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a
large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of
the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

221
early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.*

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the [535]
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities,
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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* During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

Seven or eight mats were required for a lodge. They were 342
wrapped tightly on the frame, overlapping like shingles. Considerable space was left at the top for the smoke to escape; the smoke hole was unnamed; in very cold weather it was covered by a blanket. The doorway was "about the height of a man's eye." At night it was closed by a grass or tule mat or by a deer skin or old blanket fastened outside. Sticks were attached at the top, bottom, and along one edge of the mat to give it body and to enable one to open and close the door (natzakuna) at will. The tule-covered lodge was called sa'i-nobi (saib^a, tule; no'bi, house). I was assured that it was a good house—entirely impervious to rain and snow and never smoky. The aboriginal house has been replaced by a frame packing-box structure, but an excellent photograph of old Chief Ochiho's tule-covered lodge may be seen in Kober's Reminiscences.[74]

When grass-covered, the house was called waha'-nobi (from papa'-waha'b^ü, rye grass). The grass, four or five feet in height, was cut near the ground and twined into mats which were applied to the frame the same as those of tule. Plate 18*b* shows a house somewhat in the manner of the old style. It was occupied until recently, and the exterior was completely swathed in canvas and sacking. At the lower left can be seen the remains of the grass covering held together by strips of cloth in simple twine.

Men erected the framework. Women applied the mats except at 462
the top, where men took charge. The winter house always faced away from the prevailing wind.

The fire was in the center under the smoke hole. The spot was not 354
enclosed by stones, but there might be a depression of a few inches. 252
All cooking and eating was done in the house. Persons slept on the 264
grass-covered ground, their feet toward the fire. 513

In spring, the winter house was abandoned; occasionally the mats 222
were removed, rolled up, and cached. From spring until the follow-
ing winter, "a week was about as long as they stayed any one place. 342
Sometimes they built a shade. They either built a shade or just went 417
around under the trees."

Summer structures seem to have been of two principal types, the 342
shade (haba') and the brush enclosure (dū'a-nobi; dū'a, round). The 417
former, illustrated in plate 18*c*, is frequently seen at the present time. It serves as a porch or as a shelter for vehicles, etc., but during warm weather many move from their wooden houses into such shades. The

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[74] 1:248.

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A good boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi'ⁱ) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidū'tikad[6] at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ʷka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride
horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants
claimed that masturbation did not exist.[4]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of
five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten
sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little.
When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are
afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come
and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in
the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths
and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some
parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean
people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels.
In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often
taking their younger siblings.

DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's
hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth
drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways
in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship
terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead
are never mentioned.

---

[4] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls restored by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation frequently given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point. 775 753 774 756

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is suddenly awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 753 756 774 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisition of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso. 753 756 787

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake 000 in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a 342 winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart 361 Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The 342 Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui* [101] (*Chamistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[3] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in [291] while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with [513] a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at [482] the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular- [415] bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right 342 in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[3] Fremont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. [136] The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 156-57).

WadatKuht

752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup^a. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^a to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, KukwaPta, if one knew the correct words.

821 [789] [177] Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^b - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 513 825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these condi- 843]
tions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in the drive.

224
When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [832]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.

[23] Ibid., 55–57.

N
W

177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam with-
W out Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the
[535] ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[illegible] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican
N peyote rituals.[illegible]

W Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting
● [514] and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because
[415] poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to
N meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported.
W Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe
177 are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that
578 anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his
*795 meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[illegible] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button
N for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[illegible]

W The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs
177 of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regard-
182 ing the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry
533 prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to
*795 see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[illegible] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[illegible] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[illegible] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[illegible] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

PLATE 2

N
W
795 *a.* Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

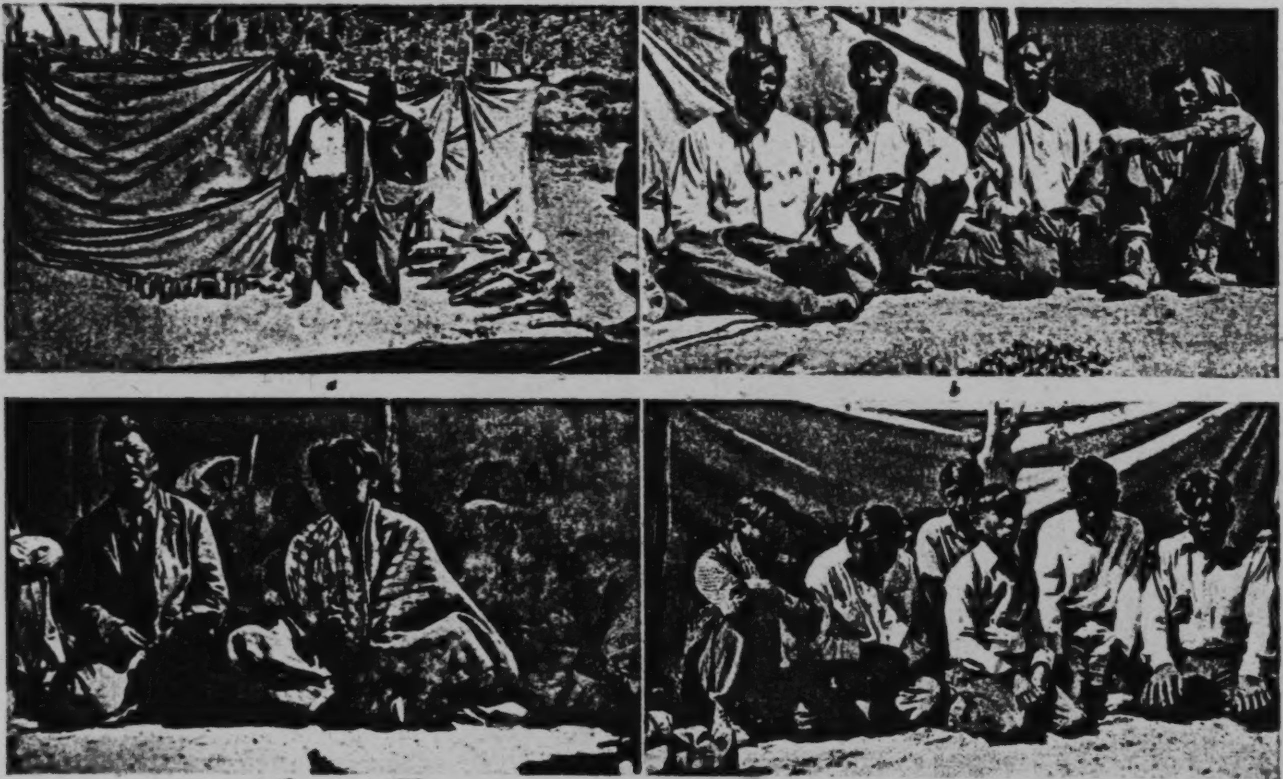
142
516 *b.* "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

[514] *c.* Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

N
[854] *d.* School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

[P.141]



PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

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W
[514] ↑
N,
[854] ↓

N
W
795*
142
516

789 When the snow was deep and did not melt, they asked a man born in summer to make the wind blow. He had a stake about eight inches long, which he whirled over his head. This is called tüsa'ibidua. He stood outside the house and tried to call the south wind. He talked, then stopped; then he did it again (JB).

To make the snow melt is called tüsa'ibidua. Not all doctors could do this, perhaps only one man or woman. Someone would say, "Who can make the snow melt? How much do you want? Some beads, a belt? I'll give you that if you make the snow melt in one or two days." You say, "Well, I'll do the best I can." Then you sing. You have a stick, maybe a burned stick. You face south; you shout and talk to the wind. You say, "Friend." You point with the stick (koso'-tuhubi, fire-coal). It makes a little wind come. You say, "You see this coal; you see this fire." The wind comes, maybe in an hour or two. Then everybody believes in your power (JB).

In the old days they tried to bring wind to melt the snow. They used a piece of juniper where the lightning had broken it off. Sometimes the wind came from the southwest (south?) (CW).

Sometimes a woman doctor would dance and sing until she got a real sweat. She talked; she waved her hand to the west. Then the rain came and the snow began to melt. I know no way to make the rain stop. A man whirls a bullroarer (kwi'mo) to bring a warm wind to melt the snow (MA).

They used to boil snowshoes to bring rain; nowadays they fry them. This is called "killing the snowshoes" (NH).[264]

Joshua had not seen anyone stop a thunder storm, but he had heard of its having been done:

The old people told me about stopping thunder. When the thunder comes close, they say to someone born in summer, "Put on your paint and go outside. When the thunder starts, when the lightning starts, step out quickly and look at them. Motion to them; tell them, 'Go over there.'" Then they will go away.

SWEATING

343 The sweat-house is called topi'-nava'gia (topi', tüpi', stone; nava'gia, bathe). Joshua gave pu"sat and mi'rhot^{s} as synonyms, but topi'-nava'gia is the favored term and the only one I have noted in conversation.
515

The sweat-house frame shown in plate 19*b* is about four feet in diameter and tall enough to allow one to sit upright. No particular entrance is discernible. Other frames which I have examined are bound round with one or two willow withes. In the background of the plate can be seen the stack of canvas, old clothing, and the like, which serves to cover the lodge when sweating is in progress. Formerly the covering was rye grass, sagebrush, willow, or possibly an old deerskin or blanket.

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[264] I was unable to verify this. The practice is unknown to other informants.

Stones were heated near-by and placed to one side in the lodge, "otherwise there would not be enough room for two persons." Before water was applied, the rocks were allowed to stand a few minutes, lest the inmates be scalded. If the heat of the steam became unbearable, a little cold water was put on the head, or else the head was poked out beneath the lodge covering for a moment's respite. One informant said that young sagebrush was broken and that the sweaters dipped it in water and whipped themselves with it. 343 515

Cold water following the sweat bath was optional:

> Old men who like it, jumped in the cold water. You might catch pneumonia. Too much steam made you weak.

Sweating was principally by men, although a few women are said to have sweated occasionally. "Sometimes a woman would go in with her husband, but not often. Perhaps three or four women would go together. Young girls never sweated." At the present time sweating as an active institution is indulged in by a few of the older men. I found no evidence for de Angulo's assertion[265] that "even now the custom is not well established and that some of the older men frown upon it." In fact, nowadays sweating seems to have rather strong religious associations which quite outweigh the medicinal or purely social functions, although these two factors do figure.

> In the old days they sweated whenever they felt like it and before they went hunting. It made the body strong. Some say they went there to cure, but I do not think so.[266]

Mourners occasionally sweated, but this custom seems to have been neither general nor well established. [765]

When sweating, a person prays to the sun, composing his prayer to suit his needs. He usually asks for health and for success in the chase. A prayer is said to be somewhat as follows: [782]

> My father, the Sun, help me a little. Make me strong. Give me deer meat. Help me kill deer and antelope.

If a person is not in good health he prays thus to the sun:

> I like this country. Make me well; make me strong. I do not want to be sick.

I do not know if an address of this sort is repeated indefinitely or if a person has a whole series of such prayers. I happened within ear-shot of a sweat-house which was in use and the praying was continuous, in a monotone that almost approached a chant.

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[265] P. 318.

[266] "Sweating is good for rheumatism and things like that" (P). And also p. 198.

343 It is considered especially fit that one sweat on Sunday. This interesting secondary association is so firmly entrenched that I was ●515 asked if white people talk to the sun on Sundays as do the Indians. Association of the sweat-house with the sun might be worth tracing.

[177] Regarding the origin of the sweat-house, de Angulo[267] states, "But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. 'It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians' is the reply I have received from many people." He does not make it clear to just which tribe the statement applies—his Pit River, Klamath-Modocs, or Paiutes—but presumably it refers to the latter. In that case, forty years seems rather too low an estimate. Although I questioned virtually every informant upon the point, Piudy was the only one who had ever heard that sweating was other than indigenous. He said:

> I heard that the sweat-house came this way from far in the northeast on the edge of big water. This was long ago, before my time. Before the Paiute learned to sweat they just bathed in the river.

[773] Other informants invariably declared that the Gidü'tikad[a] had always sweated, and a number attributed the practice to Coyote or otherwise linked it with myth. When Dr. Sam was asked concerning the origin of the sweat-house, he related the following tale:

> In the old days birds were persons. Eagle was hunting deer. They killed nothing. Then they spoke to a little bird like an owl, called topi'.[268] Eagle told him to heat rocks. Then they all sweated in a sweat-house that the little bird built. And the next time they killed many deer. That is how they learned to sweat. Talk to the sun while you are in the sweat-house; that is your god.

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[267] P. 318.

[268] This term is of interest because of its possible connection with topi'-nava'gia, sweat-house. The suggestion is obvious: either the tale results from secondary association, or the translation of topi'-nava'gia as rock-bathe is a folk etymology.

000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343
.515 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pouring water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*tòpinaβdgia*) was constructed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat, but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side; Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates [782] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was accompanied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge [178] in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory "*naβdrinana.*" Here also the rocks were put on one 515 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both 157 sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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[1] Matthews, 227.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.

[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 74.

Sweating, and Sweat-Houses.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typical
[171] Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow
wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found today
[171] in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
[177] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many
people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made
a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting
around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As
for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems
that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the
old men frown on it.

Clothing.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men
wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with
fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings
were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The
shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the
chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back
between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made
use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the
loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative.
There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The
statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men
wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable.
They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition
(say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
[174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing
nothing but a kilt.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
342

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
665. Twined-bark mat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
666. Pine sod	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
667. Earth	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
668. Doorway	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
669. Side	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
671. Flush with wall	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
673. Fireplace inside	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
674. Pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
675. Smoke hole in roof	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

House Interior

N
W
A
352

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
678. Twined-rush mat	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	*+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	[illegible]	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	*+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

Sweat House (moasovi)

N
W
A
343

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
688. Wickiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	*+	*−	*+	−	*+	−	+	+	*+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	*+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
693. Brush	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
694. Skin	+	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
700. Door: on any side	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
702. Of twined bark	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
703. Of twined grass	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
*704. Conical-Type Sweat House	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
713. Gabled-Type Sweat House	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−
714. 2 interior posts	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
715. Ridgepole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
717a. Built against side of hill	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
718. Roof covering	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
719. Brush	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
720. Grass	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
721. Earth	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
722. Door	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
724. Flush	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Sweat-House Operation and Use

N
A
343
515

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*727. Heating by: fire inside	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	*+	−
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

[P.379]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
A
343
515
N
A
[752]
N
[423]
N
A
343
[340]
N
[764]
N
346
N
W
A
501

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	−	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
748a. Optional	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
749. Smoking while bathing	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
751. Women used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
752a. Up to 7	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	[illegible]	−	−	+
752b. 10 or more	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
753. Use as clubhouse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Miscellaneous Houses

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
760. Dog house	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
761. Small, domed willow	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
762. Special grinding house	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
763. Menstrual house	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	·	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
763c. Burial in caves	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
765. For general gatherings only	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
766. Circular	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
767. Brush fence	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768a. E	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
768b. Any direction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
770. Fires around fence	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

NAVIGATION

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	A
772. Pole or log raft	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
774a. 4 or more	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
778a. 8-12	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
779. Prow curved up	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
780. No. of persons held: 2	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p.380]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
302

N
W
A
[515]

N
A
[285]
N
W
A
281
291

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ac
Hair Dressing														
1366. Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367. Grass bundle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1368. Rye-grass-root bundle (wai'ava)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1369. Rabbit-brush bundle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1370. Men's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1371. Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372. Bangs loose	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1373. Coiled on head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1374. Tied up on head	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1375. Bangs	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1376. Front lock sticks up	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1377. Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379. Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379a. Sea-otter (pasuga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381. Women's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382. Bangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1383. Tucked under basket hat	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1384. Tied back of neck	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1385. Middle hair part	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1386. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387. 1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388. Bangs	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1389. Tied on top of head	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1390. Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1390a. Bone tubes	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Red paint	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1392. Red paint in part	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
1393. Marrow	−	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1394. Mud against lice	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
1395. Braids fur wrapped	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396. Washing: with plain water	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1397. With white clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1398. Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400. Depilation: of beard	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401. Of eyebrows	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1402. Of pubic hair	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1403. With stone flake	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1404. With fingernails	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1405a. Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1405b. Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Headgear														
1406. Woman's basketry hat	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408a. Men's bark hat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. Men's fur cap	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411. Fawnskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412. Antelopeskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1415. Muskratskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416. Beaverskin	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1416a. Badgerskin	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417. Wildcatskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418. Coyoteskin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
1420. With quail tufts	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
1421. With other feathers	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. With horns	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1423. Hair net	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

[p.392]

It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated 757
with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of 515
shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies
that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its
use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place [177]
in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[16]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His 756
failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic 756
performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks 789
when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

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[16] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL N

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather W
permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[illegible] 795*
otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist,
clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point 796
east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates
the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest. N

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest dis- W
tances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before [783]
attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[illegible] [534]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping [515]
eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after
seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a
privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader
directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate
the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the
cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually deter- N
mined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals W
in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in
its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the 795*
accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire 796
floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at
dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting. 276

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large [783]
specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[illegible] Next he directs clockwise round
the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and [824]
rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[illegible] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[illegible] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[illegible] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

Wadátkuht

Endurance. An example of endurance is shown by the ten mile run Kitty and several other girls made from Litchfield to Kasawihnaid on Parker Creek. They left with some women to pick chokecherries, but the girls ran on ahead and filled their baskets before the women arrived, and immediately returned to Litchfield. (They got a ride in a wagon part of the way back.) This sort of activity parallels the great endurance shown by the girls at their puberty ceremonies where they had to run long distances and were allowed little sleep, and little to eat and drink. 147

The stamina of the men is demonstrated by the long distances they were capable of traveling by foot in remarkably short time (see the section on "Supernatural Helpers").

Standards of Beauty and Intelligence. People were not judged by their physical beauty, but on their abilities. Good looking or exceptionally intelligent individuals did not live to a ripe old age. 156 [165]

Standards for the Differentiation of Several Indian Groups. 186 A Paiute could tell a Maidu by his snag teeth. The Paiute had better teeth. A Washo could be told by his voice, as could a Pit River. That is to say, when these two peoples were speaking English, as they could obviously be known when they spoke their own languages. A Washo had a rather high pitched voice. The Pit River people had a different sort of voice..."you can tell". A Paiute usually could be told apart from the others by his tattoo marks.

Methods of Sitting. Joaquin is said to have sat in a position natzĭ kwunt ^{katŏ}, "to sit with your knees up". He could sit in this position for hours, but when Gladys tried to do it she found it very difficult. Joaquin's back was straight, his heels against his butt, and his knees at his chin when seated in this manner. He did not need to use his arms to hold his legs against his body, but would have his hands free to work, and he had no backrest when seated in this position. 516

Women sat cross legged, dapatni^{katŏ}, "double up set". To sit with one's legs out in front was muda katŏ. With one's knees on the ground and butt resting on heels was sidá^{katŏ}, "kneel set". To kneel was sidákwun^{a}.

Personal Cleanliness. Kitty said that Joaquin had a propensity for taking cold baths in the morning, but she did 515

Wadátkuht

515 not indicate whether the other Wadátkuht shared his enthusiasm for a daily plunge into cold water.

881 Girls' Puberty Ceremony. When Kitty began her first menstrual period the family was working at the Will Dill place in the slough region of Susan River near where it flows into Honey Lake. From here she had to run to the round hill behind the Gibson ranch, a distance of four or five miles to the northwest.

The girls' puberty ceremony was called muhatanowani, from muha, "moon", and tánowani, "to run". It was also called punug. Each morning Kitty had to make her run to Gibson Hill and return on the run in the evening. While on the hill she had to work all day collecting sagebrush for [313] the fire. Her aunt, whose name was Beowuhbi, also was on the hill and remained there during the puberty ceremony. Each morning Kitty ran up to the top of the hill with approximately ten other girls who helped her gather sagebrush for the fire. Most of this fuel had to be left on the hill, but Kitty took a load back each night. The girls also gathered brush on their way back to the ranch, and around the ranch.

When Kitty returned to camp each evening the dancing would begin and she would have to dance all night. During the days she was able to get some sleep but was awakened by her aunt before she slept too long. She also got some food and water from her aunt when she got up on the hill each day. This kept her going, but no one was supposed to give her food back at camp. In fact she was guarded to see that no one [856] slipped her any food. The reason a girl got so little water was so that she could, in later life, go a long time without [826] it, a decided virtue under the existing desert conditions of the Wadátkuht environment.

During the dance each night Kitty wore a shredded sagebrush bark skirt and cape which she had made herself. The cape hung half-way to her knees. However, in deference to new standards brought in by the whites she wore the sagebrush clothing over her cloth dress.

Kitty had to dance all night without stopping. Other people would dance with her but as they got tired others would take over, but she got no rest. The dance ended before sunrise each day and she would leave for the run to the mountain with her escort of girls. These girls and young women had been through the puberty ceremony and were the

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Fig. 12. Paviotso trying to make Fire.

PLATE 4

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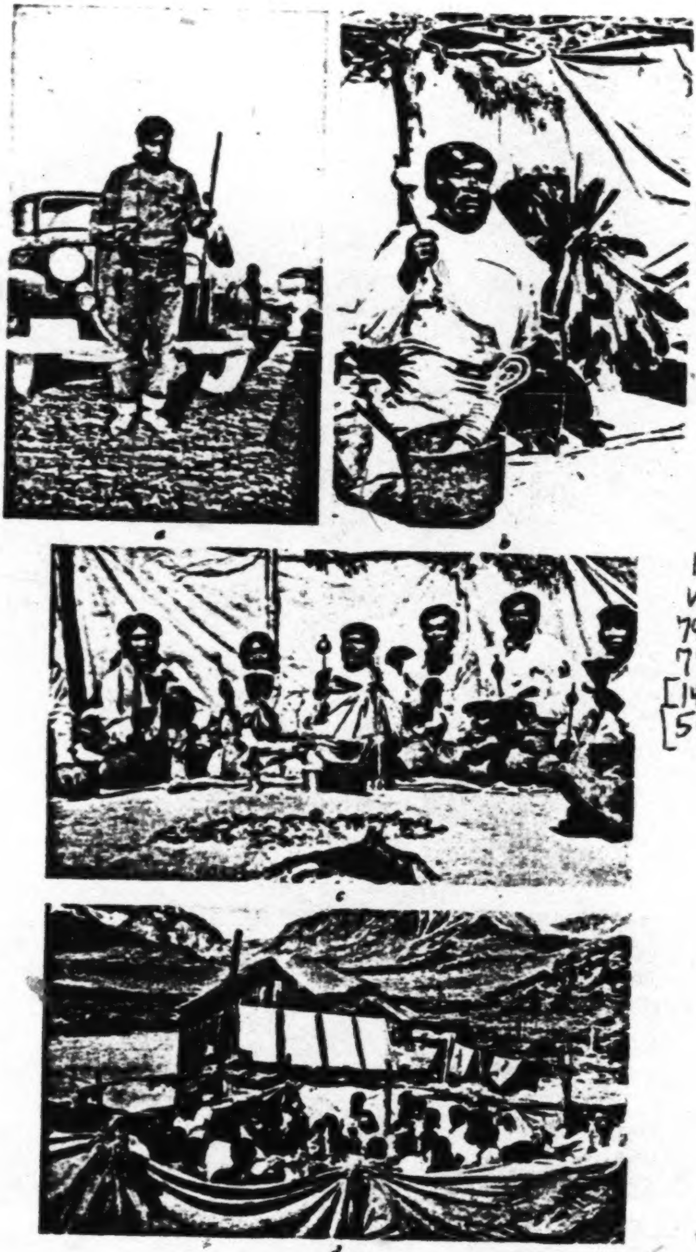

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[791]
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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

PLATE 2

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a. Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left. cans in which to vomit. and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

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b. "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

[514]

c. Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

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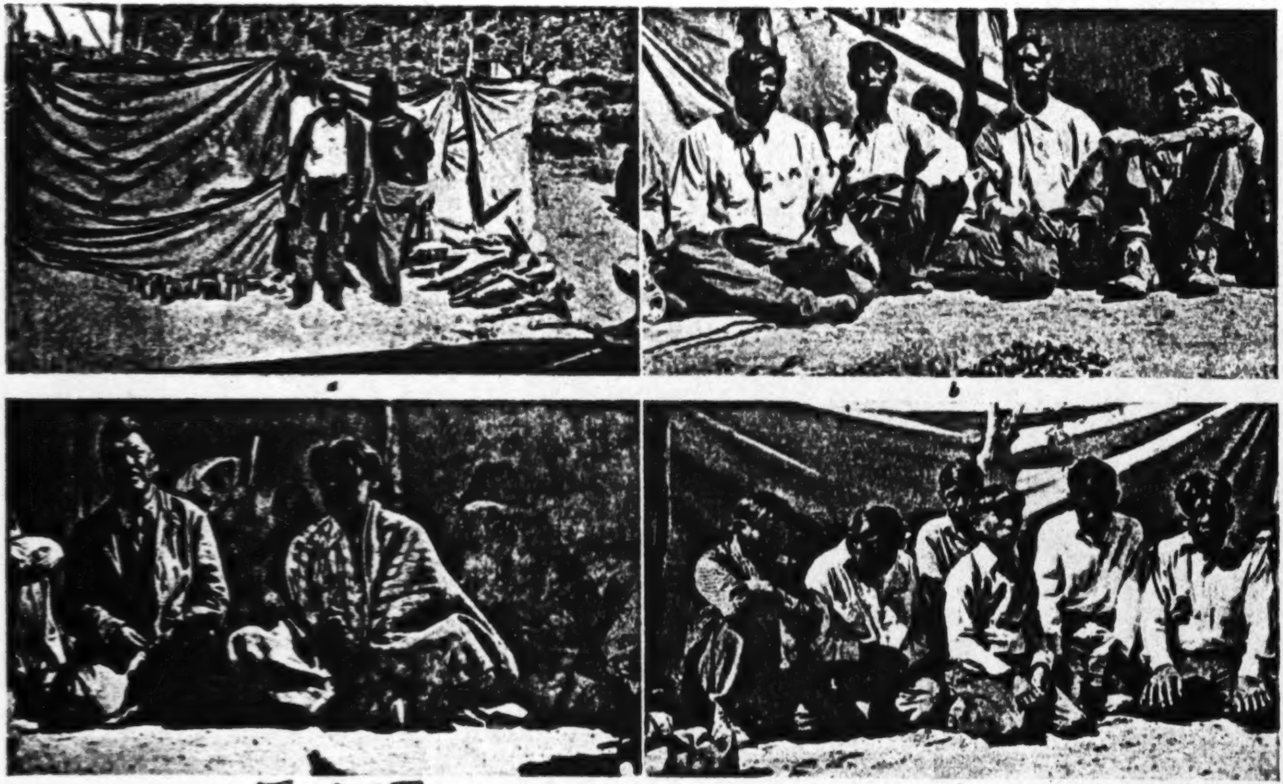
[854]

d. School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

[P. 141]



PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

N W [514]

N, [458]

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W
745*
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Wadátkuht

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Personal Cleanliness. Kitty said that Joaquin had a propensity for taking cold baths in the morning, but she did 515

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadatkuht

[P.91]

Plate 4

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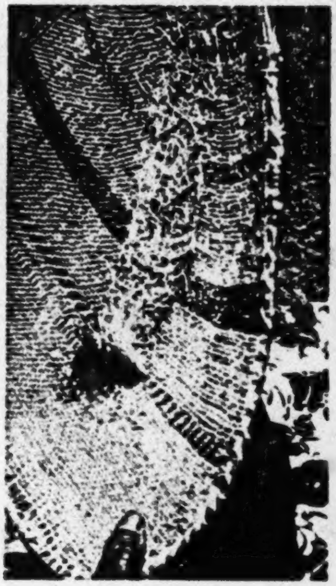
415
←
285
→

b. Metate and mano



d. Winnowing tray

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a. Grinding with metate and mano

c. Winnowing meal

[End Plate 4]

SMOKING

Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[280] young boys did not smoke 276 for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non-ceremonial and was chiefly an evening pastime. Three or four old 517 ● men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed number of times, and a person could decline on the second round without offending.

The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'bᵃ)[281] The 277 local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'bᵃ were mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowadays koda'bᵃ and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the blend called düma'iyu, mixture. Koda'bᵃ is said to be "pretty strong."

Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[282] For earache and 276 deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear 755 the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache. For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. 855 A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." 861 Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the [826] other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he is born with the cord around his neck."

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[280] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[281] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[282] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot [554]
resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand,
get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for
guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type
of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure
within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned
him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father
had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and
uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and
his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect
that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that
Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore,
his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him
that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the
child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[8]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[9] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[8] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[9] *Cf.* N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

[P. 5]
[P.4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 396 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy [182] (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Stillwater marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs [182] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 283 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would [521 223 825] make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

N

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is W
offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. 795*
While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth.
The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The 796
throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, 276
expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one
is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made N
through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying W
is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders [191]
pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming
continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the N
ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. W
The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire [262]
and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[illegible]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[illegible] and informal con- [783]
versation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; [521]
then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from
the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent
and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting. N

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a W
fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an ex- [522]
tremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[illegible] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the *fruit* was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[illegible] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

N

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is W
offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. 795*
While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth.
The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The 796
throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, 276
expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one
is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made N
through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying W
is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders [191]
pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

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badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife. 765 [587]

Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; "somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her. 597

GAMES AND PASTIMES

The Gidū'tikad^{a} had the usual assortment of games, and although they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212] 524 525

Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called paba'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used: 777

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

Football.—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players 526

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

For natsa'soa one had ten rye-grass arrows and twenty or so small 526
mud pellets of various size. The latter were heaped and opposing players shot at them using the rye-grass arrows and a miniature bow. Sometimes the arrow was thrown instead of shot. When one hit a pellet he removed his arrow with the pellet impaled on it. If a ball broke, a new one was made. A person shot until he missed, whereupon he forfeited his arrow, and his opponent started shooting. My notes are not clear as to how the game was won; "when the pile is all gone, count up and see whose it is."

Hoop and pole.—Hoop and pole (nũko'noʾ; nũkwo'no; "they call it after the willow") was played with a willow ring about six inches in diameter and unnetted. Any number of men could play, but Joshua said that there were usually five on a side. Each player had two sharpened, green willow poles about seven feet in length, and "this made it just like ten points." One side lined up and the ring was rolled past, all trying to pierce it. If they were unsuccessful, it was rolled past once more. When one person managed to stop the hoop by piercing it and having it fall on his pole, the others of his side came to the spot from which he had shot and took turns trying to hit the ring, no matter in what position it might have come to rest. Each one who missed forfeited his pole. "If all of them missed, we won quickly." The same game was sometimes played with arrows instead of poles. They were feathered, but not stone tipped, and were always thrown, not shot.

Dr. Sam's account of this game was not entirely clear. He thought it had come to the Silver Lake band from the east. In addition to the usual hoop and pole procedure, he stated that "the man who stood apart threw, not shot, an arrow at the ring which another man held for him. If he pierced the ring he won the arrow; otherwise it went to the one holding the ring." This sounds like a reversal of hand tana'i.

Jacks.—Three or four played nada'kapi. Small stones were gath- 524 ●
ered in a pile or placed in a row and hidden in the dust. A pebble was then thrown in the air, a grab made for the hidden stones, and the tossed pebble caught. When one missed, the play passed to an opponent. Joshua said that the person who got the last stone won the game.

Hand game.—The hand game (naiũ'kwi) was essentially a man's game, but nowadays women sometimes play.[214] The game is ordinarily

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[214] In the hand game a man never plays against a woman (CW). In the game I witnessed only men participated, but women looked on and bet on the results.

● 524 played with four cylinders,[218] two all white and two with black center bands. One guesses the position of the plain white ones. These cylinders are "just big enough to be held in the hand" and are usually of willow, although I was assured by one informant that "anything would do." An old cylinder found at the gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon, is shown in plate 32*c*. My informant said that the central band had been black but that the paint had been scraped off; and that the ends, originally white, had been discolored from exposure. Informants agreed that formerly the hand game was played with two small circlets of "Warm Springs beads," willow or deer horn serving in the absence of beads. My interpreter who was quite young, certainly not over thirty-five, could remember having seen the bead circlets in use. With the two-object form of the game, one guessed presence vs. absence rather than plain vs. marked; consequently the two hidden objects were identical. Pindy said that with the two-object form cheating was frequent; but by making both concealers hold two bones instead of one, they had less opportunity to shift them after the guess had been made.

As the game is played today, the sides line up, seated several yards apart. Each team has a plank in front upon which the members drum in time to the accompanying chant. The two individuals who are to hide the cylinders shuffle them beneath a cloth,[219] and, after much buffoonery, finally hold them concealed in the hands, arms folded. One man does the guessing for the opposing side; he may guess during one or two games. He is said to sing as he plays, but in the game I witnessed this was not the case. As the guesser faces them, the cylinders may be arranged in the four positions schematically represented below, W standing for the plain bone and B for the one with the black stripe.

BWWB	called	tasi'güwai
WBBW	called	ka'su'kwas
BWBW WBWB	called	siki'ʔa

To indicate the BWWB position, the guesser extends his right hand, thumb up, and moves it vertically, pointing between the two concealers and at the same time calling the appropriate designation. If he wishes to indicate WBBW, he holds out his right hand, palm downward, meanwhile calling the corresponding term. For the alternating positions, the terms are identical, but ambiguity is avoided by indicating the BWBW position with a wave to the right and the WBWB position with a wave to the left. When blind people play, the siki'ba guesses are qualified by adding one of the cardinal directions according to the position in which the players are seated.

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[218] I neglected to record the names of these. In a letter Nora Henderson says they are called "dipaw," dipo in the orthography here employed.

[219] The cloth or blanket was considered unnecessary in the two-object form.

One or two tallies are forfeited according to the accuracy of the guess. If a person indicated BWWB and the arrangement were WBBW, he would miss both white. If, however, he indicated BWWB and the arrangement were BWBW, he would miss but one white. In this event, the concealing side tosses two of the bones across to the opponents and continues to hide the remaining two until their position is correctly guessed. In guessing upon the basis of two bones, a player assumes theoretical symmetry of position and indicates his guess by the tasi'gũwai or ka'su'kwan positions. When he guesses correctly his side is entitled to hide the cylinders.

The game is usually played for ten counters, which I understood to be divided evenly at the start. The game terminates when one side has all the counters. [525] In cases of heavy betting, the game is said to be played for twenty or even thirty points.

The hand game is played the year round and is regarded as the gambling game par excellence. "We play this when we have a big time; always. That's our old game." There is no tradition of its having been introduced from outside as there is among the Klamath.[217] The hand game is now played almost every Sunday and Klamath and Achomawi frequently participate. Excitement is kept at a high pitch by the betting and by the spirited chanting and drumming.

Four-stick game.—This game (wita'si) was played by old men; Daisy said that women did not play but that they might bet; Joshua thought that they sometimes played. Guessing is similar to the hand game but there are differences in equipment and procedure. Willow rods, four to five inches long, are concealed beneath a basket tray (not a blanket) instead of in the hands. The rods are not marked as in the hand game but differ in size. The larger pair is called apiŭ'b, apiū'b^a ("big, like the mother," bia, pia, mother)[218] and the smaller pair, a'tuū'm, dua'^{a} (translated baby; du'a, son).

One guesses the position of the larger sticks. The arrangements are named as in the hand game and indicated by the same gestures. Further dependence on that game is to be noted in the disposition of the bones. Logically there is no reason why one should not have a XXOO or OOXX arrangement, but in the hand game, where either concealer has one of a kind, this is impossible. It is interesting to note therefore that this restriction, although unnecessary, holds for the four-stick game.[219] Two sticks are removed at the conclusion of a guess half-right, and play is continued with the remaining two. A correct guess wins the right to conceal. Counters change hands in accordance with the rules of the hand game but there are eight instead of ten. Pindy had it that these were arranged in a neutral pile; Joshua, that they were divided at the start, four to a side.

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[217] Spier, 78.

[218] Cf. Shivwits pi+ă'B¹, mother, Lowie, SE, 287.

Lowie[220] reports a similar game for the Shoshoni, stating that it "is said to have been played mostly by the Ya'handi'ka (Groundhog-eater) band, who used to live toward the west of the Wind river." As it is unlikely that this statement refers to the Gidū'tikadᵃ, Culin's distribution[221] must be extended to include still another Shoshonean group.

Stick dice.—The stick game is called hu'pi-tatsa'ñ (hu'pi, stick). It is normally played by men, but women sometimes play "if they know how." This game is said to make the winter longer; there is no game to shorten it.

Tatsa'ñ is played with eight[222] sticks of rose, six or seven inches long, red on one side and white on the other. They are hurled endwise on the ground and the upturned white faces counted. Each white side counts one point which is recorded by a scoring stick placed at the proper interval along 24[223] pegs (unnamed) set in a semicircle on the ground. Supplementary sticks (called kwi"ts, meaningless) are laid flat on the ground or stuck in at an angle after every sixth peg, presumably as an aid in counting. These correspond to Spier's quadrants.[224]

Four people usually play, two on a side. I witnessed a game played by two individuals, each of whom had two scoring sticks.

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[219] This restriction seems to demonstrate an essential dependence upon the hand game. This fact, together with the very limited distribution of the four-stick game (Culin, 327), strongly suggests that latter is a local development or variant of the widespread hand game.

[220] SE, 261.

[221] Culin, 327.

[222] Culin, 167, also gives 8; Lowie, SE, 262, gives 6. Joshua mentioned a stick game with 6 dice, white sides counted, and 24 points, but stated that it was not played by men.

[223] DB, NH, P, SW; 20 according to TA; 32 according to CW. The two latter are probably incorrect.

[224] Havasupai, 250.

Presumably, had four been playing each would have had a single scorer. The side which first works its two scorers to the far end of the 24 pegs is the winner. Opponents use the same series of pegs, counting from opposite ends.

At the start the dice are divided, four to a side. In the two-man game I witnessed, each took two throws. I did not ask, but if four were playing each would probably have a single throw. If these initial throws result in a tie, throwing continues until one side scores more than the other, thereby winning the first toss of the full eight dice. These initial throws with half the dice are recorded and counted in the game proper.

Although white sides normally count one point each and move one marker, certain ramifications in counting must be noted. With the four dice (initial) throw, either all white or all red yields 4 points for each of the two scoring sticks, a total of 8 points; 3 upturned whites yield 3 points for eabh scoring stick, or a total of 6 points. With this, however, the double yield ceases and 3 red and 1 white give but 1 point. After the game is under way and the full 8 dice are in use, all red or all white give 8 points per scoring stick (16 points in all); 7 white similarly yield 7 points for each scorer (14 points in all); but 7 red and 1 white count but 1. Thus the premium or double-yield applies to these throws alone: with half the number of dice, 4 red, 4 white, 3 white; with the full number of dice, 8 red, 8 white, and 7 white. Any other combination counts one point per white face and moves 1 marker only. Thus 7 red and 1 white would count but 1. The first throw of the dice moves one's rearward marker; the second throw, that farther in advance.

If one makes a throw which lands him in the same place as his opponent, this is called "shooting one another" (o'gwa'ti) and the opponent must start over. One may shoot both scoring sticks if they happen to be in the same hole. This is one additional feature which serves to link the Paviotso game with the complex outlined by Spier.[223]

When a player approaches the end he need not shoot even score; any number of points equal to or in excess of the required number will put him out. It took only a few minutes to win the game I witnessed.

"Squaw game."—My data on what Joshua calls the "squaw game" are incomplete and confused. It is the woman's dice game and is known as tüpi'du, tüpi'dün (from tüpi', stone). Men sometimes

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[223] Havasupai, 350.

play a while "just for fun," but it was as definitely a woman's diversion as juggling. Two to four women played "any time of the year."

Dice, about six inches long, were thrown on a flat rock (not a metate) or on the ground. Three of the four dice were red on one side and white on the other; the fourth was all black. The function of this stick remains a mystery. The three red and white dice were thrown and the upturned white sides counted. A throw of all red or all white won the game; two whites counted two points, one white, one.

Unfortunately the scoring remains obscure. According to Joshua, they usually played for 7, sometimes for 6, but might play for any set number of points. He also reported a neutral pile of counters at the start, and the winning of all of these terminated the game. At times, however, the counters seem to have been dispensed with and points tallied on the ground with the fingers. Daisy did not know how many points constituted game. As noted above, the function of the black die (wu'a) is not clear. According to Joshua, "You take it when you count four points," but further than this I could elicit no information.

A different version of the game was given by Dr. Sam of Beatty:

> The women's stick game is called topi'du. Three sticks are painted red on one side. Each team has five counting sticks. The team getting the most red sides up wins.

Basket dice.—Basket dice (na'bogo'ʔ) is also a woman's game but it proved impossible to get a coherent account of it. Piudy did not know it; "it was a woman's game." Joshua thought that the Gidü'tikad[8] did not play it; "that was a Pyramid Lake game."

It seems, however, to have been played with eight[226] dice of wild currant wood, about two inches in length. Minnie said that they were thrown on (from ?) a basket and the upturned white sides counted, using stones as scorers. Each had four stones at the start. According to Daisy, the game was played with four dice; three red on one side, the fourth marked with black stripes. They were placed on a parching tray, tossed into the air, and caught on the tray. Daisy said that the points were tallied on the ground and that only two women played.[227]

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[226] P, MA; 4 according to DB.

[227] Daisy's account suggests tüpi'du, with its fourth distinctive stick, but Daisy was positive of the name of this game. However, it is to be noted that to her the basket was the criterion of na'bogo'ʔ. Thus, "the woman's stick game is tüpi'du. This is when they haven't a basket and play on the ground. When they play in a basket it is na'bogo'ʔ."

Dr. Sam gave what appears to be a further variant. He said that twelve short sticks were painted red on one side and white on the other. They were tossed in a basket and the red sides counted. When all red turned up, one made a straight mark on the ground and claimed a stone from one's opponent. Each had a small pile of stones used in scoring but the number in the pile was never counted. When all white turned up it was called tupi'kwoi (tüpi' ?). Unfortunately Dr. Sam could not remember further details of scoring, nor could he remember the name of the game. Although I neglected to inquire of him who played, I have arbitrarily placed this with the women's dice games as it seems to have its closest analogies there. 524 ●

Beaver-tooth dice.—Dr. Sam reported a beaver-tooth dice game, but Gidū'tikad^{a} informants knew nothing of it save for the fact that "it was Pit river." According to Dr. Sam, the dice consisted of eight teeth, one marked with dots, which were cast from the hand onto a basket tray. The marked dice was the only one counted; "mostly it didn't turn over." Dr. Sam said that women played the game. He was unable to recall its name or any details of counting.

Cup-and-ball.—No form of cup-and-ball was known to any of my informants.

Cat's cradle.—Susie Archie said that in recent times children made string figures, but she was under the impression that formerly they did not. With this Piudy agreed.

Juggling.—Three marble-like stones were juggled by women. One woman would bet another; she juggled until she missed, whereupon the other took her turn. Joshua said that it would make a man lazy to play this game. According to Piudy, "That's no game; that's just for fun." Juggling was called mada'kipoi.

Sling.—Boys played with a deerhide sling, using small stones in it. According to Piudy, "This had no name; it was just a toy." [857]

Bullroarer.—The bullroarer (kwi'mo, tüsa'ibidun (?)) was a boy's toy as well as a magical device to make the wind blow. It was made of juniper and decorated with black spots or lines. Instead of having been swung directly on the end of a string, it seems to have been tied loosely with deer-hide to a wand-like handle.

Whistle.—Children made whistles from one of the horse tails (pazoi'winup), *Equisetum* sp.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godown, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Garmo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 22 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅞ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 32

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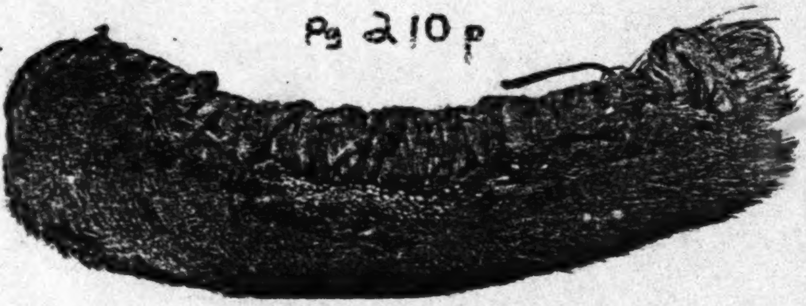
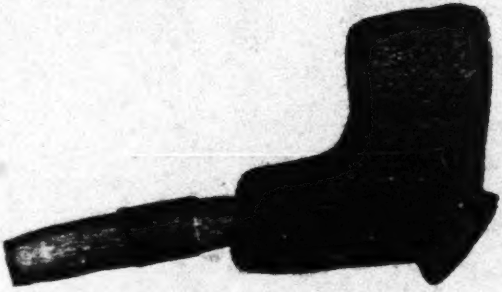
Pg 210 p



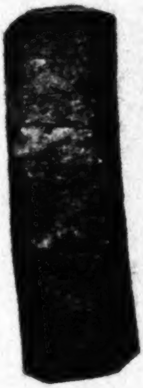
a

276

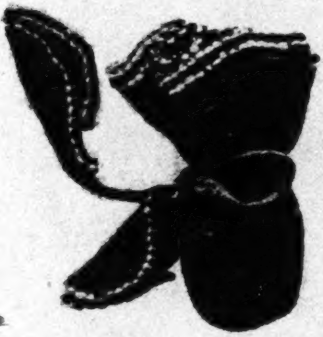


b

● 524
415
531



c



d

BRUSH; PIPE; GAME CYLINDER; PAINT BAG

512

000 Stone tops wrapped with buckskin were thrown on the ice simultaneously by all the players and the one who kept his top spinning for the longest time won the game, which was called *nárapùdjinª*. When they wished to play this game the Shoshoni said they were going to have a rock-race.

Wilson describes a boys' game in which the players shot at the brush and made out they were aiming at enemies. To clip off a twig counted as taking a scalp and the successful marksman would carry the twig in his belt as a trophy. The same author describes the eagerness with which the adult Shoshoni indulged in horse-racing and gambling. The stakes were considerable, so that a gambler might win fifty ponies by a single bet.[1]

524 525 A game played by the Paviotso men is called *wō'qúkoratsàñen*. Six cane dice are thrown on the ground within a circle traced on the ground. Along the circle a number of sticks are planted in slanting position. These serve as tallies, and a player who scores so as to come all the way round one semicircle wins the game. They used to gamble for arrows, buckskin, beads, nets, and other objects.

524 The women played a dice game (*nâsoγò'in*). They used painted sticks, which were thrown up from a basket.

526 The men played a football game (*watcímuin*). The ball was of buckskin and about the size of a baseball, but soft. Eight men played. They took off their clothing and kicked the ball towards a goal of two sticks set up at both ends. To win they had to get the ball between the goal posts of the opposite side.

The women's ball game (*nazí'tsaka*) was played by from eight to ten players. Every one had a long stick and there were two cross sticks. There were no goal posts, the goals being represented by two rings. The side that got the buckskin ball to the center of the ring won.

Two men played the hoop game (*ípai'ciin*). The hoop was thrown and the men threw their darts. If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored.

In the *wu'tóqoin* game two men kicked as many balls and the one who first reached the goal won.

524 Two forms of the hand-game were played. In the *ohȫribo* form, played only by men, the caches were of bone and the plain bone was to be guessed. The four caches are hidden under a *tūm*ᵒ tray, where they are laid in a row. The concealer sings, while the opponent guesses the plain [525] ones. There are two on each side, others gamble on the result. Eight

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

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[1] Wilson, 23, 42 f.

1524 tally sticks are used, and when one side has won all of them it wins the game. In the *nayduʷtsa* form, not bones, but willow sticks are hidden. Long ago beets (*sic*) were used. Only two caches were used in the old days, and they were not hidden under a tray. Women, as well as men, play this form, but at any one game all the players are of one sex. There are ten sticks serving as counters.

Four men played at *narák'batsa.* First an arrow was thrown, then the one who shot an arrow closest to the one thrown was regarded as the winner.

Another arrow-game, *türögwindätsa*, differed in that the arrows were merely thrown, not shot, at the target-arrow.

BIRTH.

000 A Moapa woman in labor is assisted by two women, one of whom watches the womb while the other hoists up the patient's body. When these attendants are exhausted, the husband comes to take their place. The woman who watches the womb cuts the navelstring with a knife, and it is afterwards tied up in a bag and secured to the arch of the cradle. When the baby grows older, the mother removes the bag and buries it in the brush. For a month or more after the infant's birth sexual intercourse is not indulged in by the parents and for a month neither eats any meat. Also the parents would move some distance away to a small shelter, where they remained six days in case of a girl and five days if a boy had been born, whereupon they would return to their former home. As soon as the father heard of a child's birth he would formerly run some distance away and then back again "to save his life"; for the saying was that if a man did this he would live to be an old man, while contrariwise he would age rapidly and his teeth would fall out when he was still young.

Southern Ute customs recall some of these Paiute features; the rules affecting *both* parents are especially noteworthy. When a woman was in labor several old women skilled in matters obstetrical were sent for to watch her until after parturition; the husband sometimes stayed there and sometimes went to another house. Poles were planted into the floor and the women in labor knelt and grasped them. The navel cord is cut and tied; after four days the part that falls off is taken far away and buried in an ant hill, or it is fixed up neatly in some buckskin and tied to the cradle. If it is lost, the baby will grow up to run around as a foolish person; hence, any boy or girl who acts too foolishly is said to have lost his navel cord. As soon as a baby is born, plenty of lukewarm water is handed to the mother, who drinks it to cleanse herself inwardly.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
291
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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
1532. Sole molded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1533. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1535. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1538. Tongue added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
*1538a. Olivella-shell beading	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1545. Uppers added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1559. Rabbit hide	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
*1562. Sandal	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-
1564. Bark	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-
*1564a. Tule and rushes	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1570. Sinew	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
[286]

461

GAMES

N
A
524

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
*1577. Ball Race (wutakoi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1579. And return	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1583c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1585. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 395]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

● N A 524

N A [525]

	To	Kl	K2	Hm	Ts	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AX
1589. To win, ball must reach goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1590. Runner must reach goal	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1591. No. players on side: any no. agreed upon	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
1591a. 2	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1591b. 4	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1592. No. of sides: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1593. Referee	−	−	−	+		+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
1593a. 2 referees	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1594. Men players only	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594a. Betting	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594b. Roughness allowed	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 524

N W [525]

	To	Kl	K2	Hm	Ts	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AX
1595. Football (nataimmo)	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595a. Field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595b. Goal	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595c. At each end of field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595d. Willow arch	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595e. Paired posts	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595f. Ball: wrapped bark	·	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1595g. Stuffed skin	·	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595h. Diameter (in.): 2	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1595i. 3	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1595j. Position to start game: in middle	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595k. In small hole	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
1595kk. Propulsion with feet	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595m. Roughness allowed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595n. Ball may be carried	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595o. Referee in charge of bets	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
1595p. Betting	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595q. No. of goals to win: 1	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595r. No. of players: 4	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1595s. 5	·	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595t. 6	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595u. Male players only	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−

N W A [525]

	To	Kl	K2	Hm	Ts	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AX
1596. Shinny (natsi'tsaka)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1597. Field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1598. Goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1599. At each end of field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1600. Paired posts	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1603. Single post and ring	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
1606. Line on ground (circle)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
1607. Puck or ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1609. Stuffed skin, dumbbell shape	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1610. Braided-skin cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
1611. Braided-bark cord	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1612. Hide strip	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
1613. Position to start game: in middle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1614. On ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1615. Thrown in air	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1615a. On sticks	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1616. Propulsion with straight stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1617. Length (ft.): 5 or 6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618. No. of goals to win: 1	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618a. Any no. determined at start	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1621. Referee	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
1622. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1623. Men players	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p.396]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
524

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Km	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
1624. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625. No. players on each side: any agreed upon	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625a.4	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1625b.5	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1626. Hoop and Pole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	*−
1627. Hoop (ring)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1628. Of twigs or willows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1629. Wrapped bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
1630. Buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1630a.Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632. Diameter (in.): 3 or less	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632a.3-5	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632b.12	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1633. Pole, plain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1634. Length (ft.): 6-8	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1634a.8-12	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
*1635. Course specially prepared	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
1636. Pile of horizontal willows as back stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1638. At both ends	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1640. Play: sides cast simultaneously	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1641. Sides cast successively	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1642. Pole through hoop wins game	*+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	*+	*+	*+	*+	*+	−
1642a.Counts 2	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1643. Pole under hoop counts 1	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1643a.Counts 2	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1644. Pole over hoop counts 1	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1644a.Counts 2	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1645. Play for counters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1645a.For poles	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1646. Points to win agreed upon	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1646a.5 points win	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1647. Winner by elimination	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	*+	−
1648. No. players: any agreed upon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1648a. 1 on each side	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1648b. 2 or 3 on each side	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1649. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1651. Referee held bets	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1652. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1653. Ring and Pin (mahatowatima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1654. 1 pin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1655. 1 string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1657. "Ring" of: pine cone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1658. Brush ball	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1658a.Tule ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1661. Players: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1662. Women	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1663. Children	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
1664. Old men	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1664a.Betting	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*1665. Playing in summer taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
*1665a.Loser received hit on hand or head	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
*1666. Hand Game (naiakwi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1666a.Challenged had "bones" at start	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1667. "Bones": hollow bone	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1668. Bitapered, solid bone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1668a.Horn	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Ts	E1	E2	E3	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ac
1669. Wood	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1670. With finger loops	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1671. String of beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1672. 4 bones (2 pairs)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1675. 1 of each pair wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1676. Unwrapped guessed for	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1677. Hiding: in bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1678. Guesses indicated by hand signal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1679. By motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1680. Guess final only when vocalized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1681. Side holding bones sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1682. Counters: plain, straight twigs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1683. 10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
1683a. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1685. Divided at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1686. Called "cooked" (kwasup) and "raw" (saya)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1687. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1688. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1689. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1690. Singing while playing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1691. 4-Stick Guessing Game (ota'tsi)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Sticks of wood	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. 4 sticks	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1694. 2 long or thin	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1695. 2 short or thick	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1696. Same as hand-game sticks	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1697. Sticks covered with: winnowing basket	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1698. Basketry bowl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1699. Guessing for: long	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
1700. Short, thin	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1700a. Either, as decided at start	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1701. Thick	+	[illegible]	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1702. Unwrapped	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1703. Position guessed indicated as in hand game	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1704. Counters	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1705. Plain twigs	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1706. 8	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
1706a. 10	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
1707. In neutral pile to start	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1708. Divided at start	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Called "cooked" (kwasup) and "raw" (saya)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1710. Men players	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Women players	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1712. Any no. of players each side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1713. Singing while playing	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1714. 4-Stick Dice (navo'kwi)	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1715. Dice length (in.): 6	-	.	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1715a. 8	+	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1715b. 12	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1716. Dice all red on 1 side	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1718. 2 marked in middle	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1719. 2 plain	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1720. 1 with cross in middle	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1721. 1 with parallel lines	+	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
1722. Dice called: "mother," "father"	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1724. Play: throwing on winnowing basket	-	.	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1724a. Each side 2 dice to start	+	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

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	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wz	Ki	AE
1724b. First to turn up a marked stick gets dice	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1725. Striking on: rock	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1725a. Hard earth	+	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1729. Counting: marks on ground	-	·	-	-	-	+	·	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1729a. 10 marks to win	-	·	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1730. Any no. agreed upon	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1730a. Scoring: white up	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1731. Red up	+	·	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1731a. "2 marked" up together wins	+	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1732. Men players	+	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1733. Women players	-	+	-	-	-	+	·	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1734. Many Dice	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1736. Dice of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1737a. Stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1738. 1 side red	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1739. Length (in.): 4	+	-	-	·	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1739a. Number: 8	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1740. 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1740a. 16	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1741. Throwing on winnowing basket	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1742. Scoring: all white up counts as number of sticks	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1743. All white up wins game	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1744. 1 red up counts 1	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1745. 2 reds up count 2	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1746. 3 reds up count 3	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1747. 7 reds up count 7	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1748. All reds up count 8	·	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1748a. All reds up count 0		-	-	-	-	-	-	+						
1749. 1 white up counts 1	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1750. 2 whites up count 2	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1758. Counting: pebbles as counters	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
1759. Marks on ground	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1760. Pebble pile = 5 marks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1761. Earth pile = 5 marks	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1762. No. to win: 24	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
1762a. 20	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-
1763. Women players	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
*1765. 8-Stick Dice (wikokutasuyiwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1766. Dice of split cane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1767. Split hardwood	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1769. 1 side red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1771. No. of dice, 8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1771a. Length of dice, 18 inches	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1775. End bounced on ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1777. Scoring: all white up, 8 points	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1778. 8 doubled if 2 or 4 players	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	·
1779. Each white up, 1 point	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1780. Each red up, 1 point	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·
1785. 8 reds up, 8 points	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1786. Counting: counters moved between sticks in ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1787. Sticks arranged in arc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1788. No. of spaces between sticks: 24	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	·
1788a. 36	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·
1789. No. of moving counters: 4, 6, or 8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1790. Go back when meet opponent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1791. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1792. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·
1793. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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	Th	Kl	K2	Hi	To	Tm	Pa	Wa	At	Ss	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
Archery (nadümmutö)														
1794. Target	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1795. Arrow previously shot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1795a. Arrow especially marked	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1796. Arrow previously thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1797. Stick	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1798. Brush bundle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1799. Willow shavings	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1800. Approximate distance 100-300 feet	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1801. Shooting of arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1802. Over tree at target	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1803. Long arrow thrown	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1804. 1 or 2 shot by each player	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
1804a. 4 shot	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
1804b. Any number shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1805. Scoring: nearest to target, 1 point	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806. Touching target, 1	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806a. Touching target wins	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1807. No. of points to win: 1	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1807a. 4	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1807b. 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
1807c. Any no. agreed upon at start	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1808. Men players	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1809. Boy players	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810. Arrows thrown for distance	+	+	+	*-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810a. Betting: of arrows	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1811. Ring and Dart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	*-	-	*-	-
1822. Quoits (matütayi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1823. Target: stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	·
1824. Rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825. Quoit: rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825a. Stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	·
1827. No. of throws each player: 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	·
1827a. 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	
1827b. 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1829. Scoring: to hit goal counts 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1838. Juggling (matapoi)	+	+	+	-	+	*-	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+
1839. Stones juggled	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1841. Maximum no.: 3	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
1841a. 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
1842. Women players	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1843. Girl players	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1844. Juggle while walking	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1845. Foot Race (navidö'kwa'kwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
1846. Across country	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846a. Betting	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847. Wrestling (makoi)	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847a. Betting	·	·	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1848. Shot Putting (tupito'kwinai)	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1849. Putting with rock	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1850. Men players	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ac
1851. Boy players	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1851a. Betting	·	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1852. Stilts (hondmi)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1853. Stilts used by boys	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–
1855. Jacks (madakupi)	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	–	–	•–	•–	–
1856. Jacks (no.): about 10	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1856a. Any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1857. Stones for jacks	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1858. Jacks used by: girls	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1858a. Boys	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–		–
1858b. Adults	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1859. Tops (tuma)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–
1860. Top: stick with pitch	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
1861. Rounded rock	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1862. Spinning: twirling with fingers	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
1863. Twirling with string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1864. Lashing with whip	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1865. Spinning on ice	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1866. Players: boys	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1867. Girls	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1867b. Player tried to break opponent's top with own	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1868. Sling (tokwi'wumui)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1868a. Sling as toy only (cf. 1081)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–
•1869. Guessing for Clay Ball in Sand	·	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1870. Bull-roarer (wimo'to)	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+
1871. Whirrer: of wood	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1872. Of sheep horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1873. Bull-roarer used: as toy	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
1874. To make wind blow	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1875. Cat's Cradle (wiha'vitumar'aitoa)	+	+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
1875a. String figures to determine sex of offspring	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1876. Toes used	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1877. Neck used	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1878. Static figures	+	+	–	–	+	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1879. Moving figures	+	+	–	–	+	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1880. Players: men	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1881. Women	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1882. Children	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1883. Dolls (naná'ma)	+	+	+	+	•+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1884. Unbaked clay effigies	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1885. Toy cradles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Water Pistol; Popgun														
1886. Section of elderberry with plunger	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1886a. Deer bladder	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–

[p. 401]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NSE

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	Tb	Kl	K2	Hh	Tv	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Ty	WR	Kl	AE
1887. Poggus	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1888. MONEY (hamitsa)	−	·−	·+	·+	+	+	+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1890. Glass	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1891a. With middle finger	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1892. With thumb	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1893. With hand to elbow	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
TOBACCO AND SMOKING														
Pipe														
1898. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1899. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1902. L-shaped bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	·−	−
1903. Of stone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1904. With stem	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906a. Bone	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
1907. Cane	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
1908. Elderberry	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
1909. Rosewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cigarette														
1914. Cane filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1916. Chewing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Miscellaneous														
1921. Smoking any time	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1922. Bedtime	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	+
1927. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	.	.	.	.	·+	·+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Tobacco (pui'pamo)														
1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	+	+	+	·+
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+

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[p. 402]

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294

1564a. Lovelock Cave: About 80 tule-and-rush sandals were found (Loud, pls. 22, 23, and p. 55). Paviotso: Sandals worn (Lowie, 218; 207, fig. 5).

1565. Wd: - (SC).

GAMES

N
524
525

Ball Race

1577. Paviotso: Called wu'to'goin (Lowie, 262). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

A
[524]

1580a. AE: Willow arch.

1587a. Pa: Footgear determined by racers, but all wore the same.

1591. Pa: Runners raced in relays; in most bands all runners together.

1593. Sa: - (JM).

Football

1595. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: "Men played a football game (watci'muin)" (Lowie, 262).

Shinny

1596. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): nazi''tsaka.

A
[524]

1621. AE: Referee has to see that sticks are carried properly. While running, sticks must be held vertical.

1623. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

Hoop and Pole

1626. Culin describes the Pyramid Lake and Bannock hoop-and-pole games. At Pyramid the pole was 19 inches long, but the Bannock pole was much longer. At Pyramid the hoop was 2 3/4 inches in diameter (Culin, 495, 499). Hoop and pole called paci (DG) or baici (DM) in southern part of area, and nowikonoi (PS) in the northern. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: Called ipai'ciin. "If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored" (Lowie, 262). Wa, AE: Old-time Washo and Achomawi thought to have played hoop-and-pole game, although none of the Indians of these bands interviewed could tell any details of game.

A
W
[524]

1635. Owens Valley: Course 50 feet long (Steward, 287).

1642. Ts: Pole through hoop wins bets and sometimes gets double pay. Sa, Tg, At, Wd, Ki: After one person has his pole through hoop, others get a throw. Those who do not get poles through hoop forfeit their poles and so cannot play until they get new ones. No bets.

1647. When a player threw his pole through hoop, the others were eliminated if they did not also throw their poles through. Ki: Kelly, 171, reports the hoop-and-pole game as it was described

[p.437(N)]

524 to me, and says, "each one who missed forfeited
525 his pole."

Ring and Pin

524 1665a. GN (KŪpa) described the game which
857 was common in southern part of area. Boys and
525 men bet a certain number of finger thumps on the
head between the eyes. If player did not catch the ring on the pin in a given number of trials he submitted to thumping, which was at times repeated until a large bump raised. Girls bet gum, pins, and other things. Men bet cigarettes or "puffs on a pipe." Game was played at gatherings so that everyone joined in fun.

Hand Game

524 1666. PS said the hand game became the gamb-
525 ling game par excellence of native western America. He said Charlie Monday, a Paiute of Owyhee, earned his living and traveled all over the country for years as a professional hand-game player.

1667. Tö: MW said wood, bone, and horn "sticks" have been used only since about 1850; old-time Paiutes played with strings of beads.

1670. PS explained that finger loops were re-
[176] cent innovations which were supposed to make
cheating impossible. Any number of ingenious devices were employed to cheat.

1671. Most informants thought strings of beads were used before "sticks" of bone or wood; however, they thought these materials were also played with before time of white people.

1678, 1679. Guesses were indicated as follows: thumb and little finger extended, other fingers folded, and then hand thrust out meant that wrapped "bone" is in outer hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm vertical and movement up and down meant wrapped "bone" is in inner hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm horizontal and sweeping motion to the right meant the wrapped "bone" is in the left hand of opponents; the same hand position with sweeping motion in the opposite direction meant the wrapped "bones" are in the right hand of opponents.

1680. By observing the reaction of opponents to trial motions or hand signals, the player might get a clue to the position of the "bones." Only when the hand signal or motion is accompanied by a vocalized signal is the guess complete. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 286).

1683. At: In old days there were 14 counters, then 12, and a few years ago the number was reduced to 10. Wd: SC said 20 sticks were used in old days, now 10 are used so that bets will be won (or lost) faster.

1685. Ki: Kelly, 173, confirms division of counters at start, but does not mention their being called "cooked" and "raw." Informants expressed surprised approval when I mentioned the native terms for "cooked" and "raw."

[p.437(B)]

524 525 1686. When the counters are equally divided between the two sides they are called "raw" (sayu); counters which are won are considered "cooked" (kwazup). After one side has lost all its "raw" counters it is given the "raw" ones of the opponents. To win the bet, one must have all the "cooked" counters.

4-Stick Guessing Game

1691. Kl: Played by Pit River Indians; old Paiute at Pyramid Lake did not play it.

1693. Sa: The game wotatzi is played at Winnemucca as it is played elsewhere, except 2 instead of 4 sticks are used.

1706. Wd: 8 or 12 sticks are used.

1710. Tö: Spectators can place a bet on either side they wish.

4-Stick Dice

1714. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called ná-Boyo`'in.

1725. Sa: The 4-dice game in which dice are struck on ground is similar to navokoi, yet is a separate game.

Many Dice

1734. Kü: - (GN).

8-Stick Dice

1765. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called wo'-gukoratsa`ñen; 6 cane dice used. Wd: BJ knew this game from Küpa and thought it was known by Wada in old days. SC had never heard of it.

1777. Kü, Tö: When counting points, white was counted everywhere except with Küpa and Tövusi; with these exceptions scoring was about the same.

1778. When only 2 are playing each is allowed 2 moving counters. In such a case, if all red or all white are thrown both counters move 8 places, the same is true if 7 of one color come up. For throws less than 7, only one counter is moved. These rules also hold if 2 partners oppose 2 others. If more than 4 players, each gets the indicated number of moves for only 1 counter (PS).

1788. To: Some games believed to have had 18 spaces. Tö: 20 spaces. At: Some games had 32 spaces.

Archery

524 411 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

1795, 1796. Paviotso: Lowie, 265, learned of arrows being shot and thrown at target, usually an arrow previously thrown.

1810. Kü: "Bannocks threw long arrows but not these Paiutes" (GN).

[p. 438(A)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

Ring and Dart

N 524 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no
W [524] particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).

1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.

1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).

1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.

A [224 411] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.

1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.

N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.

1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them
N [177] he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).

N [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GN denied any such games.

N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).

1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177 1888. K1, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(b)]

Wadátkuht

Ike said that the boy who won the bows and arrows from him and the other boys was good at target shooting, but had a hard time hitting game. The name of this game was wusokoi. 526

A game in which a "little wheel is rolled on the ground" was called pa isi'^{i}. Ike thought the "wheel" was shot at with arrows.

Women's shinny is called tapiko, and the invitation to it is called nazits^{k}. The game is played by four women, two on each side. Each woman had a stick about four feet long, and the ball was of buckskin stuffed with deer hair. The women first stood in a circle, a position called sipidik^{u} wunus, with their sticks on top of the ball. Each woman then tried to catch the ball with her stick and knock it to the goal. This was called tsiwinai. The field was about 400 yards (sic) long, and the goal was a circle drawn on the ground. The game started in the center of the field, and the observers bet on one team or the other.

Football, called wutsímu, was played by both men and women, but never together. A round buckskin ball filled with deer hair was used by the players. A number of players traversed a course about 400 yards long kicking the ball from the starting point to the finishing point. The winner was the individual who kicked the ball to the goal first. Bets were laid on who would be the winner.

Another version of the game of football was one in which there were two teams and two balls. The team which kicked their ball from the beginning of the course to the end, and returned to the starting point, first, won the contest. The football game played with two teams was called wutukoi. When Ike played the two team game the field was about one-quarter mile long and was not cleared. It simply was a course over which the two teams had to go and return. At a signal each team would kick their ball from the starting point and go to the end of the course and return. The first team, of four boys each, to return was the winning team. He said the game was played for enjoyment.

Kitty's sister and sister's friend made mud dolls and models of kitchen stoves in mud. The dolls and stoves were quite well made, for the stove had circles for the stove lids and the dolls showed action. They played house with these toys and the women dolls would be using the mud stoves. The toys would be arranged to represent domestic activities and 524

Wadatkuht

524 Kitty, who was younger, would take advantage of the temporary absence of the other girls and destroy all of the toys. She also broke her sister's toy cradleboards and her beadwork. For doing this her sister would beat her up.

MYTHOLOGY

538 [821] Story telling was reserved for stormy days, therefore, presumably during the winter. To do otherwise would cause it to storm. Ike seemed to know many myths and enjoyed telling them, unfortunately in Paiute. When he was getting ready to tell some stories he would say "Na'isha dukwi", "Let's tell a lie". Despite the fact that it was not possible to obtain the myths as he told them the essence of several was gotten and is given below.

539 Why Dove Makes a Mournful Sound. A brother and a sister were the last people left in the world, and they were very attached to one another. The brother died and his sister was very sad. She told her distant relatives that she was going to turn into a dove. She mourned and became very thin. She finally turned into a dove (ihov^{i}) and is still mourning for her brother. She said that anyone who heard her would be lonely.

Why People Die. At one time Bald Mountain (Guha kaive) stood vertically, on end, on top of Diamond Mountain, and at the top of Bald Mountain there was a spring. One day Wolf and Coyote had a violent argument. Wolf wanted to continue to allow old people to climb up to the top of the mountain and bathe in the spring so that they could regain their youth. Coyote was of a contrary mind and thought that old people should die. During the argument Coyote got so angry that he kicked Bald Mountain and it toppled over into the valley below. The force of the fall flattened the mountain as it is today. The water from the spring splashed out forming Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, Eagle Lake and several other lakes in the region. Since then the old people cannot bathe in the spring and become young again.

Coyote Digs Potatoes. Young Coyote went out with a group of old women to help them dig Indian "potatoes". He straggled behind the women and urged them to stoop over to dig potatoes. They had heavy packs on their backs but he urged them to stoop over even further. Finally Coyote took advantage of the position in which the old women had put

765 [587] badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife.

597 Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; "somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her.

GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 525 The Gidü'tikad^{a} had the usual assortment of games, and although they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212]

777 Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called paba'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used:

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

526 *Football.*—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

526 tried to kick it out to their respective team mates. Players stood facing the opponents' goal. Play sometimes continued an hour before the ball was kicked through the goal.

● [525] Betting was heavy—moccasins, hides, and arrows were wagered. Women also bet; they bet "anything." Play frequently lasted all day, the same individuals participating, and in this manner a person often won back his bets.

Single-goal ball.—Another man's ball game (wuto'koi) was played with two buckskin balls kicked toward a single goal by rival teams. The course was about a mile in length, and after completion of a lap, the direction was reversed and the ball kicked back to the starting point. The side returning its ball first won. A team consisted of five, six, ten, or even twenty men. Like football, this game was played in spring and summer. Piudy said that the Gidū'tikad^{u} and Achomawi used to play together.

Double-ball shinny.—Double-ball shinny (natzi'^{saha}) was a woman's game, played in spring and summer. The goals were two circles marked on the ground, perhaps sixty feet apart. The ball (tapi'ko) was always of braided buckskin with the ends tied into thick knots. These knots were stuffed in order to increase their size and give them body.[213]

The ball was not hit into the air, but was knocked along by means of a straight stick "a little longer than a walking stick," its length proportionate to the height of the player. Each participant had one such stick which was called kudu'^{a}. Any number of persons could play, but there were usually five or six on a team. Play normally lasted a half day; two or three games could be won in a forenoon.

Target games.—Imperfect accounts were obtained of several target games. One, called tana'i, was played by a number of individuals, unteamed. A player shot his arrow and the others tried to equal his shot, his arrow serving as a target. If the succeeding shots were close, the distance was measured and the one coming nearest won the arrows. After the first series of shots, the players turned and shot back toward their starting point, the game being conducted the same way as before.

Another game, called dūdo'-tana'i (hand tana'i, according to Joshua), was played with sticks. A stick was thrown at the opponent who held a ring in his hand and tried to catch it in the ring. If he missed, he returned the stick; if successful, he kept it. The game was played for seven or eight points, e.g., catching the stick seven or eight times.

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[213] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 847, for Washo, Maidu, and Miwok.

nating positions, the terms are identical, but ambiguity is avoided by indicating the BWBW position with a wave to the right and the WBWB position with a wave to the left. When blind people play, the siki'ba guesses are qualified by adding one of the cardinal directions according to the position in which the players are seated.

One or two tallies are forfeited according to the accuracy of the guess. If a person indicated BWWB and the arrangement were WBBW, he would miss both white. If, however, he indicated BWWB and the arrangement were BWBW, he would miss but one white. In this event, the concealing side tosses two of the bones across to the opponents and continues to hide the remaining two until their position is correctly guessed. In guessing upon the basis of two bones, a player assumes theoretical symmetry of position and indicates his guess by the tasi'gũwai or ka'su'kwan positions. When he guesses correctly his side is entitled to hide the cylinders.

The game is usually played for ten counters, which I understood to be divided evenly at the start. [525] The game terminates when one side has all the counters. In cases of heavy betting, the game is said to be played for twenty or even thirty points.

The hand game is played the year round and is regarded as the gambling game par excellence. "We play this when we have a big time; always. That's our old game." There is no tradition of its having been introduced from outside as there is among the Klamath.[217] The hand game is now played almost every Sunday and Klamath and Achomawi frequently participate. Excitement is kept at a high pitch by the betting and by the spirited chanting and drumming.

Four-stick game.—This game (wita'si) was played by old men; Daisy said that women did not play but that they might bet; Joshua thought that they sometimes played. Guessing is similar to the hand game but there are differences in equipment and procedure. Willow rods, four to five inches long, are concealed beneath a basket tray (not a blanket) instead of in the hands. The rods are not marked as in the hand game but differ in size. The larger pair is called apiũ'b, apiũ'b^a ("big, like the mother," bia, pia, mother)[218] and the smaller pair, a'tuũ'm, dua'^{a} (translated baby; du'a, son).

One guesses the position of the larger sticks. The arrangements are named as in the hand game and indicated by the same gestures. Further dependence on that game is to be noted in the disposition of

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[217] Spier, 78.

[218] Cf. Shivwits pi+ă'B^i, mother, Lowie, SE, 287.

000 Stone tops wrapped with buckskin were thrown on the ice simultaneously by all the players and the one who kept his top spinning for the longest time won the game, which was called *nárapùdjin*ᵒ. When they wished to play this game the Shoshoni said they were going to have a rock-race.

Wilson describes a boys' game in which the players shot at the brush and made out they were aiming at enemies. To clip off a twig counted as taking a scalp and the successful marksman would carry the twig in his belt as a trophy. The same author describes the eagerness with which the adult Shoshoni indulged in horse-racing and gambling. The stakes were considerable, so that a gambler might win fifty ponies by a single bet.[1]

524 A game played by the Paviotso men is called *wö'qúkoratsàñen*. Six
525 cane dice are thrown on the ground within a circle traced on the ground. Along the circle a number of sticks are planted in slanting position. These serve as tallies, and a player who scores so as to come all the way round one semicircle wins the game. They used to gamble for arrows, buckskin, beads, nets, and other objects.

524 The women played a dice game (*ŋáвoγò'in*). They used painted sticks, which were thrown up from a basket.

526 The men played a football game (*watcímuin*). The ball was of buckskin and about the size of a baseball, but soft. Eight men played. They took off their clothing and kicked the ball towards a goal of two sticks set up at both ends. To win they had to get the ball between the goal posts of the opposite side.

The women's ball game (*nazí'tsaka*) was played by from eight to ten players. Every one had a long stick and there were two cross sticks. There were no goal posts, the goals being represented by two rings. The side that got the buckskin ball to the center of the ring won.

Two men played the hoop game (*ipai'ciin*). The hoop was thrown and the men threw their darts. If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored.

In the *wu'tóqoin* game two men kicked as many balls and the one who first reached the goal won.

524 Two forms of the hand-game were played. In the *ohôribo* form, played only by men, the caches were of bone and the plain bone was to be guessed. The four caches are hidden under a *tūm*ᵒ tray, where they are laid in a row. The concealer sings, while the opponent guesses the plain
[525] ones. There are two on each side, others gamble on the result. Eight

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

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[1] Wilson, 23, 42 f.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WK	Ki	AK
1589. To win, ball must reach goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1590. Runner must reach goal	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1591. No. players on side: any no. agreed upon	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
1591a. 2	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1591b. 4	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1592. No. of sides: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1593. Referee	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
1593a. 2 referees	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1594. Men players only	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594a. Betting	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594b. Roughness allowed	+	−	+	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595. Football (matsimme)	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595a. Field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595b. Goal	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595c. At each end of field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595d. Willow arch	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595e. Paired posts	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595f. Ball: wrapped bark	·	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1595g. Stuffed skin	·	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595h. Diameter (in.): 2	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1595i. 3	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1595j. Position to start game: in middle	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595k. In small hole	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
1595kk. Propulsion with feet	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595m. Roughness allowed	·	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595n. Ball may be carried	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595o. Referee in charge of bets	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
1595p. Betting	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595q. No. of goals to win: 1	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595r. No. of players: 4	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1595s. 5	·	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1595t. 6	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1595u. Male players only	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1596. Shinny (natsi'teaka)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1597. Field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1598. Goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1599. At each end of field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1600. Paired posts	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1603. Single post and ring	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
1606. Line on ground (circle)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
1607. Puck or ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1609. Stuffed skin, dumbbell shape	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1610. Braided-skin cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
1611. Braided-bark cord	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1612. Hide strip	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
1613. Position to start game: in middle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1614. On ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1615. Thrown in air	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1615a. On sticks	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1616. Propulsion with straight stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1617. Length (ft.): 5 or 6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618. No. of goals to win: 1	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618a. Any no. determined at start	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1621. Referee	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
1622. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1623. Men players	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1624. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625. No. players on each side: any agreed upon	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625a. 4	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1625b. 5	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•1626. Hoop and Pole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	•-
1627. Hoop (ring)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1628. Of twigs or willows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1629. Wrapped bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
1630. Buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
1630a. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1632. Diameter (in.): 3 or less	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1632a. 3-5	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1632b. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1633. Pole, plain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1634. Length (ft.): 6-8	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1634a. 8-12	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
•1635. Course specially prepared	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1636. Pile of horizontal willows as back stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1638. At both ends	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1640. Play: sides cast simultaneously	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1641. Sides cast successively	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1642. Pole through hoop wins game	•+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-
1642a. Counts 2	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1643. Pole under hoop counts 1	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1643a. Counts 2	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1644. Pole over hoop counts 1	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1644a. Counts 2	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1645. Play for counters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1645a. For poles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1646. Points to win agreed upon	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1646a. 5 points win	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•1647. Winner by elimination	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	•+	-
1648. No. players: any agreed upon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
1648a. 1 on each side	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1648b. 2 or 3 on each side	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1649. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1651. Referee held bets	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1652. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1653. Ring and Pin (wahatowatimo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
1654. 1 pin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
1655. 1 string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
1657. "Ring" of: pine cone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1658. Brush ball	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1658a. Tule ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1661. Players: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
1662. Women	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
1663. Children	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
1664. Old men	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
1664a. Betting	·	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
•1665. Playing in summer taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
•1665a. Loser received hit on hand or head	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
•1666. Hand Game (naiakwi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1666a. Challenged had "bones" at start	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1667. "Bones": hollow bone	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1668. Bitapered, solid bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1668a. Horn	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

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[525]

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

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524

	To	K1	K2	K3	Ta	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ac
1669. Wood	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1670. With finger loops	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
1671. String of beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1673. 4 bones (2 pairs)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1675. 1 of each pair wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1676. Unwrapped guessed for	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1677. Hiding: in bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1678. Guesses indicated by hand signal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1679. By motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1680. Guess final only when vocalized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1681. Side holding bones sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1682. Counters: plain, straight twigs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1683. 10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
1683a. 12	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1685. Divided at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1686. Called "cooked" (kwasup) and "raw" (saya)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1687. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1688. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1689. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1690. Singing while playing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1691. 4-Stick Guessing Game (nata'tsi)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Sticks of wood	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. 4 sticks	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1694. 2 long or thin	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1695. 2 short or thick	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1696. Same as hand-game sticks	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1697. Sticks covered with: winnowing basket	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1698. Basketry bowl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1699. Guessing for: long	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1700. Short, thin	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1700a. Either, as decided at start	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1701. Thick	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1702. Unwrapped	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1703. Position guessed indicated as in hand game	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1704. Counters	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1705. Plain twigs	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1706. 8	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1706a. 10	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
1707. In neutral pile to start	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1708. Divided at start	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Called "cooked" (kwasup) and "raw" (saya)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1710. Men players	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Women players	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1712. Any no. of players each side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1713. Singing while playing	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1714. 4-Stick Dice (nevo'hoi)	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1715. Dice length (in.): 6	−	.	−	−	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1715a. 8	+	.	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1715b. 12	−	.	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1716. Dice all red on 1 side	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1718. 2 marked in middle	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1719. 2 plain	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1720. 1 with cross in middle	−	.	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1721. 1 with parallel lines	+	.	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1722. Dice called: "mother," "father"	−	.	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1724. Play: throwing on winnowing basket	−	.	−	−	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1724a. Each side 2 dice to start	+	.	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
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[525]

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
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524

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
1724b. First to turn up a marked stick gets dice	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1725. Striking on: rock	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	*-	+	-	-	-
1725a. Hard earth	+	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1729. Counting: marks on ground	-	.	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1729a. 10 marks to win	-	.	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1730. Any no. agreed upon	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1730a. Scoring: white up	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1731. Red up	+	.	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1731a. "2 marked" up together wins	+	.	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1732. Men players	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1733. Women players	-	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1734. Many Dice	+	-	-	*+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1735. Dice of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1737a. Stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1738. 1 side red	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1739. Length (in.): 4	+	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1739a. Number: 8	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1740. 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1740a. 16	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1741. Throwing on winnowing basket	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1742. Scoring: all white up counts as number of sticks	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1743. All white up wins game	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1744. 1 red up counts 1	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1745. 2 reds up count 2	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1746. 3 reds up count 3	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1747. 7 reds up count 7	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1748. All reds up count 8	.	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1748a. All reds up count 0		-	-	-	-	-	-	+						
1749. 1 white up counts 1	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1750. 2 whites up count 2	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1758. Counting: pebbles as counters	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
1759. Marks on ground	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1760. Pebble pile = 5 marks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1761. Earth pile = 5 marks	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1762. No. to win: 24	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
1762a. 20	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-
1763. Women players	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
*1765. 8-Stick Dice (wikokotasuniva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	*-	+	+
1766. Dice of split cane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1767. Split hardwood	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1769. 1 side red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1771. No. of dice, 8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1771a. Length of dice, 18 inches	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1775. End bounced on ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1777. Scoring: all white up, 8 points	+	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1778. 8 doubled if 2 or 4 players	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.
1779. Each white up, 1 point	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1780. Each red up, 1 point	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
1785. 8 reds up, 8 points	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1786. Counting: counters moved between sticks in ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1787. Sticks arranged in arc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1788. No. of spaces between sticks: 24	+	+	+	-	*+	*-	+	-	*+	-	-	-	+	.
1788a. 26	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.
1789. No. of moving counters: 4, 6, or 8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1790. Go back when meet opponent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1791. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1792. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.
1793. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	.

N
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	Ts	Kl	K2	Hb	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*Archery (nadökwotö)														
1794. Target	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1795. Arrow previously shot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1795a. Arrow especially marked	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
*1796. Arrow previously thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1797. Stick	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1798. Brush bundle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1799. Willow shavings	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1800. Approximate distance 100-200 feet	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1801. Shooting of arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1802. Over tree at target	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1803. Long arrow thrown	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1804. 1 or 2 shot by each player	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
1804a. 4 shot	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
1804b. Any number shot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1805. Scoring: nearest to target, 1 point	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806. Touching target, 1	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806a. Touching target wins	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1807. No. of points to win: 1	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1807a. 4	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1807b. 5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1807c. Any no. agreed upon at start	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1808. Men players	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1809. Boy players	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810. Arrows thrown for distance	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810a. Betting: of arrows	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1811. Ring and Dart	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1822. Quoits (natütavi)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1823. Target: stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	·
1824. Rock	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825. Quoit: rock	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825a. Stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	·
1827. No. of throws each player: 1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	·
1827a. 2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	
1827b. 3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1829. Scoring: to hit goal counts 1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1838. Juggling (natapoi)	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1839. Stones juggled	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1841. Maximum no.: 3	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
1841a. 4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
1842. Women players	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1843. Girl players	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1844. Juggle while walking	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1845. Foot Race (navidö'kwa'kwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846. Across country	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846a. Betting	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847. Wrestling (nakoi)	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847a. Betting	·	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1848. Shot Putting (tupito'kwinai)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1849. Putting with rock	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1850. Men players	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

P
W
A
[525]
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N A [525] N W A 524

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1851. Boy players	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1851a. Betting	·	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1852. Stilts (hondui)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1853. Stilts used by boys	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–
1855. Jacks (nodakapi)	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	–	–	•–	•–	–
1856. Jacks (no.): about 10	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1856a. Any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1857. Songs for jacks	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1858. Jacks used by: girls	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1858a. Boys	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–		–
1858b. Adults	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1859. Tops (tuna)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–
1860. Top: stick with pitch	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
1861. Rounded rock	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1862. Spinning: twirling with fingers	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
1863. Twirling with string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1864. Lashing with whip	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1865. Spinning on ice	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1866. Players: boys	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1867. Girls	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1867a. Player tried to break opponent's top with own	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1868. Sling (tökwi'nenui)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1868a. Sling as toy only (cf. 1081)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–
1869. Guessing for Clay Ball in Sand	·	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1870. Bull-roarer (wino'to)	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+
1871. Whirrer: of wood	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1872. Of sheep horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1873. Bull-roarer used: as toy	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
1874. To make wind blow	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1875. Cat's Cradle (wike'vitogwa'aitoo)	+	+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
1875a. String figures to determine sex of offspring	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1876. Toes used	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1877. Neck used	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1878. Static figures	+	+	–	–	+	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1879. Moving figures	+	+	–	–	+	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1880. Players: men	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1881. Women	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1882. Children	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1883. Dolls (nood'ne)	+	+	+	+	•+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1884. Unbaked clay effigies	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1885. Toy cradles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Water Pistol; Popgun														
1886. Section of elderberry with plunger	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1886a. Deer bladder	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–

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Washo , NT20
Achomawi ; NS5

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294

1564a. Lovelock Cave: About 80 tule-and-rush sandals were found (Loud, pls. 22, 23, and p. 55). Paviotso: Sandals worn (Lowie, 218; 207, fig. 5).

1565. Wd: - (SC).

N
524
● 525

GAMES

Ball Race

1577. Paviotso: Called wu'to'goin (Lowie, 262). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

A
[524]

1580a. AE: Willow arch.

1587a. Pa: Footgear determined by racers, but all wore the same.

1591. Pa: Runners raced in relays; in most bands all runners together.

1593. Sa: - (JM).

Football

1595. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: "Men played a football game (watci'muin)" (Lowie, 262).

Shinny

1596. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): nazi''tsaka.

A
[524]

1621. AE: Referee has to see that sticks are carried properly. While running, sticks must be held vertical.

1623. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

Hoop and Pole

1626. Culin describes the Pyramid Lake and Bannock hoop-and-pole games. At Pyramid the pole was 19 inches long, but the Bannock pole was much longer. At Pyramid the hoop was 2 3/4 inches in diameter (Culin, 495, 499). Hoop and pole called paci (DG) or baici (DM) in southern part of area, and nowikonoi (PS) in the northern. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: Called ipai'ciin. "If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored" (Lowie, 262). Wa, AE: Old-time Washo and Achomawi thought to have played hoop-and-pole game, although none of the Indians of these bands interviewed could tell any details of game.

A
W
[524]

1635. Owens Valley: Course 50 feet long (Steward, 287).

1642. Ts: Pole through hoop wins bets and sometimes gets double pay. Sa, Tg, At, Wd, Ki: After one person has his pole through hoop, others get a throw. Those who do not get poles through hoop forfeit their poles and so cannot play until they get new ones. No bets.

1647. When a player threw his pole through hoop, the others were eliminated if they did not also throw their poles through. Ki: Kelly, 171, reports the hoop-and-pole game as it was described

[p.437(N)]

524 to me, and says, "each one who missed forfeited
525 his pole."

Ring and Pin

524 1665a. GN (Kūpa) described the game which
857 was common in southern part of area. Boys and
525 men bet a certain number of finger thumps on the
head between the eyes. If player did not catch the ring on the pin in a given number of trials he submitted to thumping, which was at times repeated until a large bump raised. Girls bet gum, pins, and other things. Men bet cigarettes or "puffs on a pipe." Game was played at gatherings so that everyone joined in fun.

Hand Game

524 1666. PS said the hand game became the gamb-
525 ling game par excellence of native western America.
He said Charlie Monday, a Paiute of Owyhee, earned his living and traveled all over the country for years as a professional hand-game player.

1667. Tö: MW said wood, bone, and horn "sticks" have been used only since about 1850; old-time Paiutes played with strings of beads.

1670. PS explained that finger loops were re-
[176] cent innovations which were supposed to make
cheating impossible. Any number of ingenious devices were employed to cheat.

1671. Most informants thought strings of beads were used before "sticks" of bone or wood; however, they thought these materials were also played with before time of white people.

1678, 1679. Guesses were indicated as follows: thumb and little finger extended, other fingers folded, and then hand thrust out meant that wrapped "bone" is in outer hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm vertical and movement up and down meant wrapped "bone" is in inner hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm horizontal and sweeping motion to the right meant the wrapped "bone" is in the left hand of opponents; the same hand position with sweeping motion in the opposite direction meant the wrapped "bones" are in the right hand of opponents.

1680. By observing the reaction of opponents to trial motions or hand signals, the player might get a clue to the position of the "bones." Only when the hand signal or motion is accompanied by a vocalized signal is the guess complete. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 286).

1683. At: In old days there were 14 counters, then 12, and a few years ago the number was reduced to 10. Wd: SC said 20 sticks were used in old days, now 10 are used so that bets will be won (or lost) faster.

1685. Ki: Kelly, 173, confirms division of counters at start, but does not mention their being called "cooked" and "raw." Informants expressed surprised approval when I mentioned the native terms for "cooked" and "raw."

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524
525 1686. When the counters are equally divided between the two sides they are called "raw" (sayu); counters which are won are considered "cooked" (kwazup). After one side has lost all its "raw" counters it is given the "raw" ones of the opponents. To win the bet, one must have all the "cooked" counters.

4-Stick Guessing Game

1691. Kl: Played by Pit River Indians; old Paiute at Pyramid Lake did not play it.

1693. Sa: The game wotatzi is played at Winnemucca as it is played elsewhere, except 2 instead of 4 sticks are used.

1706. Wd: 8 or 12 sticks are used.

1710. Tö: Spectators can place a bet on either side they wish.

4-Stick Dice

1714. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called nâ-Boyo`'in.

1725. Sa: The 4-dice game in which dice are struck on ground is similar to navokoi, yet is a separate game.

Many Dice

1734. Kü: - (GN).

8-Stick Dice

1765. Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): called woʻgukoratsa`ñen; 6 cane dice used. Wd: BJ knew this game from Küpa and thought it was known by Wada in old days. SC had never heard of it.

1777. Kü, Tö: When counting points, white was counted everywhere except with Küpa and Tövusi; with these exceptions scoring was about the same.

1778. When only 2 are playing each is allowed 2 moving counters. In such a case, if all red or all white are thrown both counters move 8 places, the same is true if 7 of one color come up. For throws less than 7, only one counter is moved. These rules also hold if 2 partners oppose 2 others. If more than 4 players, each gets the indicated number of moves for only 1 counter (PS).

1788. To: Some games believed to have had 18 spaces. Tö: 20 spaces. At: Some games had 32 spaces.

Archery

524 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

411 1795, 1796. Paviotso: Lowie, 265, learned of arrows being shot and thrown at target, usually an arrow previously thrown.

1810. Kü: "Bannocks threw long arrows but not these Paiutes" (GN).

[p. 438(A)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [841] 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it N [525 777] could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after N 782 digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DW described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tünää-mügü was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (D)]

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman.
A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around [755]
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting
worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell
you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to [775]
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise
you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777]
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a
pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777]
through anything. That makes him lucky.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 578 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in interfamily relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have [754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 957] Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels [157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception [423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They [420] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief [579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. [525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jones stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784
525] A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner.
It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization
or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman
acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual
●[525] gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive
resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
420] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

361

Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites. [177]

The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained. [182]

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^a ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death. [312] [551]

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with [525] [172] [224]

352 177 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwish; the term nutugwish^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow splints used for the active element were piwung. The bone awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets. [413]

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string. Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who [824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark, [237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide). Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger [492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they [525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadatkuht

Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhö","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuö", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]

GAMES AND GAMBLING

525 ● [172]

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each

Wadátkuht

525 player was provided with a stick which he used as a marker. The marker was placed between two of the upright sticks in the semi-circle, the exact spot depending upon the number of points the player had just made. If the player happened to get points which allowed his marker to be placed between the same two upright sticks in the semi-circle that held the marker of the opponent, the opponent had to take his indicator stick back to the beginning. The object was for each player to try to get enough points to allow him to go all the way around the semi-circle and back to the starting point before the other player. The one who first reached his starting point in this manner won the pot. Sometimes as many as 80 sticks were used as uprights in the semi-circle.

[172] If Kitty's son has been correct in his identification of the pointed twigs recovered archaeologically we have evidence of such a gambling game being played in prehistoric times in the Wadátkuht area. It was not stated, however, if the Wadátkuht played this type of gambling game. Kitty's son played it in Nevada and may have learned it there rather than as a traditional game at home.

[789] The hand game in which bones were used is called na iakwi. The bones were "filled with something" to give the owner power, or luck in gambling.

525
439 It was pointed out by the informants that trade was actually carried out by gambling as such things as deer hides, baskets, and beads were at stake. Dentalia, called pahuka, were brought in and gambled for such things as horses. The Washo and the Paiute commonly traded with one another with the Washo bringing rabbitskin blankets and the Paiute deer skins. What was not gambled away was then traded.

526 Boys about eight years old played a game in which arrows were shot at a bundle of grass thrown on the ground about 25 feet away. Ike and about six other boys would take two shots apiece, unless one of the boys should hit it first. After the bundle was hit it was then propped against a bush and the boys stood back about ten feet and shot at it. Each was allowed two shots until the target was hit. The target was then put on the end of one of the bows and pushed back and forth on the ground in a V pattern. Each boy, again, was allowed to take his usual two shots until the target was hit. The boy who hit the target (most often?) became the winner and won all the bows and arrows from the other boys.

badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife. 765 [587]

Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; "somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her. 597

GAMES AND PASTIMES

The Gidü'tikadü had the usual assortment of games, and although they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212] 524 525

Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called paba'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used: 777

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

Football.—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players 526

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

● 526 tried to kick it out to their respective team mates. Players stood facing the opponents' goal. Play sometimes continued an hour before the ball was kicked through the goal.

[525] Betting was heavy—moccasins, hides, and arrows were wagered. Women also bet; they bet "anything." Play frequently lasted all day, the same individuals participating, and in this manner a person often won back his bets.

Single-goal ball.—Another man's ball game (wuto'koi) was played with two buckskin balls kicked toward a single goal by rival teams. The course was about a mile in length, and after completion of a lap, the direction was reversed and the ball kicked back to the starting point. The side returning its ball first won. A team consisted of five, six, ten, or even twenty men. Like football, this game was played in spring and summer. Piudy said that the Gidū'tikad^{u} and Achomawi used to play together.

Double-ball shinny.—Double-ball shinny (natzi'^{uhu}) was a woman's game, played in spring and summer. The goals were two circles marked on the ground, perhaps sixty feet apart. The ball (tapi'ko) was always of braided buckskin with the ends tied into thick knots. These knots were stuffed in order to increase their size and give them body.[213]

The ball was not hit into the air, but was knocked along by means of a straight stick "a little longer than a walking stick," its length proportionate to the height of the player. Each participant had one such stick which was called kudu'^{a}. Any number of persons could play, but there were usually five or six on a team. Play normally lasted a half day; two or three games could be won in a forenoon.

Target games.—Imperfect accounts were obtained of several target games. One, called tana'i, was played by a number of individuals, unteamed. A player shot his arrow and the others tried to equal his shot, his arrow serving as a target. If the succeeding shots were close, the distance was measured and the one coming nearest won the arrows. After the first series of shots, the players turned and shot back toward their starting point, the game being conducted the same way as before.

Another game, called düdo'-tana'i (hand tana'i, according to Joshua), was played with sticks. A stick was thrown at the opponent who held a ring in his hand and tried to catch it in the ring. If he missed, he returned the stick; if successful, he kept it. The game was played for seven or eight points, e.g., catching the stick seven or eight times.

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[213] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 847, for Washo, Maidu, and Miwok.

For natsa'soa one had ten rye-grass arrows and twenty or so small 526 ● mud pellets of various size. The latter were heaped and opposing players shot at them using the rye-grass arrows and a miniature bow. Sometimes the arrow was thrown instead of shot. When one hit a pellet he removed his arrow with the pellet impaled on it. If a ball broke, a new one was made. A person shot until he missed, whereupon he forfeited his arrow, and his opponent started shooting. My notes are not clear as to how the game was won; "when the pile is all gone, count up and see whose it is."

Hoop and pole.—Hoop and pole (nüko'no'; nükwo'no; "they call it after the willow") was played with a willow ring about six inches in diameter and unnetted. Any number of men could play, but Joshua said that there were usually five on a side. Each player had two sharpened, green willow poles about seven feet in length, and "this made it just like ten points." One side lined up and the ring was rolled past, all trying to pierce it. If they were unsuccessful, it was rolled past once more. When one person managed to stop the hoop by piercing it and having it fall on his pole, the others of his side came to the spot from which he had shot and took turns trying to hit the ring, no matter in what position it might have come to rest. Each one who missed forfeited his pole. "If all of them missed, we won quickly." The same game was sometimes played with arrows instead of poles. They were feathered, but not stone tipped, and were always thrown, not shot.

Dr. Sam's account of this game was not entirely clear. He thought it had come to the Silver Lake band from the east. In addition to the usual hoop and pole procedure, he stated that "the man who stood apart threw, not shot, an arrow at the ring which another man held for him. If he pierced the ring he won the arrow; otherwise it went to the one holding the ring." This sounds like a reversal of hand tana'i.

Jacks.—Three or four played nada'kapi. Small stones were gath- 524 ered in a pile or placed in a row and hidden in the dust. A pebble was then thrown in the air, a grab made for the hidden stones, and the tossed pebble caught. When one missed, the play passed to an opponent. Joshua said that the person who got the last stone won the game.

Hand game.—The hand game (naiü'kwi) was essentially a man's game, but nowadays women sometimes play.[214] The game is ordinarily

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[214] In the hand game a man never plays against a woman (CW). In the game I witnessed only men participated, but women looked on and bet on the results.

000 Stone tops wrapped with buckskin were thrown on the ice simultaneously by all the players and the one who kept his top spinning for the longest time won the game, which was called *nárapùdjin*^{a}. When they wished to play this game the Shoshoni said they were going to have a rock-race.

Wilson describes a boys' game in which the players shot at the brush and made out they were aiming at enemies. To clip off a twig counted as taking a scalp and the successful marksman would carry the twig in his belt as a trophy. The same author describes the eagerness with which the adult Shoshoni indulged in horse-racing and gambling. The stakes were considerable, so that a gambler might win fifty ponies by a single bet.[1]

524 A game played by the Paviotso men is called *wö'qúkoratsàñen*. Six
525 cane dice are thrown on the ground within a circle traced on the ground. Along the circle a number of sticks are planted in slanting position. These serve as tallies, and a player who scores so as to come all the way round one semicircle wins the game. They used to gamble for arrows, buckskin, beads, nets, and other objects.

524 The women played a dice game (*nâsoγò'in*). They used painted sticks, which were thrown up from a basket.

526 The men played a football game (*watcímuin*). The ball was of buckskin and about the size of a baseball, but soft. Eight men played. They took off their clothing and kicked the ball towards a goal of two sticks set up at both ends. To win they had to get the ball between the goal posts of the opposite side.

The women's ball game (*nazí'tsaka*) was played by from eight to ten players. Every one had a long stick and there were two cross sticks. There were no goal posts, the goals being represented by two rings. The side that got the buckskin ball to the center of the ring won.

Two men played the hoop game (*ípai'ciin*). The hoop was thrown and the men threw their darts. If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored.

In the *wu'tógoin* game two men kicked as many balls and the one who first reached the goal won.

524 Two forms of the hand-game were played. In the *ohôribo* form, played only by men, the caches were of bone and the plain bone was to be guessed. The four caches are hidden under a *tūm*^{e} tray, where they are laid in a row. The concealer sings, while the opponent guesses the plain
[525] ones. There are two on each side, others gamble on the result. Eight

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

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[1] Wilson, 23, 42 f.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 524
526

NWA [525]
& 524

NWA [525]

	Tb	K1	K2	Ki	To	TS	Pa	Mo	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Ki	AK
Archery (madökwaitö)														
1794. Target	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1795. Arrow previously shot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1795a. Arrow especially marked	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1796. Arrow previously thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1797. Stick	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1798. Brush bundle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1799. Willow shavings	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1800. Approximate distance 100-300 feet	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1801. Shooting of arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1802. Over tree at target	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1803. Long arrow thrown	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1804. 1 or 2 shot by each player	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
1804a. 4 shot	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
1804b. Any number shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1805. Scoring: nearest to target, 1 point	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806. Touching target, 1	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806a. Touching target wins	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1807. No. of points to win: 1	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1807a. 4	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1807b. 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
1807c. Any no. agreed upon at start	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1808. Men players	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1809. Boy players	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810. Arrows thrown for distance	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810a. Betting: of arrows	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1811. Ring and Dart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1822. Quoits (matütavi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1823. Target: stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	·
1824. Rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825. Quoit: rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	·
1825a. Stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	·
1827. No. of throws each player: 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	·
1827a. 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	
1827b. 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1829. Scoring: to hit goal counts 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
1838. Juggling (matapoi)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1839. Stones juggled	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1841. Maximum no.: 3	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
1841a. 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
1842. Women players	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1843. Girl players	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1844. Juggle while walking	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1845. Foot Race (navidö'kwa'kwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846. Across country	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846a. Betting	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847. Wrestling (nakoi)	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847a. Betting	·	·	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1848. Shot Putting (tupite'kwinai)	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1849. Putting with rock	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1850. Men players	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 400]

Wadátkuht

525 player was provided with a stick which he used as a marker. The marker was placed between two of the upright sticks in the semi-circle, the exact spot depending upon the number of points the player had just made. If the player happened to get points which allowed his marker to be placed between the same two upright sticks in the semi-circle that held the marker of the opponent, the opponent had to take his indicator stick back to the beginning. The object was for each player to try to get enough points to allow him to go all the way around the semi-circle and back to the starting point before the other player. The one who first reached his starting point in this manner won the pot. Sometimes as many as 80 sticks were used as uprights in the semi-circle.

[172] If Kitty's son has been correct in his identification of the pointed twigs recovered archaeologically we have evidence of such a gambling game being played in prehistoric times in the Wadátkuht area. It was not stated, however, if the Wadátkuht played this type of gambling game. Kitty's son played it in Nevada and may have learned it there rather than as a traditional game at home.

[789] The hand game in which bones were used is called na iakwi. The bones were "filled with something" to give the owner power, or luck in gambling.

525 439 It was pointed out by the informants that trade was actually carried out by gambling as such things as deer hides, baskets, and beads were at stake. Dentalia, called pahuka, were brought in and gambled for such things as horses. The Washo and the Paiute commonly traded with one another with the Washo bringing rabbitskin blankets and the Paiute deer skins. What was not gambled away was then traded.

526 Boys about eight years old played a game in which arrows were shot at a bundle of grass thrown on the ground about 25 feet away. Ike and about six other boys would take two shots apiece, unless one of the boys should hit it first. After the bundle was hit it was then propped against a bush and the boys stood back about ten feet and shot at it. Each was allowed two shots until the target was hit. The target was then put on the end of one of the bows and pushed back and forth on the ground in a V pattern. Each boy, again, was allowed to take his usual two shots until the target was hit. The boy who hit the target (most often?) became the winner and won all the bows and arrows from the other boys.

Wadátkukt

Ike said that the boy who won the bows and arrows from him and the other boys was good at target shooting, but had a hard time hitting game. The name of this game was wusokoi. 526

A game in which a "little wheel is rolled on the ground" was called pa isi'^{i}. Ike thought the "wheel" was shot at with arrows.

Women's shinny is called tapiko, and the invitation to it is called nazits^{k}. The game is played by four women, two on each side. Each woman had a stick about four feet long, and the ball was of buckskin stuffed with deer hair. The women first stood in a circle, a position called sipidik^{u} wunus, with their sticks on top of the ball. Each woman then tried to catch the ball with her stick and knock it to the goal. This was called tsiwinai. The field was about 400 yards (sic) long, and the goal was a circle drawn on the ground. The game started in the center of the field, and the observers bet on one team or the other.

Football, called wutsímu, was played by both men and women, but never together. A round buckskin ball filled with deer hair was used by the players. A number of players traversed a course about 400 yards long kicking the ball from the starting point to the finishing point. The winner was the individual who kicked the ball to the goal first. Bets were laid on who would be the winner.

Another version of the game of football was one in which there were two teams and two balls. The team which kicked their ball from the beginning of the course to the end, and returned to the starting point, first, won the contest. The football game played with two teams was called wutukoi. When Ike played the two team game the field was about one-quarter mile long and was not cleared. It simply was a course over which the two teams had to go and return. At a signal each team would kick their ball from the starting point and go to the end of the course and return. The first team, of four boys each, to return was the winning team. He said the game was played for enjoyment.

Kitty's sister and sister's friend made mud dolls and models of kitchen stoves in mud. The dolls and stoves were quite well made, for the stove had circles for the stove lids and the dolls showed action. They played house with these toys and the women dolls would be using the mud stoves. The toys would be arranged to represent domestic activities and 524

N
624 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days,
535 men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N
● [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^1-nö^{e}ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N
[527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W
[322] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N
621
423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Dig-
W
[226] ger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: − (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N
[425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N
[776
782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N
721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no
W
[721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discover-
N
[423] ers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son.
N
721
173 KH: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By **WILLARD Z. PARK**

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 131 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the 226 262 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of 222 224 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit 621 648 or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall 527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis- 755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among 755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of 754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among 756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion 182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

000 of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*tīcoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tūgwü'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.[1]

286
281 *Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

•531
287 The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso made no quillwork of any kind.
171

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 176.

285
415
•531

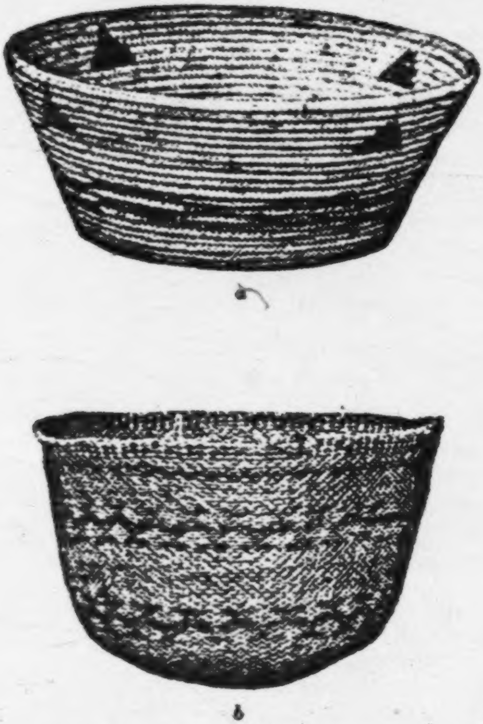

Fig. 13 *a-b* (50.1-7931, 7930). *a*, Paviotso Basket, Coiled; *b*, Paviotso Mush Bowl.

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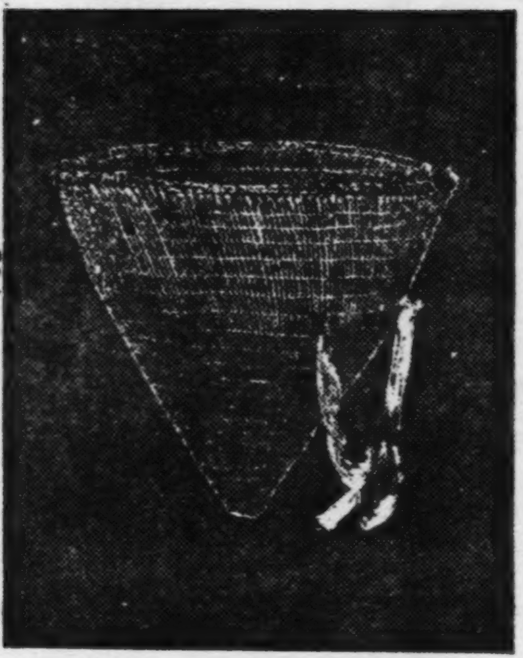

Fig. 14 (50.1-7926). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Openwork.

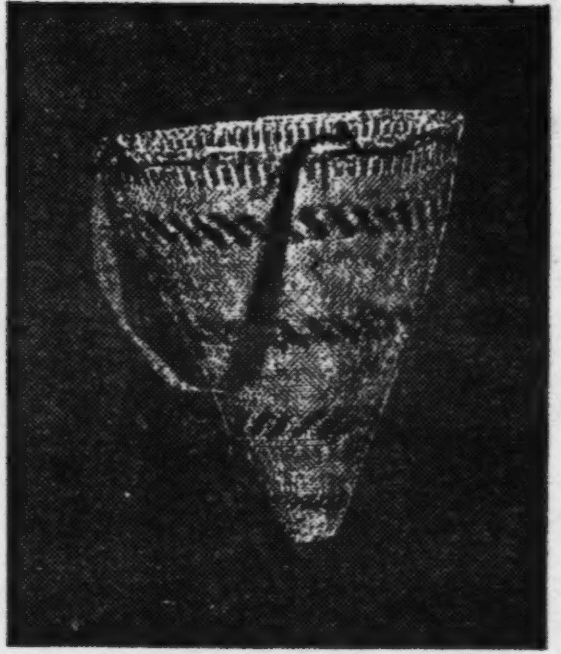

Fig. 15 (50.1-7924). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
[237] maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-
[252] tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cö'drild* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening
•[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
285 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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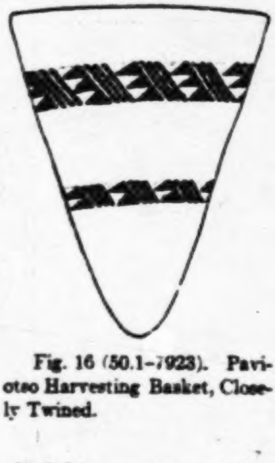
[1] Mason, (b), 480 seq.

[2] Lowie, 178 f.

[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*^{n}, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tŭ'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nö*^{ə}. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.



• [531] →

[412] →

Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamö''nö, ya'tá*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 237]

000 gathering-basket[1] is noticeable in a number of my specimens also. Its shape is not duplicated in my Moapa collection, in which all pieces but one are conical and even the aberrant form may be conceived as a rounded cone, but a basket bought from the Lemhi Shoshoni closely approximates it. The close-plaited Moapa (specimens 50.1–8616, 8618) gathering baskets are also conical; they exhibit various ornamental patterns. The large Utah Paiute specimen figured by Mason[2] is decorated with a motive practically identical with that on a Paviotso basket (Fig. 16). [285] [531] [171]

A twined basket of unique form is shown in Fig. 23. The ornamentation, which is in two zones, is visible on the inside, but the patterns are externally stressed by a black coating.

[285] [171] The pointed open-twined tray (*yant*^{u}) of Paviotso shape also occurs in Moapa, but there is also a markedly less peaked specimen (specimen 50.1–8592), while another is definitely elliptical (specimen 50.1–8594). The close-plaited trays are likewise of more varied shape than those of the Paviotso; representative forms are specimens 50.1–8575, 50.1–8597, 50.1–8577, 50.1–8599. One name applied to these trays at Shem is *ta'qwū''yo, ta'qwāī'ō*, the Moapa term being ^{ta}*'qōy*^{u}.

Though I did not buy any Paiute seed-beaters, their occurrence is attested by a pair from southern Utah figured by Mason.[3]

The coiled baskets from Moapa are for the most part flat-bottomed. By far the most common shape is the bowl, which varies considerably in size. *Qo'tsits* is the term applied to a coiled bowl, said to have been water-tight and used for a plate, but *tsïtsowats* was also noted. The largest suggests a laundry-basket, being provided with lugs. More characteristic samples, also noteworthy for their ornamentation, are seen in Figs. 24, 26. Practically all the basketry-bowls have some decorative motive, as shown in Fig. 18, though in some cases it dwindles into insignificance. In a number of specimens the shape is not distinctively that of a bowl but assumes rather ellipsoidal outlines. A very neatly worked little basket, recurved at the top and markedly truncate at the bottom is shown in Fig. 29b, and a large basket with a lid quite distinct from all the rest is seen in Fig. 25.

At Moapa I unfortunately did not secure any sandals, but a pair made to order by a Shivwits (Fig. 5a) is of considerable interest, both because quite different from the tule, equivalents of the Paviotso and because strongly suggestive of the cross-woven Basket-Maker sandals described by Kidder and Guernsey.[4]

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[1] Mason, (b), 493.
[2] Mason, (b), 494.
[3] Mason, (b), 492.
[4] Kidder and Guernsey, 158, Pl. 67.

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726
237
714 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

411 Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ârõ*) by the Paviotso,—
[824] *tsʌ́saʙi*, *poɣo'nõʙⁱ*, and *ugwo'qowᵉ*, the last-mentioned being used for arrows (*poñossᵉ*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso
[463] made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war.
[237] The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the *kuyúi* fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamûʙi*) twisted on
[237] the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point.
[237] Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper
[824] wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs
• [531] traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirûpiʼ*). The arrow-head was sometimes smeared with poison (*nõtúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized with the thumb and index in shooting.

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[1] [illegible]jans, 54.
[2] Reed, 25, 79, 83.
[3] Powell, [illegible]25.

854 over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the
171 average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper
285 loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a
distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the
joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod
structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks.
The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of
delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to
five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance
from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides
of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120
854 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the
285 sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an
alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Mu-
531 seum specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belong-
171 ing to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants
associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's
"Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso,
has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.[1]

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.[2]

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.[3]

000 Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one
of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was
said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used
at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

854 The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso
171 type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of
285 the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow
projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the
awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,[4]

Text Continued on Page 257

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[1] Mason, (a), 528.
[2] Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.
[3] Dixon, (a), 200.
[4] Mason, (a), 530-534.

PLATE 4

342 [222 262] *Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.* Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

[415] Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

[114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

● [415 531 252] *Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi.* Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made watertight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 222 251 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surface, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] [193] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida. Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material 825 culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 773 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).1/1 There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipö or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

1/1 [See Category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

Wadátkuht

When shooting Ike held the bow vertically and used the primary release, that is to say, he gripped the arrow at the nock with his thumb and the second knuckle of his forefinger. He said that the Pit River men held the bow at a 45° angle, with the top of the bow to the left. 411

Kitty said that the quiver, called hugut^{na}, was a tanned wildcat, coyote or similar-sized animal skin which had been case skinned. The exterior of the quiver might be decorated with beads. Ike spoke of seeing a Pit River man with a coyote skin quiver. [415] [531] ●

Arrowheads were called daká, and according to Kitty were chipped with another piece of "flint". The use of stone against stone suggests percussion flaking, ordinarily not suitable for flaking delicate arrowpoints. [324]

With respect to slings Kitty was in no way familiar with them. Ike, on the other hand, was able to give a fair description of this weapon. It was called pagas^{i} tutabin^{o}, "String hit", and was made entirely out of leather. The leather patch was diamond-shaped, and one thong had a loop to go around the middle finger. The end of the other thong was held between the thumb and forefinger.

Stone Implements. Both the portable mortar and the bedrock mortar were used. The two names given for mortar are tutábin and pahá, and may or may not differentiate the portable from the bedrock mortar. The pestle was called poduhń. Long, cylindrical pestles with rounded ends were used at the bedrock mortars at the winter village of Matá. 415 412

The metate was called matá and the mano was called tusu. The mano was held with both hands and pushed back and forth with a snappy wrist action. When a metate became too slick through use a sharp, broken stone was used to peck the surface. This purposely roughened area on the metate was called tapongin. The stone used to peck the pits into the smooth surface was called tutápongin. Once the metate was sharpened it was "good for a long time, good for all winter".

A special biscuit-shaped hand stone for removing husks from seeds on a metate was called tutákongin. The action of rubbing the husks from certain seeds (e.g., the inner skin of acorns, and hulls from sunflower and other seeds) was known as tutakong.

Wadátkuht

854 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so
826 used to being in it.

861 **Punishing Children**. If a child pretended to cry he was apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her.

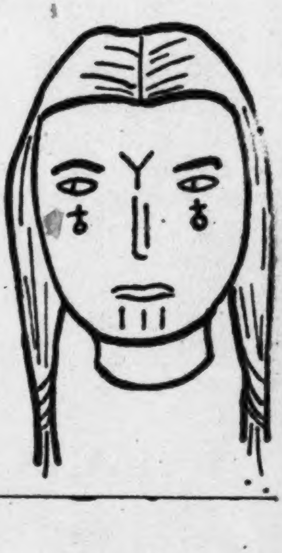
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

593 **Sibling Rivalry**. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

[682] One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

304 **Tattoos**. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks.
[531] A tattoo was called naboidz.

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "lll" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



the tail was cut off, not turned down. The skirt hung evenly around the bottom; it was not cut in points. The dress reached halfway between knee and ankle; the sleeves were about elbow length. 291

Sewing was done with an awl (witiū') of mountain-sheep horn and sinew (taʺmu) from the back of the deer. Seams ran down the sides and on the shoulders, leaving a central opening large enough to admit the head. Joshua stated that in order "to look pretty," the side seams were fringed about an inch in depth and that the bottom was sometimes fringed, but never the sleeves. According to Daisy, the lower edges of the sleeves and skirt were fringed. Fringe was applied across the breast and encircling the hips as in the modern dress shown in plate 20*a*, *b*. The chief difference from that seems to be that in the old days the fringe did not extend across the shoulders in the back. Beads were sometimes strung on the fringe. The dress shown in plate 20*a*, *b* has been lengthened by the addition of a flounce. 294

Informants[77] were unanimous in averring porcupine-quill decoration, but unfortunately it was not possible to determine the exact nature of the work. Of course, no specimens have survived. All agreed that the quills were dyed yellow by being boiled with a lichen (*Evernia vulpina*) found on dry junipers. The quills were soaked in warm water until soft and the points broken off to make all a uniform length. They were flattened before being attached with sinew. I understood from several accounts that they were caught at one end only and were allowed to hang like fringe, but this is probably incorrect. Daisy Brown said that one obtained two colors by dyeing some quills and leaving others natural color. The quills were arranged in the desired design and stitched. Protruding ends were cut off and raw edges covered with a narrow strip of buckskin. The woman's dress bore extensive quill decoration. According to the different versions it was placed around the bottom and down the shoulders; on the sleeves and down the side seams; down the shoulders but never along the side seams; around the bottom, down the shoulders, and on the breast; around the bottom and in a yoke extending from the chest over the shoulders and around the back. 294 531 ●

Beneath the buckskin dress a woman wore a belt with a strip of skin passing between the legs. It was similar to the man's breechclout, but somewhat wider, and bore the same name, nati'. 291

In winter a woman added a blanket of rabbit skins or of sagebrush bark. It was worn cape-like across the shoulders and was pinned on the chest with a small twig.

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[77] JB, MA, TA, DB, NO, MP.

291 *Men's clothing.*—A man wore a buckskin shirt similar to the woman's dress, but shorter, reaching just above the knees. It was called kwa'sü, the same as the woman's dress; even nowadays there is no distinction in name between the two garments. In the old days the sleeves of the man's shirt seem to have been short but recent specimens have long sleeves. Dr. Sam told of punching holes in the lower edge of the long sleeve and threading a string through these and around his thumb to prevent shrinkage. In the old days a man had "no coat, no vest, just a shirt and no underwear." According to one informant, men's clothes were "pretty tight." A man had one shirt for hunting deer and one other shirt; some men had three shirts.

Two doeskins were required for the shirt; a skin was never cut in two. The hide was smoked thoroughly so that the garment might be [531] washed and still remain soft. A man sometimes decorated his shirt by applying red paint along the seams. He himself did this. Some shirts bore inch-wide fringe on the sleeves and around the bottom. I examined a boy's garment[78] which had a sack-like body to which sleeves had been added (pl. 20c). The juncture of body and sleeve was fringed as was also the sleeve seam. The bottom of the shirt and the lower edge of the sleeves were pinked and the neck bound with buckskin. A small tuft of eagle feathers and down was tacked at the back of the neck.

Men ordinarily wore the buckskin breechclout (nati'), although the loin cloth (pitsa'paho) was occasionally worn. Most informants denied knowledge of the latter, but one had seen it in use, and another knew of it from hearsay. According to one informant, "some men never wore much pants."

In winter men wore rabbitskin or sagebrush blankets the same as those worn by women.

Children's clothing.—Children wore few clothes, even in winter. Their garments were made of wildest hide, never of coyote.[79] They wore a badger-skin cap and "shoes and stockings," presumably leggings and moccasins, of sagebrush bark.

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[78] In possession of Bob Foster, Beatty, Oregon.

[79] Cf. Lowie, SE, 217.

Strands for sewing or twining are obtained by splitting such rods in thirds or halves. In halving, the process is as follows: The tip is split in two with the teeth and the lower half retained in the teeth. The upper half is pulled with the left hand, the right hand following the split down the stalk (pl. 22*b*). The half rod thus obtained is further split by being stripped of its inner wood, which process is identical with the one just described. The inner pulp is discarded and the remaining strand is complete, provided the outer bark has been scraped off at the outset. If this is not the case, the stripping process is once more repeated, this time to free the strand of the bark. 285

Larger willows are split in thirds. During the procedure, one strand is clenched between the teeth, and both hands are held at the juncture of the splits (pl. 22*c*). The three strands thus obtained are subject to the treatment previously described in order to rid them of the inner wood and to remove the outer bark, providing this has not been done at the start. If the willow is long, it is necessary, as splitting proceeds, to shift the hold with the teeth from the tip down the stalk toward the butt end.

Decoration.—Decoration, in the sense of pattern design, is conspicuously absent from the modern basket work. A row or so of color darker than the body (pl. 24*b*) seems to be about the most ambitious decorative scheme attempted. My informant stated that in the old days "women who knew how made nice designs on their baskets," but that these craftsmen were all dead. Coloring may be produced in a variety of ways; the most frequent seems to be by burying the willow in damp earth. Lizzie stated that sometimes the strands were colored by being soaked with willow bark; sometimes they were steeped in crushed ripe currants. 285 531

Coiled ware.—The quality of the coiling seen today is mediocre, if not worse. There is only single and double-rod foundation, with the latter after the manner of the former. The two rods are arranged in a vertical plane, and the sewing strand includes both of them and the upper rod of the previous row. The effect is similar to that of single-rod coil, but a given stitch encloses three rods instead of two.[121] I did see one nicely worked three-rod basket,[122] said to have been made by a Nixon Paviotso. It ran clockwise as seen from above and had non-interlocking stitches. 285

Oval shapes are at least as common as round ones and are said not to have any special function. One might suspect their popularity to

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[121] Mason, Basketry, fig. 188.

[122] In possession of Daisy Brown.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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Plate 17. *a*, *b*, views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1-28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1-28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1-28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1-28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1-28211, made by Lizzie Godown, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1-28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1-28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1-28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1-28210, made by Nettie de Gamo, Fort Bidwell. Height, 23 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1-28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1-28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅜ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1-28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

p 210 n

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 30

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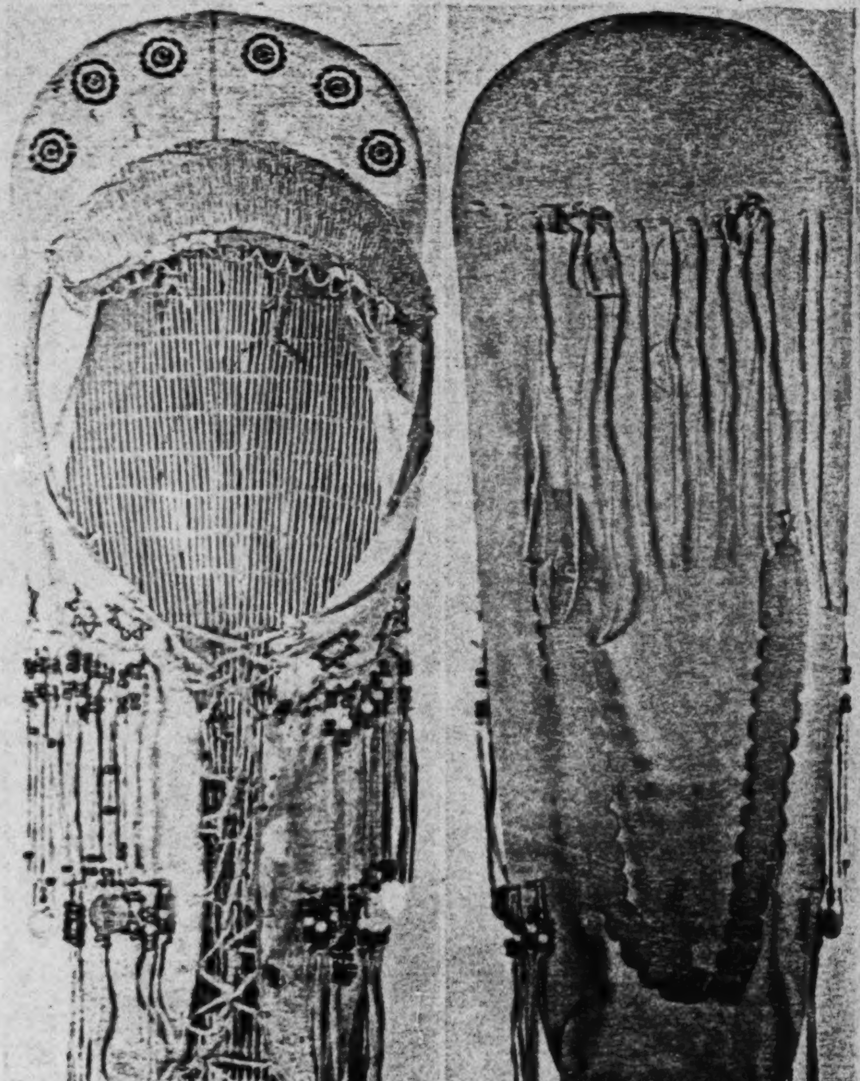
●531



a b

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 31

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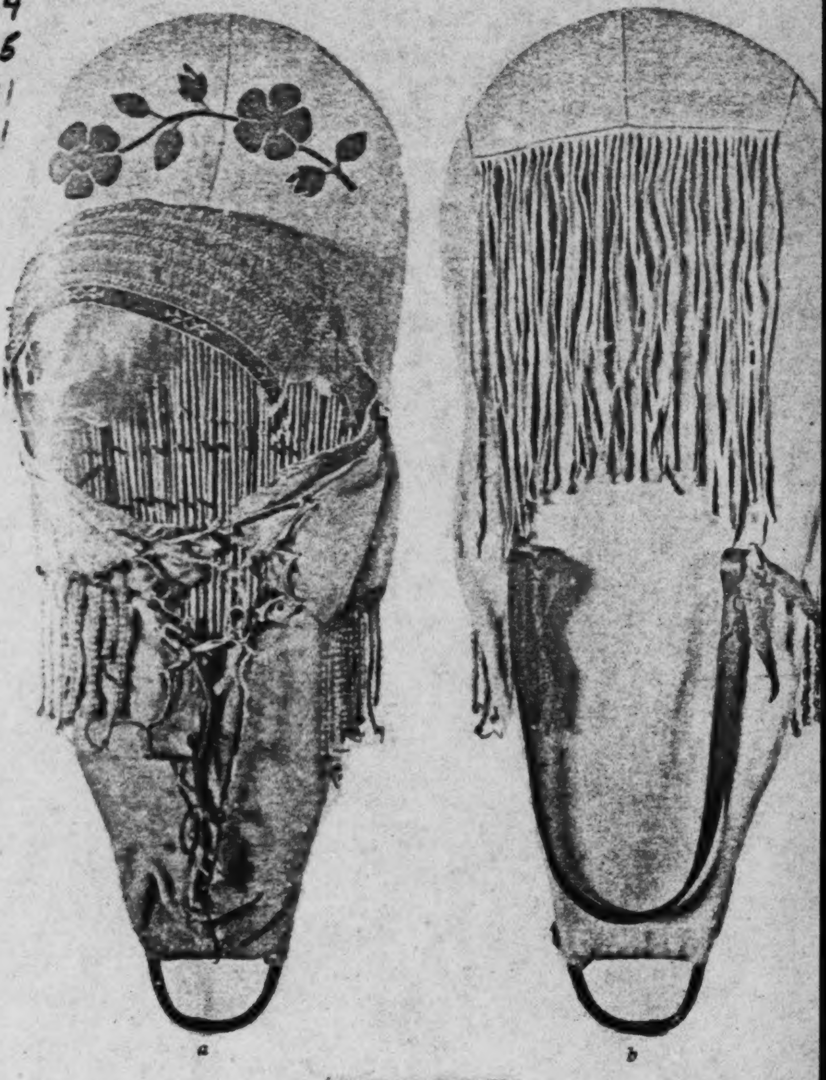

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

p 210 v.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

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Pg 210 p

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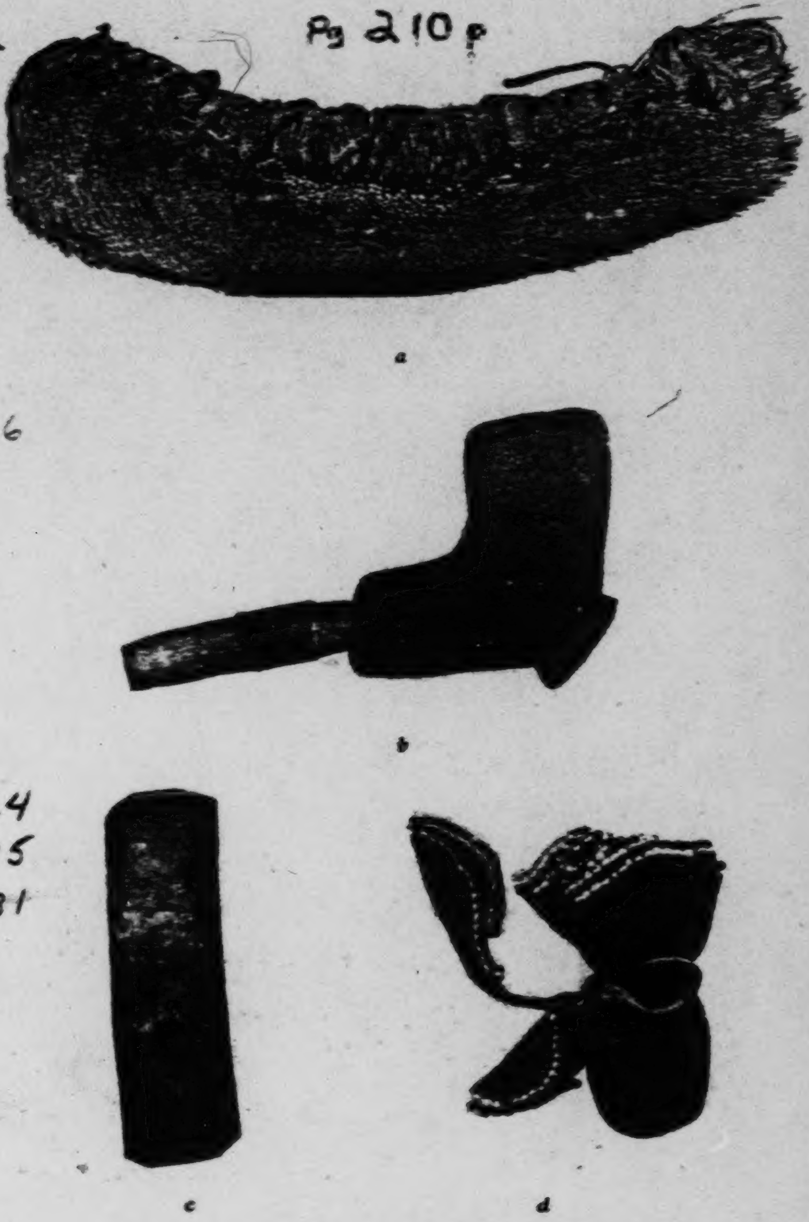

BRUSH; PIPE; GAME CYLINDER; PAINT BAG

310.5

Washo NT20

N
805 grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha);
822 "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "groundhog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'-ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W 2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

[805
822] 2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N
821
789 2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N
751 2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N
787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

● N
522
773 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

DANCING

535 The common Round dance of the Basin is fundamental here. In the evening, participants joined hands in a ring, men and women alternating, and circled about the fire with a shuffling, sidewise step. Women chose partners by asking, not by tapping them with a wand. Those not wishing to dance with men could get on one side of the circle. Ill consequences did not result from a refusal to dance. Young people who were attracted to one another danced together all evening without changing partners. Some couples withdrew, at which time marriage was consummated. Joshua said that they must first ask permission of the "dance boss," but Minnie thought otherwise.

●533 The dance "boss" was a man who knew songs. These he himself
535 composed. Others joined in the singing if they knew the tunes. There
was no other musical accompaniment; for the drum is recent and
534 informants denied the rasp although they knew it from other groups.

535 A dance (nugūb) normally lasted two or three hours; persons never danced until they dropped from exhaustion. A dance might be held at any time of year, but especially in the fall when people congregated for communal drives. A dance which took place while on a rabbit hunt was called kamū'nik (kamū', jackrabbit).

The Bear dance is definitely lacking among these Paiute. Joshua knew it from the Shoshone and accurately described the essentials, including the notched stick which sounded "like a washboard"; a woman's tapping her partner with a small willow; dancing in lines, then breaking, and circling. He had seen it performed "up north" by visiting Shoshone four or five years ago. Piudy said that the Warm Springs Indians danced in columns, but that the Gidū'tikad[8] never did so. He thought that the "Yainax people" (Paiute, Klamath?) and people around Susanville (Paiute, Maidu?) had a Bear dance.

[721] There seems to have been a War incitement dance but no details were available. Minine said that "some stout men danced before they went to war." According to Piudy, the Round dance was the only one known; there were no masked or scalp dances. On the last score Joshua gave conflicting evidence, saying:

> A scalp was put on a tall pole and everybody said, "Let's have a dance." They danced and sang all kinds of songs. Women danced too. They always kept the scalps but I never did know what became of them. The Scalp dance was called tūya'nagū.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 Northern Paiute

The Bear dance (*mamáqqmip*) of the Southern Paiute has also been 177 recently borrowed, but in this case the origin of the performance may 796 certainly be ascribed to a fellow-Shoshonean group, the Ute, whose Bear dance has been dealt with in a previous publication.[1] The Ute ceremony (*mamáqunikap'*) is performed early in the spring in a circular enclosure. Its origin is derived from a bear and the alleged object is to conciliate the bear species. Both men and women participate, facing each other, and dance to the accompaniment of music produced by scraping a notched stick until in the last night's activities one dancer falls to the ground from real or feigned exhaustion. According to my Moapa interpreter, this dance had been adopted by his people only three or four years before my visit from the St. George Indians (Shivwits); these in turn informed me that they had quite recently borrowed it from the Uintah Ute. I witnessed part of a dance held at Moapa by the resident Indians and a group of Shivwits visitors. My observations follow. 535

Arriving on August 24, 1915, I was informed that the Indians had 796 been holding a "pow-wow" that was expected to terminate that night, which however proved not to be the case. After driving to the site, I found that the dance was not held in an enclosure, but in an open space along the road, bounded only unilaterally by the fences enclosing the Indian lands and rendered shady on one side by a clump of cottonwoods. Within the site there were several groups of Indians, men and women, [524] most of whom paid very little attention to the dance, being absorbed in card-playing. None of the old people participated; the majority were or seemed to be very young and the oldest could at best be classed as middle-aged. There were several musicians, at one time as many as five. [533] ● These were seated round a tin wash-tub inverted over a pit; another pit a few feet away had been used yesterday. The pit was very shallow, probably not over 6 inches deep and about 16 inches in diameter. The musicians all used crudely notched sticks of obviously recent manufacture, rasping them with shorter sticks, of which only one was seen that corresponded to the cylindrical Ute scraper. One end of the notched instrument rested on the tub. The rasping was accompanied with singing and accelerated at the end of each song. The instrument, like the ceremony itself, was said to be of recent origin.

The women invited men to become their partners by tapping them on the shoulder with the hand or a stick; the men generally made a pretense of coyness. At first each couple, partners facing each other, danced several steps without joining. Later they took hold in several

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[1] Vol. XI of this series, 822-831.

● 533 535 796 On January 6, 1872 Powell's party observed a Kaibab ceremony. The Indians, "had stripped a cedar tree of all branches but a small tuft at the top, and around this the whole band formed a large circle, dancing and singing. The dancing was the usual hippity-hop or "lope" sideways, each holding hands with his or her neighbor. In the center stood a man, seeming to be the custodian of songs and a poet himself; He would first recite the piece, and then all sing it, circling round at the same time." The white visitors were invited to participate and did so to the great amusement of the Paiute.[1]

535 796 The most important of the old dances was the *nö'qáp'*, known under this appellation to both the Moapa and Shivwits. A phonetic equivalent among the Lemhi seemed to be a generic term for "dance." In the Paiute *nöq'áp'* men and women formed a circle, neighbors interlocking fingers. One man sang and the performers moved round clockwise. Any one who chose might participate. Sometimes a woman would step between two men. The dance was held during any season of the year and in the night. One informant called it a "war dance." The participation of both sexes, the clockwise motion and the interlocking fingers all suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nûakin*.[2]

Another dance, the *mö+inöqop*, was under the direction of a master of ceremonies, who would send out messengers in different directions announcing that a performance was to be held in so many days. He would select men and women with a light dance step, and no one else was permitted to dance. There were from four to six men, who removed their clothes and were painted by the singers, and from two to three girls in the dance. The performers did not hold one another but jumped round a big fire, the dance being held in the night-time. The manager led in the singing.

The Ute dances have been sketched in a previous publication.[3] The Bear dance is easily the most important among them and doubtless spread from this tribe to other Shoshonean groups, such as the Lemhi.[4] Specific information about the others seems too sparse to permit a definite identification with performances of other peoples, but the frequent participation of both sexes in dancing may turn out to be a distinctive Shoshonean or Plateau or even Ultramontane feature.

534 796 While I obtained no evidence of any form of the Bear Dance among the Paviotso, the highly characteristic notched instrument appears there

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[2] Lowie, 217.
[3] Vol. XI of this series, 823-825.
[4] Lowie, 219.

The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snakebite. [823]

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground
at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The
door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his
kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was
the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the
sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions
that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on
each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the
interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise.
"It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe
around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times
he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and
sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue
to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He
spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the
patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and
the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated
by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each
person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman
sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay
him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing,
and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They
should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle
feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour
to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is
very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter,
what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring
about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The
shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died. [685] [578] [755]

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 X 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through. [784] [841] [843]

756 904 787 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music. ● [533]

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets out to exterminate the common danger. 754 755 683

> There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the usual way. 766

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feathers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property. 764 775

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

> When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 756 533 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reservation until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick. 756 754 648

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate with such women. 841 755

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it necessary to avoid his glance. 756

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 756 114 787

755 756 [292] and moccasins and occasionally a skin shirt. Nowadays the doctors wear American clothes. For some reason, however, American shoes are not allowed, and furthermore, doctors do not permit anyone to enter a house where a curing is in progress unless he wears moccasins.

[293] The doctor usually carries a pipe with special tobacco and a feather from the tail of an eagle or sagehen. Individual doctors may have other types of paraphernalia but the majority have only these items.

755 782 The procedure differs somewhat from doctor to doctor but the underlying pattern is always the same. The doctor appeals to his spirit helpers by singing and praying and asks them to aid him in diagnosing and curing the disease. The men and women of the audience join in the songs after they become familiar with them. It is thought that they help influence the doctor's powers. [533] A man, who is known as the repeater, leads the spectators in the singing and interprets the doctor's orders concerning procedure.

Sometimes the doctor asks his power to show itself in some way, so that he and the spectators may know of its presence. For example, a doctor with power in clouds might ask them to make known their presence by sending rain, or another might ask the lightning and thunder to come. Some doctors perform tricks to demonstrate the presence of their power. One doctor walked on live coals. Another was reported to have cooled a red hot stove with his body. As he danced around the stove, occasionally leaning his body against it, he told the people that if the stove cooled it was a sign that his power would cure the sick man.

The appeal to the power is always accompanied by vigorous dancing. While singing and between songs the doctor dances around the fire, pausing now and then to rest and smoke his pipe, which is passed among the spectators at other times. A few doctors have assistants who dance with them.

755 Water is often sprinkled around the room at some time during the ceremony. I do not know the explanation for this except that water is recognized as a purifying agent and is spoken of as being like the human breath.

Sucking is part of nearly every ceremony. The doctor often sucks out some foreign object and thus effects a cure. He spits the object out of his mouth and shows it to the people. He then mixes it with dirt in his hands, rubs his hands together, and the object disappears. Sometimes he vomits the object into a pan of earth to make it disappear. In the case of the bullfrogs, the doctor sucks them from the patient's body and then drives them out of the house.

This is the basic pattern which varies according to the special rituals of the doctor and the nature of the disease which is being treated. It is difficult to say just which part of the ceremony is for the purpose of diagnosis and which for curing. As in other aspects of the culture, the Paiutes did not make general statements and I was forced to deduce the theories from an analysis of the reports of the treatment of concrete cases. For example, sucking is sometimes for the purpose

The shamanistic performance is probably best looked upon as 755 a blend of the social and the religious. All who attend participate, [533] at least in a small way, by singing, which is thought to be a powerful aid in establishing contact through the shaman with the supernatural forces. This in turn assists the shaman in gaining control over malignant forces. When Paviotso shamanism was in full swing, these performances, held in a small closely packed house, must have been exciting and impressive. The singing and the shaman's tricks appear to have excited the spectators to a high emotional pitch which was followed by a relaxation of tension attended often by a general feeling of satisfaction when control of the sickness was demonstrated by the return of the soul or the extraction of a disease-object. The social aspect of these gatherings was and is today an important motive for attending. There were occasions during the night for talk and gossip, an opportunity never spurned by the Paviotso. The food provided by the patient's family at midnight also held a strong social appeal, for the religious tensions were largely relaxed for the moment. Finally, in the absence of other important religious ceremonies, these rites were charged with more feeling and emotion [781] than any other type of community gathering.

At the present time, there is little specialization among shamans. 756 In aboriginal times, however, certain types of disorders were 463 treated by shamans known for their ability along special lines. Shamans with power from the rattlesnake were believed to have the greatest power for treating people bitten by that snake. Again, only shamans who derived power from water-babies could treat sickness caused by these beings. Shamans who secured their powers from ghosts specialized in curing those whose illness resulted from experiences with the souls of the dead. Still other forms of specialization in curing seem to depend on the strength of the shaman's power rather than upon its source. Some powerful shamans are believed to be especially efficacious in curing the ill-effects of dreams, others are famous for success in doctoring wounds. On the Pyramid Lake Reservation at the present time, one shaman is well known for assisting women in cases of difficult labor, not because of any particular kind of power, but because of a number of successful cures. As with this man, the renown of shamans as specialists is based entirely on success in treating

755 clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own
[302] style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left; the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range themselves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if
[841 they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are
843] required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

756 The number of songs and their length vary with different
● 533 shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

756 789 These few tricks are about the extent of the shaman's legerdemain. It is evident that sleight-of-hand forms no important part of the shaman's stock-in-trade. Moreover, only a few shamans at any time employed such means to demonstrate their powers.

756 533 The small number of songs that were recorded have not been analyzed, but several general observations can be made. The words of a shaman's song often refer to the source of power. The songs are short; frequently they are not more than four or five words in length, with meaningless syllables often incorporated. The three shaman's songs published by Gilbert Natches illustrate these points. The songs are short, and mention curing or other attributes of the shaman's power. The words of one song, "the soul pursuing, the person's soul bring back," obviously refer to restoring a soul that has been lost.[17] The words of a single song are repeated as long as the shaman cares to continue, usually ten or fifteen minutes, sometimes even longer.

Shamans claim that they are not familiar with their songs before actually engaging in the performance of the curing rite. As we have seen, songs come to the practitioners from their powers when they are needed and cannot be recalled the next day. In the course of recording songs, three otherwise quite willing informants insisted that they were unable to recall their own songs, although they could remember those of other shamans. Evidently, shamans' songs differ from those sung at the round dance and for the hand-game, although there appears to be little difference in words. A number of informants unhesitatingly identified curing songs when reproduced on the phonograph, but authorship was not always recognized, and property rights in them never.

755 The following two accounts of shamanistic curing will illustrate several points in the procedure outlined above.

> Jackson Overton's father, Natches Overton, doctored my mother one time. I was sitting with my uncle. Natches smoothed the ground in front of us. Then he drew three circles in a row in the dirt. He said that he wanted a man to take off his shoes and stand with a foot in each of the end circles. My uncle took off his shoes and stood where Natches told him. After a while Natches told him to sit down. Then Natches sang. When he finished his song he told my uncle to scrape

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[17] Natches, *Northern Paiute Verbs*, 259.

puhágəm or tunápuhágəm (tuná, antelope; puhágəm, shaman). 224
If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756
is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the
non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-
drive, as these have not been held for many years. The informa-
tion that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124]
memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now
dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the
several accounts, but the generalized description given here in-
cludes the essential features without the variations in detail in-
cluded in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is
first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction
of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously se-
lected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the prop-
erty of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423]
shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared be-
forehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is
held either at the camp established near by or within the corral.
Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance:
several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over
until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight
to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his
antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order
to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven
into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is fre- 224
quently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756
string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was re- 533
ported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

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756 across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for [533] the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of [422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

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237 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup', and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

N W

171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full partici-
[841] pation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

N La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
W privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and
N ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
W elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben,
171 admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
177 have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meet-
*795 ing too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water
N Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
W during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs
● [533] they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534] to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
[237] prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam.
[955] Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same
order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the
chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without
W Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the
[535] ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner
and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been
reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican
N peyote rituals.[30]

W Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting
[514] and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because
[415] poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to
N meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported.
W Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe
177 are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that
anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings,
578 he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his
*795 meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or
in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his
followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of
other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings
in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the
chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a
short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders
and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and
shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle.
John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced
peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these
and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members'
hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button
N for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

W The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs
177 of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding
182 the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry
533 prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are
that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to
*795 see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

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[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

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The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

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The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

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The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

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Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[illegible] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

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[illegible] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
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a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
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culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
[755] curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
[171] singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
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a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
[801] visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoy-
[756] ance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
[276] peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
[787] common.

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However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyot-
[755] ism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
[534] aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
[274] a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, raw-
[533] hide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
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the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute cere-
[801] monial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755] shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

*795 796 276 [782] some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, [237] and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through N W [824] it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[66] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

N W ● [533] Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[67] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[68] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With N W a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

[783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to N W twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[534] [66] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[67] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[68] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Wis	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			•+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

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83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

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94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

Wadatkuht

obtain power, or whether they had a place nearer home. 756 778

At Nabogin men slept on top of the rimrock but "if you have a weak heart you will wake up thinking the rock is falling into the water below. If you have a strong heart you never wake, you have good dreams, get something; that's what they claim".

Ike's father began to be a doctor at Nabogin and later he had to learn doctoring songs. "He could cure smallfox (smallpox) pretty easy. He knew about many diseases but couldn't cure them. He lost his flint rock (an ovoid chipped stone knife) and lost his doctoring power". He kept smallpox away from his camp, according to Ike. [533]

Another place where power could be obtained was at a mountain located about three or four miles out of Dayton, Nevada, on the way to Fort Churchill. This mountain was called Muhan°, "Moon Turn". Located in this rocky peak was a cave in which young (?) men stayed overnight to try to get doctoring power. If the person did not become afraid and leave he could get power from his night's stay. In the morning as the man left the cave his power was put to a test when a boulder came crashing down from above. If the man had found power from his overnight stay he could avoid being crushed by the boulder.

Again it was not specifically stated whether any Wadátkuht men took advantage of this cave to obtain power. However, it seems likely that the pattern of obtaining power was one that the Wadátkuht men would follow. It is possible that Tommy Tucker Cave, Numuota, was used as such a place. At least the cave was not used for ordinary domiciliary purposes (cf., Riddell, 1956).

In 1953 a young woman (from Nixon?) was being bothered by dreams and was being called to go to Muhan° to obtain songs and power. She tried to fight it off because she did not want to become a doctor, but she would have to give in, especially if she became ill. Apparently women as well as men got doctoring power from visiting these lonely places and remaining all night for dreams and instruction. Additional data given in a following section tend to corroborate this.

Types of Shamans. The Wadátkuht name three types of shamans: 1) Numuhgumuhd, 2) Nutaígut, and 3) Nuhpud. The 756

Wadátkuht

"carry out his orders", while he nuhpu, "doctors". 755

The doctor sucked several times then hummed, tunikihm, [776]
while all the other people sang his song loudly. When he stopped his singing to hum, the other people sang on. The humming indicated the approach of the spirit, nosihp. His nosihp talked to him while he hummed. His helper interpreted while he hummed. Meanwhile, the people continued to sing.

The doctor sang different songs, very pretty songs with [533]
pretty words. He sang of the mountains, the sun, the moon, and of the springtime. It was a good sign if the patient broke into the doctor's song.

The doctor eventually got up and danced; the women (and sometimes the men) got up and followed behind him. As they went around in a circle the interpreter got up and danced with them. "The dance was like a conga line." Everyone kept in step with the doctor's song. They circled to the left about three times around the patient while singing the doctor's song. The doctor began to stagger and spin in a circle, but
before he dropped several men grabbed him and laid him down. [787]
At this time he was stiff and unconscious, and while in this condition he spoke. He remained in this state for about one-half hour during which time everyone continued to sing his song. When he came out of his sleep the interpreter helped him sit up. He now talked about his dreams and how he argued with the devils and spirits for the patient's life, and sometimes he told the people that the patient was going to die.

As soon as the doctor awakened the people asked him such questions: Will the patient get well? What is bothering the sick person? The doctor gave instructions to the child's parents (or in the case of an adult patient, to some close relative) on the care of the patient. Usually the close relatives were to go to a spring and wash themselves and pray.

While the doctor was unconscious and the patient lying [787]
ill, everyone watched the eagle feather in the can. If it fluttered the patient would get well, if it drooped he would probably die. The feather usually took either course on the fourth night.

Doctoring for a Rattlesnake Bite. The woman who doctored 752
Joaquin when he was bitten by a rattlesnake was Tuna'^{k}zua, [278]
"Short Girl", Tsudi's mother. The name of the plant whose

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 322 *Flute.*—The Gidǖ'tikad^{a} knew the simple flute, called woi'ñ. Ku'nu"gib was also recorded as flute but seems rather to apply to a wood of which the flute was sometimes made. This wood was said to be "like a willow but growing in the mountains." More frequently the flute was of elder (hubu') stem from which the inner pith had been pushed. The flute was described as from twelve to fourteen inches long, cut slanting across the mouth end. In the old days it was never blown from the side or with the nose. According to Joshua, the instrument ordinarily had six holes, but formerly only four;[171] Piudy mentioned four holes, played by two fingers of each hand; Daisy and Charlie Washo reported eight holes, "just enough holes for four fingers of each hand." The flute was played only by men. Its use was entirely recreational; it was not used in courting. The bone whistle was unknown.

Rasp.—The notched stick is not Gidǖ'tikad^{a}. Dr. Sam described it for his band in connection with antelope charming, but Surprise Valley informants reported in its stead a plain stick wound with "string." Lowie[172] mentions the notched stick in the same connection for the Nevada Paviotso; but Sarah Winnemucca[173] is not explicit as to the kind of rasp used.

> My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound.

According to Joshua, "The notched stick is Shoshone; they use it in the Bear dance. It sounds like a washboard." Mettie Petty of Beatty said that it served her people as a dance accompaniment; Daisy Brown reported a similar use by the Nevada Paviotso.

Rattles.—Deer hoofs were sometimes tied about the knees when dancing. This practice had no special name. The deer-hoof rattle (witsa'baiya) was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Joshua described its manufacture as follows:

> Make (?) the hoofs all one size. Warm them and punch a hole in one corner. Run a string through the holes. Twist the string around a stick about 16 inches long. Then shake it up and down.

[439] Susie Archie knew of cocoon rattles which she said the Paiute bought from coast peoples.

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[171] Four is the customary number in California. Kroeber, Handbook, 824.

[172] SE, 303.

[173] P. 56.

Drum.—The drum (witu'a) is apparently recent. Pindy states 534 ● that it came from the north and northeast at the time of the white 322 advent. The late intrusion seems in keeping with the fact that the drum was rarely, if ever, used by shamans. According to several informants, tribes to the north employed the drum in doctoring. In recent times, the Gidū'tikad[8] have used it as a dance accompaniment. It is the usual tambourine drum—hide stretched on a circular frame.

A modern specimen which I was allowed to examine[174] was about sixteen inches in diameter. The frame was chokecherry, although juniper is more usual. Horse hide (with the hair surface facing in) was stretched taut over one side. It was held by six thongs radiating toward the center of the under side from as many slits spaced evenly along the margin of the turnover. Each thong was slit a short distance from the end and pushed through the hole in the skin cover. The body of the thong was then brought through its own end slit, just as merchandising tags are attached. The six thongs converged in the center, but their fastening was obscured by several rows of cotton cloth in wrapped stitch. The radiating thongs constituted a handle behind which the single drum stick was thrust when not in use. The stick to this drum had been lost but was described as short and hide-wrapped on one end.

A band of red paint encircled the rim of the drum, but the face proper was undecorated.

Joshua said that the drum was sometimes painted red, sometimes yellow. The coloring was applied around the edge and in the middle, the latter perhaps in stripes.

DOGS

There is practically unanimity on the subject of the native dog, 231 soko'puku. It was very scarce, very small, and looked "just like a coyote." It was of virtually no assistance in transportation, Dr. de [492] Angulo's assertion that "they used dogs for packing"[175] being contradicted by all informants. One[176] admitted under pressure of persistent questioning that "if a dog were good and strong he might carry a pack, but most dogs were poor, and they were pretty scarce." Certainly the dog pack was very much out of the ordinary. The travois was unknown; Bige Archie asserted that it was introduced with the horse, but this was denied by all other informants.

Because of their scarcity, dogs could never have been very impor- [261] tant as food. The majority denied ever eating dog, but two had heard of its being eaten in times of great shortage.

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[174] In possession of Nellie Townsend, Fort Bidwell.

[175] P. 322.

[176] MA.

DANCING

535 The common Round dance of the Basin is fundamental here. In the evening, participants joined hands in a ring, men and women alternating, and circled about the fire with a shuffling, sidewise step. Women chose partners by asking, not by tapping them with a wand. Those not wishing to dance with men could get on one side of the circle. Ill consequences did not result from a refusal to dance. Young people who were attracted to one another danced together all evening without changing partners. Some couples withdrew, at which time marriage was consummated. Joshua said that they must first ask permission of the "dance boss," but Minnie thought otherwise.

533 The dance "boss" was a man who knew songs. These he himself
535 composed. Others joined in the singing if they knew the tunes. There
was no other musical accompaniment; for the drum is recent and
●534 informants denied the rasp although they knew it from other groups.

535 A dance (nugüb) normally lasted two or three hours; persons never danced until they dropped from exhaustion. A dance might be held at any time of year, but especially in the fall when people congregated for communal drives. A dance which took place while on a rabbit hunt was called kamü'nik (kamü', jackrabbit).

The Bear dance is definitely lacking among these Paiute. Joshua knew it from the Shoshone and accurately described the essentials, including the notched stick which sounded "like a washboard"; a woman's tapping her partner with a small willow; dancing in lines, then breaking, and circling. He had seen it performed "up north" by visiting Shoshone four or five years ago. Piudy said that the Warm Springs Indians danced in columns, but that the Gidü'tikad^{u} never did so. He thought that the "Yainax people" (Paiute, Klamath?) and people around Susanville (Paiute, Maidu?) had a Bear dance.

[721] There seems to have been a War incitement dance but no details were available. Minine said that "some stout men danced before they went to war." According to Piudy, the Round dance was the only one known; there were no masked or scalp dances. On the last score Joshua gave conflicting evidence, saying:

> A scalp was put on a tall pole and everybody said, "Let's have a dance." They danced and sang all kinds of songs. Women danced too. They always kept the scalps but I never did know what became of them. The Scalp dance was called tüya'nagü.

usually he has a song, in which event he does not carry the token. 756
Every shaman dreams his own songs. They are his exclusively and 787
are not sung by another.

Piudy thought that a dying shaman did not will his spirits or [778]
paraphernalia. The latter were destroyed upon his death; sometimes they were burned, sometimes buried with him. Joshua thought that [424]
a shaman might will his power to his son, or daughter, or to his wife, but he thought that they had to dream too. In other words, the transfer was not automatic. According to Joshua, "Charlie Washo's father was a doctor. When he died he left his things to his wife. She was nearly able to doctor when her husband died." Dr. Sam stated, "Four old doctors who were childless taught me. They taught me when I was a little bit of a fellow. I dreamed of things and they helped me cure people." This suggests that a shaman might teach his son. Billy Peanuts, whom, by the way, some do not regard as a full-fledged shaman, is assisted by his son.

A doctor's equipment consisted of beads, eagle feathers, a stone 756
pipe, and a deer-hoof rattle. These were carried in a sack about the 778
waist, nowadays in a suitcase. The beads were used "to see how the pain worked." Piudy thought that "eagle feathers were not always used in doctoring. We learned to use them from the people north, farther north than the Bannock." Two kinds of eagle feathers were used: a long tail feather and down from beneath the wing. The latter might be all white. Joshua said that eagle feathers were split and twisted about a thong so as not to break. They were not dyed. Sometimes the patient held the feathers; sometimes they were placed over the afflicted part. Before a doctor sang, he filled his stone pipe with tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') in order "to help his body." He removed his moccasins before smoking lest someone think him afraid of flying sparks from the fireplace.[230] The deer-hoof rattle was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Its particular function in healing is not clear, but it "helped."

It is of some interest that the usual correlation of the tambourine [534] ●
with shamanism does not hold for the Gidų̈'tikad^{a}. This rather argues for the late introduction of the drum and seems to bear out Piudy's statement that the drum "came from the north and northeast when the white people came."

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[230] Cf. Lowie, NS, 214 and SE, 215. Apparently the Cochiti practitioner removes his "shoes" before smoking, Curtis, 16:94. Miss Cora Du Bois tells me that the Wintu adhere to the same custom.

000 On January 6, 1872 Powell's party observed a Kaibab ceremony. The Indians, "had stripped a cedar tree of all branches but a small tuft at the top, and around this the whole band formed a large circle, dancing and singing. The dancing was the usual hippity-hop or "lope" sideways, each holding hands with his or her neighbor. In the center stood a man, seeming to be the custodian of songs and a poet himself; He would first recite the piece, and then all sing it, circling round at the same time." The white visitors were invited to participate and did so to the great amusement of the Paiute.[1]

The most important of the old dances was the *nö'qáp'*, known under this appellation to both the Moapa and Shivwits. A phonetic equivalent among the Lemhi seemed to be a generic term for "dance." In the Paiute *nöq'áp'* men and women formed a circle, neighbors interlocking fingers. One man sang and the performers moved round clockwise. Any one who chose might participate. Sometimes a woman would step between two men. The dance was held during any season of the year and in the night. One informant called it a "war dance." The participation of both sexes, the clockwise motion and the interlocking fingers all suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nüakin*.[2]

Another dance, the *mâ+inöqop*, was under the direction of a master of ceremonies, who would send out messengers in different directions announcing that a performance was to be held in so many days. He would select men and women with a light dance step, and no one else was permitted to dance. There were from four to six men, who removed their clothes and were painted by the singers, and from two to three girls in the dance. The performers did not hold one another but jumped round a big fire, the dance being held in the night-time. The manager led in the singing.

The Ute dances have been sketched in a previous publication.[3] The Bear dance is easily the most important among them and doubtless spread from this tribe to other Shoshonean groups, such as the Lemhi.[4] Specific information about the others seems too sparse to permit a definite identification with performances of other peoples, but the frequent participation of both sexes in dancing may turn out to be a distinctive Shoshonean or Plateau or even Ultramontane feature.

534
796 While I obtained no evidence of any form of the Bear Dance among the Paviotso, the highly characteristic notched instrument appears there

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[2] Lowie, 217.
[3] Vol. XI of this series, 823–824.
[4] Lowie, 218.

in association with the ceremonial antelope hunt. It is interesting to note 534. that the association of this stick with game-charming occurs among the Cheyenne and Arikara,[1] though the connecting links are not clear and 796 the resemblance may turn out to lack significance. I will begin by quoting Sarah Hopkins.

My people capture antelopes by charming them, but only some of the people are 224 charmers. My father was one of them, and once I went with him on an antelope hunt.

The antelopes move in herds in the winter, and as late in the spring as April. 796 At this time there was said to be a large herd in a certain place, and my father told all his people to come together in ten days to go with him in his hunt. He told them to bring their wives with them, but no small children. When they came, at the end of ten days, he chose two men, who he said were to be his messengers to the antelopes. They were to have two large torches made of sagebrush bark, and after he had found a place for his camp, he marked out a circle around which the wigwams were to be placed, putting his own in the middle of the western side, and leaving an opening directly opposite in the middle of the eastern side, which was towards the antelopes.

The people who were with him in the camp then made another circle to the east of the one where their wigwams were, and made six mounds of sagebrush and stones on the sides of it, with a space of a hundred yards or more from one mound to the next one, but with no fence between the mounds. These mounds were made high, so that they could be seen from far off.

The women and boys and old men who were in the camp, and who were working on the mounds, were told to be very careful not to drop anything and not to stumble over a sagebrush root, or a stone, or anything, and not to have any accident, but to do everything perfectly and to keep thinking about the antelopes all the time, and not to let their thoughts go away to anything else. It took five days to charm the antelopes, and if anybody had an accident he must tell of it.

Every morning early, when the bright morning star could be seen, the people sat around the opening to the circle, with my father sitting in the middle of the opening, and my father lighted his pipe and passed it to his right, and the pipe went round the circle five times. And at night they did the same thing.

After they had smoked the pipe, my father took a kind of drum, which is used in this charming, and made music with it. This is the only kind of musical instrument which my people have, and it is only used for this antelope-charming. It is made of a hide of some large animal, stuffed with grass, so as to make it sound hollow, and then wound around tightly from one end to the other with a cord as large as my finger. One end of this instrument is large, and it tapers down to the other end, which is small, so that it makes a different sound on the different parts. My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound, that could be heard afar off, and he sang, and all his people sang with him.

After that the two men who were messengers went out to see the antelopes. They carried their torches in their right hands, and one of them carried a pipe in his left hand. They started from my father's wigwam and went straight across the camp to the opening; then they crossed, and one went around the second circle to the

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[1] Vol. XI, this series, 675, 896.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	K2	Kü	Tc	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF
1933. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1935. Root of tsmp for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
249
276
824

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

N ●
W
A
534 ●

	To	Kl	K2	Kü	Tc	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF
*1944. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1945. Attached to stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1947. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
*1953. Sheep-horn rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1956a. Used by dancers	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1958. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
*1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witoaviga)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1971. Hoofs in line	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1973. Notched stick (wühunagi)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1974. Plain, notched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1979. Used in "bear dance"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1981. Buzzers (tosa'sühinya)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1982. Deer patella	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

W
[756]

N
[756]

N
A
[756]

Bull-roarer

(See Games)

	To	Kl	K2	Kü	Tc	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF
*1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1992. 6-12	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p.403]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
534

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
1992a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1993. Fur on end	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2000. As toy	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2000a. For dance	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2001. Whistle	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*-	-	+	-	+	-	+
2002a. 2 holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	-	-	-	+	+	*+	-	*-	+	-	+	+	-	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*2004. Flute (woina)	+	+	+	+	-	*-	-	-	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2008. Length (in.): about 12	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2008a. About 18	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2012. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2012a. By nose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2017a. In hunting	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

N
A

MARRIAGE

583
N
A
595
N
Y
587
N
W
X
582
583

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
*2018. Bride price	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*2019. As present	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2022. Marriage by abduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2024. Friends assist in fight	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2025. Polygyny permitted	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2026. Sororal obligatory	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026a. Sororal usual	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2027. Polyandry permitted	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	*-	+	+	+	-	-
2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2030. Required	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2030a. Customary	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2032. Required	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2032a. Customary	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2037. Child betrothal	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	+

[p. 404]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

N
W
A
535

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2622. To make piñon nuts grow	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2623. To produce rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
2624. To bring deer	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2626. Center post to dance around	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2627. Dry cottonwood	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2628. Piñon	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2629. Juniper	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2629a. Any wood	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2630. Music: all dancers sing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2635. Dancing: women choose partners	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2636. Men choose partners	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2637. Dancing in one circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2639. Men and women alternate in same circle	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2640. Shuffle step	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2641. Hopping step	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2642. Clockwise direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2643. Counterclockwise direction	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2644. Dance leader: special chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2645. Band chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2646. Messengers carry invitations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2647. Occasion for courting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2649. Clowns	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2650. Duration (days): 4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2650a. 5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2650b. 6	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2651. Camp circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2652. Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•−
2653. Dance affirmed to be pre-white	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2653a. Introduction: about 1900	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2654. Corral of brush	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2655. Musical rasp	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2656. Resonator: washtub	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2657. Board	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2659. Musicians: 5 or 6	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2660. Dancing: women choose partners by touching with stick	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2661. Men pay partners	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2662. Dancing in lines	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2663. Dancing in couples	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2665. Chief urges dancers with stick	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2667. Dance stopped at a fall	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2668. Fallen person rubbed with rasp	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2669. Fallen person covered with blanket	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2670. Dance held same time as circle dance	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−
2672. Same chief as circle dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2673. Duration indefinite, usually 2 days	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2674. "South" or Exhibition Dance	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2675. Pre-Caucasian	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2676. Introduction: about 1900	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2677. Dancers' paraphernalia: eagle-down headring	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2678. Feather crown	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2679. Separate feathers on head	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2680. Yellowhammer band on head	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2681. Yellowhammer band on chest	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2682. Feather necklace	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2683. Eagle-down-rope skirt	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2684. Breechclout	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2685. Wildcat fur hung on belt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

● N [534]

N [301]

[p. 416]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NR20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693a.3 or 4	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693b.5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a.4 or 6	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709a.Several nights	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2710a.Several days	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2711. Crazy Dance (tosomagava)	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2711b.Special singers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712a.2 sticks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713a.Men dressed as women	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2717. Shaman at center post	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
2719a.5 nights	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.
2719b.Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.

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[301]

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[302]

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[534]

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[534]

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668

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2721a.4 season names	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-

N
W
A
805

Astronomy

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2726a.Menstruating women cover selves	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
821

[P. 417]

N 224 [797] luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai döpi ("clay rock"). W [301] Wa: Hunters painted themselves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [136] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Spécial antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi′, female, or in general, töna′.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N [263] 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi′dögöp°, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls of sagebrush hung down between bushes. N [263 224] A: Rope of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304). Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N [796] 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

● N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[P. 422 (c)]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524] 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).
1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.
1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).
1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.
A [224 411] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.
1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.
N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.
1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

N [177] 1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).
N [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GN denied any such games.
N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).
1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177 1888. K1, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(B)]

N
436
177 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
489 ute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to
W use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
[435] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N
276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field
Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.
1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by
some informants that the elbow pipe was aborigi-
nal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe
N on her plate 32,b.
1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a re-
[177 cent introduction.
172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).
W 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men
[276 smoked much in old days.
756 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).
887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).
N 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Moun-
[782] tain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Töt-
sikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and
Old Winnemucca.
N 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering
[756 of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the
782] pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N
Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{oP}.
249 1931a. AK: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.
824 1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita,
Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with
Nicotiana.

N

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

● 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians
W when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
[534] (Smith, notes).
N 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).
[172 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only
756] by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a
deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley:
N + (Steward, 278).
[178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).
1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line
N along a buckskin string; the string is wound
[281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.
1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his
informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on
[179 skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa:
759] Notched rasp was introduced to Sama with the
Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that
time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. W [756] Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N 586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439b]

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584
parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls
were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry
the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated
her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man,
and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually
will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers
and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well,
usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The
girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer
of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually
sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over
and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and
shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to
catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often
encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered con- [585]
sumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings
presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431]
food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a
hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends,
wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a
whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534] ●
flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men [308]
and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the
menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a
man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [585]
mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848]
refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586
the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In
these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up
the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684]
person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned
their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives,
or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her
parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In
the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may
take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his
wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married
sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman 756
suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not 688
only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

Paraphernalia

The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indi- 756
cation of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip 778
himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird, stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[10]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámakɔ^{gwai}odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another.
The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it [178]
is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer 756
hooflet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The 778
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[10] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

756 second type is made by scraping the skin clean of hair, soaking it
778 in water, and sewing together the edges. Sand is packed inside,
534 and the skin is allowed to dry until it is hard and stiff. Then the sand is removed and a handle of greasewood or willow about eight inches long is put through holes made in the center of the two pieces of skin. The handle projects an inch or a little less on one side of the rattle. It is fastened in place firmly with sinew. Small pebbles, usually gathered on an ant-hill, are put into the drum, and the opening is closed. Nowadays, circular pieces of deerskin frequently take the place of the skin from the ears. A variation in this rattle is produced by fastening two containers of pebbles together at one end of the handle, making a double-headed rattle.

The other type, the deer-claw rattle, is similar to the rattle used in girls' adolescence rites by a number of tribes in northern California. Anywhere from fifteen or twenty to fifty or even more deer-claws are used, depending upon the number available. A hole is made in the tip of each hooflet and a short piece of buckskin thong knotted at one end is put through the hole from the inside. The hooflet is then fastened by the thong to a willow or greasewood handle. The knot inside the hooflet prevents the buckskin from pulling through the hole. The claws dangle in a bunch an inch or two from the handle, which is usually eight or ten inches long.

Both types of rattles are known as wisábaya. The choice of the type of rattle to be used by each shaman is dictated by his power.

756 The tail-feather contained in the shaman's paraphernalia has a
778 piece of buckskin thong about ten inches long tied to the quill. Down is also fastened to the thong and one or two beads of bone, shell or stone are strung on it close to the feathers. When the shaman doctors, the tail-feathers, together with the down and the beads, are fastened by the buckskin to a dressed willow stick three or four feet long. The pointed end of this stick (puhátumadápuipi) is placed in the ground beside the patient's head. The stick may be painted with red or white bands. The design of the painting is revealed to the shaman by his power. A fresh stick is used each time a shaman cures. The particular kind of feathers used by the shaman does not indicate his source of power. A shaman might have power from an animal and keep an eagle-feather in his outfit. In

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from 756
any other bird. 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

/ The shaman's pipe (tɔ́ɩc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden 756
stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of 778
the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, 276
few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for [178]
social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ́ɩc).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence [841]
of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions. /

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in 756
their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as 778
bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of 534
eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

756 struments are used by some shamans at the beginning of the
778 curing performance in order to call the powers. They are little used
534 today, however, and it is doubtful that they were formerly commonly included with the paraphernalia. It was reported that a shaman uses a whistle only if told to do so by his power. When the whistle is not in use, it is stuffed with feathers.

756 A bone or wooden tube six to twelve inches in length, used in
778 sucking out the disease, might also be included in the outfit if required by a shaman's spirit. When not in use, such a tube is filled with feathers. Commonly the shaman sucks the cause of disease
[755] from the patient by applying his mouth to the part of the body where, according to the diagnosis, the pain is localized. Some shamans, however, suck the disease from the patient through these tubes.

Paraphernalia in excess of the common standard equipment does not give a shaman stronger or even special powers. Nevertheless, unique or unusual additions are not looked upon as nonessential elaborations of the shaman's equipment. Everything in the kit is important and has a meaning, for if only a single feather is missing, the shaman faces sickness and supernatural impotence. All paraphernalia must be carefully preserved and used only in accordance with the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. When power is secured from several sources, say from several species of birds and animals, each spirit is represented in the shaman's paraphernalia. If part of the outfit is lost or disposed of, the particular power thus offended will cause the shaman to be sick, but he will be deprived of only that part of his power bestowed by the outraged spirit. The shaman may not lose all of his powers through the anger of a single spirit. It is reported that Abraham Mahwee, a shaman at Pyramid Lake, formerly had power from the bear in addition to the powers ascribed to him today. Grieving over the death of his wife a number of years ago, he threw away that part of his paraphernalia which had been collected at the command of the bear. Soon after, he became seriously ill and had to call in another shaman to doctor him. Since his recovery, he has not been able to get the bear to help him in doctoring, although he has not lost the powers given him by other spirits.

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tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing 756
throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be 755
noted. This is the dancer (wũtád•). The dancer is always a woman 535
and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous.
She may be either married or single. This performer carries a
bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This [534] ●
type of rattle (wadákət') is held close to the front of the body
and jerked up and dowh in time to the dance step. The dancer
follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets
up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction.
Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but
others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while
he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short,
quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee [765]
equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for 755
if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means that in the summer the curing does not get under way before ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats
himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been
previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are
also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One [756
may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his 787]
clothing in a particular way.

224 The "Kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[34] The skin stuffed with grass
around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp
is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days.
[534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint
themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[35]

224 756 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an important place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

The Position of the Shaman in the Social Order

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman
in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has
resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's
[182] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social
fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be
inferred.

756 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influ-
632 ential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his
social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no
means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of
his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however,
difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these
officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

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[34] Ibid., 56.

[35] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304–305.

N W

171 177 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 N W 171 177 562 *795 [841] Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

N W [796] La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

N W 171 177 *795 The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

N W [533] The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N W [534] [237] [755] Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

N W

177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
755 curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
171 singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
801 visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoy-
756 ance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
276 peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
787 common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical con-
W clusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyot-
755 ism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
● 534 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
270 a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, raw-
533 hide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute cere-
801 monial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL N

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather W
permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[illegible] 795
otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist,
clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point 796
east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest. N

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest dis- W
tances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before 783
attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[illegible] 534

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping 515
eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the
cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually deter- N
mined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals W
in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in 795
its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the
accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire 796
floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at
dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting. 276

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large 783
specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[illegible] Next he directs clockwise round
the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and 824
rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[illegible] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[illegible] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[illegible] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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*795 some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clock-
796 wise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgive-
ness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning
276 them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be
[782] concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle,
[237] and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through
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it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with
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small feathers or dyed horsehair.[45] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string
[824] buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief
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drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

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Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any
[533] peyote song they wish.[46] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[47] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With
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a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some,
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eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

[183] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[534] [45] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[46] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[47] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Comanche NO6

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																
	18 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
1. *Staff of authority of leader*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

PLATE 1

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a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was [illegible] indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

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[791]

b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

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c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

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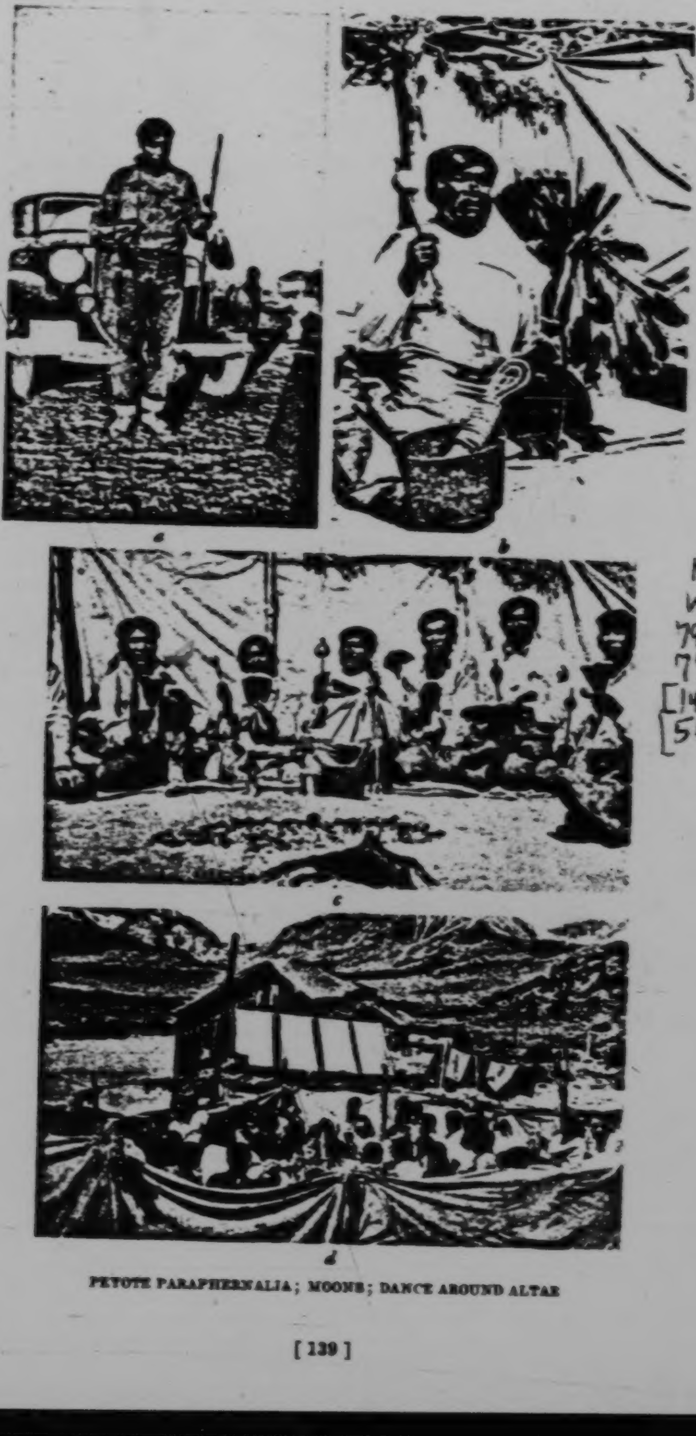

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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

Wadátkuht

412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^w, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called sŭukumtu'wa. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people [137] on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht.

[302] [237] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhds, or wunuhds^u.

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534 [821] Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^u, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother

Wadátkuht

534 [824] and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called the wind.

481 Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snowshoes and said they were a circular frame strung with strips of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet.

Ike was able to give some additional information on snowshoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. The snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's back until soft snow was encountered. [482]

501 [824] Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959.

534 [824] Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub^{i}, was used to make willow-bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used. Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles were blown by boys just for the fun of it.

[824] [755] The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrow-cane and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin, a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. She also said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring.

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on [237] greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbŏ' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 **Fire**. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 **Tobacco**. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] **Horses**. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

DANCING

535 The common Round dance of the Basin is fundamental here. In the evening, participants joined hands in a ring, men and women alternating, and circled about the fire with a shuffling, sidewise step. Women chose partners by asking, not by tapping them with a wand. Those not wishing to dance with men could get on one side of the circle. Ill consequences did not result from a refusal to dance. Young people who were attracted to one another danced together all evening without changing partners. Some couples withdrew, at which time marriage was consummated. Joshua said that they must first ask permission of the "dance boss," but Minnie thought otherwise.

533 The dance "boss" was a man who knew songs. These he himself
535 composed. Others joined in the singing if they knew the tunes. There
was no other musical accompaniment; for the drum is recent and
534 informants denied the rasp although they knew it from other groups.

535 A dance (nugüb) normally lasted two or three hours; persons never danced until they dropped from exhaustion. A dance might be held at any time of year, but especially in the fall when people congregated for communal drives. A dance which took place while on a rabbit hunt was called kamü'nik (kamü', jackrabbit).

The Bear dance is definitely lacking among these Paiute. Joshua knew it from the Shoshone and accurately described the essentials, including the notched stick which sounded "like a washboard"; a woman's tapping her partner with a small willow; dancing in lines, then breaking, and circling. He had seen it performed "up north" by visiting Shoshone four or five years ago. Piudy said that the Warm Springs Indians danced in columns, but that the Gidü'tikadᵃ never did so. He thought that the "Yainax people" (Paiute, Klamath?) and people around Susanville (Paiute, Maidu?) had a Bear dance.

[721] There seems to have been a War incitement dance but no details were available. Minine said that "some stout men danced before they went to war." According to Piudy, the Round dance was the only one known; there were no masked or scalp dances. On the last score Joshua gave conflicting evidence, saying:

> A scalp was put on a tall pole and everybody said, "Let's have a dance." They danced and sang all kinds of songs. Women danced too. They always kept the scalps but I never did know what became of them. The Scalp dance was called tüya'nagü.

Joshua also gave a very fragmentary account of what he called a Rain (?) dance (tobo'nigü), but it was not mentioned by other informants. 535

In this dance you jump up and pretend to shoot with a bow and arrow. Two singers, dressed as antelope, get inside the circle. They look as though they were angry.

Evidence on the Ghost dance is both meager and garbled. If informants are to be relied upon, the California and Oregon Paviotso were more or less skeptical from the start. The only positive evidence of the 1870 Ghost dance lies in the statements: "I heard the talking twice"; and "they tried it before Jack Wilson too." But part of Joshua's account seems to apply to the earlier appearance. 171 535

Before white men settled here, some fellows from Nixon (Nevada) brought songs (I was about twelve years old).[228] They told the Paiute, "We are going to have our mothers and our fathers come back. When the sun comes up, keep on dancing and then go in the creek." Everybody danced and then swam in Bidwell creek to make them tough. After this one man told them, "Put on white paint. Some put on yellow paint." He would say, "You know—[naming a deceased person]. I am talking to him." At Nixon they heard talking in the night. Sometimes they danced four or five nights. All the dance bosses are now dead.

When I was about sixteen years old I saw them dance near Lowell's store (Fort Bidwell), at the foot of Bidwell mountain, over near Anderson's (just south of Cowhead lake), and the other side of Dick Ochiho's where the reservoir is now. All these were nice, flat, open places.[229]

The remainder of Joshua's account applies to the 1890 dance, although he underestimates the period by ten years.

About thirty years ago when we were taking up land, Frank Spencer came from Yainax with songs, and after him other people. At Nixon (Nevada) they made hard wind and rain come. These Paiute did not believe this because they didn't see the things.

One man from here went to Nixon. They were going to show a ghost. Everybody went to Nixon—some Bannock, some Warm Springs Indians, and some Achomawi. George Winnemucca from McDermitt went, too. Jack Wilson was there.

They sang at night and set up a long pole like a post. They made a fire in a circle. All the good men sat down and listened. Three or four went to one side and sang. They began to get stiff and lay down. They lay there maybe two hours, muttering as if talking in dreams; they were talking with ghosts. The ghosts told them, "We are coming back"; but they never came. When the men came to [consciousness], they had nothing to show; it was just talk. The dead didn't come back; so we didn't believe.

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[228] He is now between 65 and 70, 67 he thinks.

[229] These are probably the usual dance grounds and need not apply to the Ghost dance.

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> Jack Wilson had Indians dress up and act like ghosts. They came and talked with the people. Afterwards some followed them and found they were impersonators.

Piudy's account is more detailed and his dating correct.

> A man whose name I don't remember brought the song from Nixon about forty years ago when the white people were already here. He taught two or three (all dead now) those songs. They said that the dead would come to life. When our people heard that they tried it, but danced only one night, not five like the Nixon Indians.
>
> Our people danced and prayed (nani'stuhai) and said, "My mother is coming; my father is coming." They swam in the water too, but there was no pole and no special kind of clothing. The Silver Lake Paiute may have danced one night like these Indians; but Dr. Sam said that he never did believe in it.

Upon another occasion Piudy remarked that white paint was not used as facial decoration prior to the Ghost dance, but whether this refers to that of 1870 or 1890, I do not know. If Joshua's statement is correctly attributed to the earlier appearance, the white paint would date from that period.

The reference to Dr. Sam in Piudy's account is of some interest in that it suggests the limiting effect a powerful personality may have on diffusion. A brief statement concerning the dance among the Silver Lake Paiute was secured from Dr. Sam:

> Once Frank Spencer (Wü'nayiga) brought word from Nixon that if we danced the dead would return. He was dance boss and he sang. Everyone danced in a big circle around a fire. A man and a woman were partners. They danced all night every night. Frank Spencer talked to the ghosts. Soon the people stopped because they did not believe the dead would return.

I have no material on the 1870 dance among the Oregon bands; the above refers to the 1890 dance.

The accounts are far from satisfactory and even these were got with some difficulty. A number of informants claimed not to remember the dance at all or stated that they had heard of it but vaguely. It seems unlikely that this should be attributed to reticence due to emotional associations; perhaps there is rather a reluctance to admit having been duped. Or again, informants may really be correct in insisting that their attitude was one of skepticism. The Ghost dance may have been a non-spectacular affair which made little impression on them. Yet this would be singular in view of the fact that the whole movement had its inception among their Nevada congeners.

226 796 In May, when the *kuyúi* fish came up, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the *kuyú'—nö'qa*, for which there was also a special master of ceremonies. There was no structure for this any more than for the other Paviotso dances. "In five days," the conductor would say, "get ready." Then the people got ready, moved toward the appointed site and erected their wikiups there. They only danced in the night-time and for five nights. Men and women joined in a circle, the sexes alternating except in so far as young men having no female partner were ranged beside one another. The dancers interlocked fingers. There was no instrument, but one man sang. Meager as are these notes they suffice to suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nûakin*, which was also a spring festival held partly to ensure a plentiful supply of fish.

535 In the *tosú nö'qá* men and women went round fast, jumping up. This was the beginning of the dance and was enjoyed by the young people. Another name was *ahí nö'qa*, Love dance.

The *kí'nöqá*^{ue} was described as more popular among the Walker River Paviotso and said to have come from Esmeralda County. Nowadays a nickel or a dime is given to some of the Indians to make them dance; formerly the presents consisted of fish or beads. The men pull off all their clothes, but their breechclouts. They did not hold one another's hands but went round like turkeys and would assume a squatting posture. There are only about ten men in the performance; sometimes about three women joined, these receiving gifts from members of their sex. At Fallon I was told that six men dance without clothes, stamping their feet, and receive a quarter from all the spectators. Three women back of the men merely shuffle their feet. This was said to be a dance of the Bannock (Kutcútiqa, Buffalo-eaters), though coming directly from Indians south of Walker River. I got the impression that this might be a form of the Grass dance.

The only other dances mentioned at Pyramid Lake were the *nöcába*, Circle dance, and a modern war dance the *pandk'iniq*, said to have been taught by Blackfoot visitors. The notched stick (*ná+idanáq*) so prominent in the antelope hunt was said not to be used for any of the dances.

At these dances men sometimes got fighting about a woman, then the strong men of the tribe got together and pulled the combatants apart.

At Fallon I beard of a "squaw dance" that was generally kept up for five days, sometimes longer.

[796] Sarah Hopkins describes a "festival of flowers" celebrated in the spring. The girls named for flowers would go to see whether their floral namesakes were in bloom and talk about them at home, saying, "Oh,

I saw myself today in full bloom!" The girls were full of expectancy 796
until some evening they would hear the chief announce that in five days
the festival was to take place. Then on the day stated the flower girls 535
danced along together, the other girls likewise forming a group of their
own. The dance ground had been prepared by the girls' elders.

> . . . Each one gathers the flower she is named for, and then all weave them into wreaths and crowns with scarfs, and dress up in them.
>
> Some girls are named for rocks and are called rock-girls, and they find some pretty rocks which they carry; each one such a rock as she is named for, or whatever she is named for. If she cannot, she can take a branch of sagebrush, or a bunch of rye-grass, which have no flower.
>
> They all go marching along, each girl in turn singing of herself; but she is not a girl any more,—she is a flower singing. She sings of herself, and her sweetheart, dancing along by her side, helps her sing the song she makes.
>
> I will repeat what we say of ourselves. "I, Sarah Winnemucca, am a shell-flower, such as I wear on my dress. My name is Thocmetony. I am so beautiful! Who will come and dance with me while I am so beautiful? Oh, come and be happy with me! I shall be beautiful while the earth lasts. Somebody will always admire me; and who will come and be happy with me in the Spirit-land? I shall be beautiful forever there. Yes, I shall be more beautiful than my shell-flower, my Thocmetony! Then, come, oh come, and dance and be happy with me!" The young men sing with us as they dance beside us.
>
> Our parents are waiting for us somewhere to welcome us home. And then we praise the sagebrush and the rye-grass that have no flower, and the pretty rocks that some are named for; and then we present our beautiful flowers to these companions who could carry none. And so all are happy; and that closes the beautiful day.[1]

The dances of the Wind River Shoshoni have already been sketched 000
in another publication.[2]

Two Paviotso dances were enumerated with their games, but come 535
more properly under this heading. In the *tosú nigdsa* ten women and
men formed a ring, and moved round, holding one another's hands,
jumping and stamping their feet. Each man stood between two women.
They continued jumping as long as the singing lasted.

The *hï negä sa* was a war dance. Six men did not move, but only stamped their feet alternately. Two women danced, moving from their positions.

SWEATBATH.

The Shivwits Paiute declare that the sweatbath does not represent a 000
native custom of theirs but was only borrowed in recent times from the
Walapai.

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[1] Hopkins, 47 f.

[2] Vol. XI, this series, 813-822.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
40. Wand	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
47. Antelope mask	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
48. Round dance	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
49. Stumbling taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
50. Loss of objects taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
53. Messengers to antelope	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
57. Fires to drive	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
58. Shaman in corral	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
59. Shaman "closes gate"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
60. Special archer	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
64. Drive	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
65. Past ambushed hunters	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
66. With dogs	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
67. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
70. Ambush beside spring	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
73. Disguise	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
74. Antelopeskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
75. Brush	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
77. Drive	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
78. Past hidden hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
79. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
80. With dogs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
81. Into enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
83. Through V-fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
88. Entire skin used	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. Fire to signal hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
91. Magic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−

N W A 224
N A [756]
276
N W A
[535]
N [231]
N X [141]

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
224
N
[535]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ah
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
99a: 3	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
99b. Not fixed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+

Snares, Nets, Etc.

N
W
A
[223]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ah
100. Spring-pole trap	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
101. For birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
102. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
104. Trap behind fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
107. For rodents	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
109. For small mammals	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
110. For large mammals	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
113. Noose in fence gap	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
116. For birds	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
117. For sage hens	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
122. Tunnel shape	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
124. Willow frame	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
125. Sagebrush support	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
126. Edge staked down	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
127. Placed near water	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
129. Sagebrush wings	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
132. For sage hens	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
133. For doves	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
134. For ducks	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
136. Birds driven to net	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
137. With antelope disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
141. Basketry traps	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
144. 2-stick trigger	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
145. Bait used	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
146. For large mammals	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
148. For birds generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
149. For grouse	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
153. For carnivores	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
154. For rabbits and rodents	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+

N
[228]

Booths and Blinds

N
W
A
223

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ah
155. Brush enclosure	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
158. Conical house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
159. Pit	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
160. With brush fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
162. Concealment is near water	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	N W
2579. To spirit (suņpö)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A
2580. To night	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	776
2581. Offerings of: food	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2581a. At spring dance	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	782
2582. Game	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
2583. Seeds	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2584. Tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2585. Shell beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2586. Offerings: at meals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2589. When hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Guardian Spirits															N W
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															N W
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
2595. Blood-letting	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	757
2596. Sweating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Ghosts or Souls (taaavu or mugua)															N W
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	775
2601. Shortly before death	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	763
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	
2603. Ghost audible	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2604. Ghost feared	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	W
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	A
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	−	+	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
2609a. Specularite (yadüpi) sprinkled to nullify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	787
"Muipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	276
DANCES															N W
2614. Circle Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A 535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2616. Performance: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	[789]

[p. 415]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

N
W
A
535

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2622. To make piñon nuts grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2623. To produce rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2624. To bring deer	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2626. Center post to dance around	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2627. Dry cottonwood	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2628. Piñon	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2629. Juniper	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2629a. Any wood	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2630. Music: all dancers sing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2635. Dancing: women choose partners	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2636. Men choose partners	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2637. Dancing in one circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2639. Men and women alternate in same circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2640. Shuffle step	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2641. Hopping step	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2642. Clockwise direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2643. Counterclockwise direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2644. Dance leader: special chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2645. Band chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2646. Messengers carry invitations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2647. Occasion for courting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2649. Clowns	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2650. Duration (days):4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2650a. 5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2650b. 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2651. Camp circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2652. Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2653. Dance affirmed to be pre-white	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2653a. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2654. Corral of brush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2655. Musical rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2656. Resonator: washtub	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2657. Board	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2659. Musicians: 5 or 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2660. Dancing: women choose partners by touching with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2661. Men pay partners	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2662. Dancing in lines	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2663. Dancing in couples	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2665. Chief urges dancers with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2667. Dance stopped at a fall	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2668. Fallen person rubbed with rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2669. Fallen person covered with blanket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2670. Dance held same time as circle dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2672. Same chief as circle dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2673. Duration indefinite, usually 2 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2674. "South" or Exhibition Dance	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2675. Pre-Caucasian	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2676. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2677. Dancers' paraphernalia: eagle-down headring	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2678. Feather crown	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2679. Separate feathers on head	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2680. Yellowhammer band on head	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2681. Yellowhammer band on chest	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2682. Feather necklace	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2683. Eagle-down-rope skirt	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2684. Breechclout	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2685. Wildcat fur hung on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
[534]

N
[301]

[p. 416]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTR8
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
535

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693a. 3 or 4	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693b. 5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a. 4 or 6	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709a. Several nights	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2710a. Several days	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•2711. Crazy Dance (tonoongava)	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2711b. Special singers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712a. 2 sticks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
•2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713a. Men dressed as women	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nugava)	+	+	•+	-	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	•-	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2717. Shaman at center post	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·
2719a. 5 nights	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	·
2719b. Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·

N
[301]

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[302]

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N
[534]

N●
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MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2721a. 4 season names	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-

N
W
A
805

Astronomy

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-
2726a. Menstruating women cover selves	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
821

[P. 417]

Washo NT20

N 224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Tö: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

● [N 535 796] W [535] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'öm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + ~~(Lowie, 304);~~ wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koipᵊ, female, mutsa'. Koipᵊ also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

[p.423(W)]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 838

N [842 848] 2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N [787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 ●535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravisoya, were old-time dance

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^1-nö^{e}ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes). W [226]

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 W [721] 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. N [423] K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. N 721 173 KU: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

[p.440(8)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [34] 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DV described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly." N [525 777] N 782

DANCES

Circle Dance

● N 535 [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-mûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (D)]

Ghost Dance

535 668 775 2715. K2: Jack Wilson revived and stimulated the old dance but did not teach any new ones. At: The last Ghost dance at McDermitt was about 1893. The shaman prophesied a hard winter which would kill all the horses so that the dead would have them on which to ride back after the resurrection, to occur the following 4th of July. The people danced, the hard winter came, the horses died, and so the Indians congregated at McDermitt for the arrival of the dead. The old people did not return and so there has been little mention of the Ghost dance since. However, this is not strange because they were told to discuss the secrets and promises of the movements only while still on the dance ground following a dance. Ki: Kelly, 179, after saying "evidence on Ghost Dance is both meager and garbled," gives quotations which indicate that the Kidŭ were exposed to it, but never adopted the dance seriously.

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

805 822 2720. At: August, "rye-grass-ripe month" (yaia mŏhŭ); September, "piñon-nut month" (tuva mŏhŭ); October, "jack-rabbit-digging-roots-month" (tuhiwi măhŭ); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na mŏhŭ); December, "buck-deer-stands-for-week-on-south-side-of-canyon-month" (roa mŏhŭ); January, "tracks-threw-out-on-one-side-month" (tamŭnida`a mŏhŭ); February, "earliest-plants-push-aside-last-year's-stalks-month" (tokwinai mŏhŭ); March, "green-grass-growing-fast-month" (puiwaya mŏhŭ). The other 4 months' names could not be remembered. Seasonal names used for one or two. Sa: January, "jack-rabbit-urine-on-snow-month" (roa mŏha); February, "first-young-jack-rabbit-month" (sŏtwa'a mŏha); March, "everything-green-month" (puimŏha); April, "buck-berry-leaves-out-month" (kwasinŏ mŏha); May, "flower-month" (totsi mŏha); June, "Indian-potato-month" (yaba mŏha); July, "summer-month" (tatsa mŏha); August, "rye-grass-month" (yaia mŏha); September, "piñon-nut-month" (tŏva mŏha); October, "autumn-month" (uva mŏha); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na moha); December, "winter-month" (tomomŏha). (SL.) Wd: "First-green-shoots-through-snow-month" (poimaya mŭha); "grass-

[p.445(A)]

221
early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.*

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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* During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

755
tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing 756
throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be 755
noted. This is the dancer (wütád"). The dancer is always a woman 535
and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous.
She may be either married or single. This performer carries a
bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This [534]
type of rattle (wədákət') is held close to the front of the body
and jerked up and down in time to the dance step. The dancer
follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets
up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction.
Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but
others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while
he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short,
quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee [465]
equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for 755
if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means
that in the summer the curing does not get under way before
ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the
twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with
the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange
gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating
his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats
himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been
previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are
also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One [756
may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his 787]
clothing in a particular way.

755 instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These prescriptions are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course of the curing rites.

→ When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the spec-
755 tators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire.
535 The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire. According to one description, at the end of the dance all must shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the
[776] house and these actions drive it away.

755 The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were
[825] to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness and loss of power.

755 The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəp^{I}) and white (i·bi),
302 is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are se-
[386] cured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry powder, and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted. There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are employed for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily decoration with these paints is also common on social occasions. Nevertheless, the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the recovery of the sick.

N
W

177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N
W
● [535]

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

N
W
[514]
[415]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

N
W
177
578
*795

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

N
W
177
182
533
*795

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

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[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

WadatKuht

same ones who went with her each day.

Before Kitty's ceremony was completed, however, the 881
family moved over to the village of Matá because the haying
was finished at Will Dill's ranch. At Matá Kitty's aunt
built a fire up the creek above the village and Kitty ran up
there and jumped over the fire twice. Her aunt then took her
and bathed her in a big tub and gave her a lecture on not
being lazy, and on being good. At this time Kitty's family
left a lot of new clothes, blankets, shoes, handkerchiefs...
"a whole new outfit"...to pay for the time and effort Kitty's
aunt had spent on the ceremony. While being bathed Kitty
was scrubbed with sagebrush, sawubi. She and her aunt returned
to camp together after Beowuhbi had packed up all of
her presents. When they got back to camp there was a big [574]
feast, and Joaquin gave presents to all assembled, which
included Washo, Maidu and Pit River people as well as the
Paiutes. In fact, the man who sang for Kitty's puberty [431]
ceremony was a Pit River man by the name of Katkat.

Gladys also went through the puberty ceremony at the onset of menses. During the ceremony she was attended by girls who had been through the ceremony as well as by some who had not yet reached puberty.

On the first day of her menses Gladys moved out of the house with her bedding as she was considered unclean. Her mother went with her. She was not allowed to eat or drink out of any utensil which might be used by anyone else, she had to wear old clothes, keep away from people, and got very little to eat or drink. She did get some soda crackers, however, because that was about all they had on hand at that time which she was allowed to eat. The family was camped at the De Witt ranch near Wendel at this time.

On the second day, the family was in Susanville and
Kitty, with Gladys, went to see Big Rosie George, a Maidu
woman, who was related to Gladys' father, who was a Maidu.
Other people were notified that a ceremony was to be held [797]
and they all went up to where the Indian Mission now stands
at Indian Heights (in Susanville) to look over the dance
ground. People prepared abalone shell pendants, deer hoof [574]
rattles and other things necessary for the ceremony. There
was a "pot luck" dinner in the evening of the first and second [535]
nights at the dance grounds. The dinner was followed by
dancing. As for food, Gladys was not supposed to get anything
to eat but someone sneaked her a slice of white bread.

Wadátkuht

881 On the first night Gladys had to run about one-half mile at night under the new moon and repeated it the second night.

[535] There was dancing on each succeeding night, as on the first night, and Gladys had to make the usual run. She would grab the deer hoof rattle from the singer, Big Rosie George, and run with it. A group of young people, both boys and girls, would run with her, although only one or two would go some nights.

The third to sixth days and nights were essentially the same as the first two days and nights. During the night of the sixth day, however, everyone danced until dawn. Gladys then ran from Indian Heights east to a place just west of the new cemetery (which is just north of Susanville).

She then ran back to Indian Heights, but not to the dance ground as she had on the previous nights. Instead, she ran to a spring on Indian Heights where her aunt, Helen Joaquin, was waiting for her. Helen had a fire going on a red ant hill near a sagebrush plant. As Gladys came running up she jumped over the sagebrush and the fire in a single jump. The fire had been built next to the sagebrush purposely.

As soon as Gladys had jumped over the bush and the fire Helen told her to take off her clothes. As soon as this was done her aunt threw a bucket of cold water on her. Since it was in the fall of the year, and the weather cool, the water hit her as a shock. While she had been taking her clothes off Helen had put some green sagebrush on the fire, and then some water. Gladys stood upon the green brush over the fire after she had taken her clothes off, and the steam rising from the doused fire felt good to her since she was cold from having been splashed with the bucket of cold water. Her aunt threw dippers of warm water over her as she stood over the steaming fire. Sagebrush had been put into the warm water that was thrown on her. After Gladys had been bathed in the warm water she dried herself and put on clean and/or new clothes. The old clothes were left behind with a dollar in one of the pockets and Gladys never saw the old clothes again. She then went up to camp where her Aunt Helen told her what she could have for breakfast; it was bread, cereal, and coffee, but no meat. This was the end of the puberty ceremony.

[152] All during the time of her puberty ceremony Gladys felt ashamed, guilty and afraid, and was glad when it was over. On the first day she cried some but stopped when she was told

Wadatkuht

648 425 days were those individuals who walked north to the Bannock country and stole horses from them. One such man was Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Kȯpadkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiüte man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] [492] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse stealing was one such element. The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

727 ● 535 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'öpökama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaka', "that"; ö, "your"; pö, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

Wadatkuht

Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another 195
and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might 578
say, "Stuhyuhö̆","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuö̆", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say".

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht 796
ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has
been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when
rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. [177]
The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone.

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga 525
and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. [172]
When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (*Phragmites communis*) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each

789 around camp to see if everyone were alive." An eclipse is called taba-yü'iwan (ta'ba, sun); they say the sun is dying.

821 It aggravates the thunder (nünia'ba) "if you shout, laugh, and talk. The thunder gets worse and it may chase you." Lightning is of special danger to a menstruating woman and often fatal to a woman with child. The echo is wahi'pi-naka'u (shout-hear). It is someone "calling back."

● 538 821 The animals of the tales—Coyote, Wolf, Frog, Rattlesnake, and others—are said to be in the moon. Minnie Anderson sees a frog in the moon. A circle about the moon foretells rain.

827 787 A sneeze indicates that a person of the opposite sex is thinking of one. Ringing of the ears is of evil portent. "That is a dead spirit shouting in your ears; probably a friend is dying." A wink is of no significance; "they learned that from the white people." When a person's eyes twitch, "he is going to see something. When a man is going hunting and his eye twitches, he says, 'I know I shall see game today.'" An itching palm has no meaning. Bad luck is associated with twitching of an under-knee muscle. When a hunter experiences this it means he will not see game. If a woman is going to play a card game and her knee twitches, she will surely have bad luck. Twitching of the calf muscles indicates that a stranger is coming. If the arch of the foot twitches it means that someone is coming on horseback (contact with the stirrup).

787 A number of omens mentioned by Nora Henderson follow:

825
> When a frog whistles (not croaks), people say, "You are going to have bad news."
>
> When the coyote barks strangely, someone will sicken and die.
>
> When the owl barks like a dog, something bad will happen. Once when I was near Adel, on my way to Likely, an owl in a clump of willows south of us barked and then hooted. We knew we would get bad news from the south. That night we stopped at Alturas and heard that someone in Likely had been killed.
>
> Once my aunt, Daisy Brown, heard a whistle by the creek. She looked around and saw a snake making the noise. She felt badly, knowing she would get bad news, and I think she told me that she did.
>
> When it is a little cloudy, and the meadowlark sits on the ground and goes, "prrrrrr," it is going to rain. They say this is really true.
>
> If the first meadowlarks from the south have bright yellow spots on their breasts there will be plenty of a'gü'.

A centipede is called ï'wü-mai'^{i} (many-hands). If a person picks up a centipede "he may get that many hands." If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will follow that person and get in bed with him. "They always say that this is really true."

would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *ndakugariñgen*. 000

MISCELLANEOUS.

Paviotso.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving. 262

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:— 538

> Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.[1]

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them. 356

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame. 854

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache. 757

Wind River.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing. 000

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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[1] Mooney, 770 f.

WadatKuht

524 Kitty, who was younger, would take advantage of the temporary absence of the other girls and destroy all of the toys. She also broke her sister's toy cradleboards and her beadwork. For doing this her sister would beat her up.

MYTHOLOGY

538 [821] Story telling was reserved for stormy days, therefore, presumably during the winter. To do otherwise would cause it to storm. Ike seemed to know many myths and enjoyed telling them, unfortunately in Paiute. When he was getting ready to tell some stories he would say "Na'isha dukwi", "Let's tell a lie". Despite the fact that it was not possible to obtain the myths as he told them the essence of several was gotten and is given below.

539 *Why Dove Makes a Mournful Sound.* A brother and a sister were the last people left in the world, and they were very attached to one another. The brother died and his sister was very sad. She told her distant relatives that she was going to turn into a dove. She mourned and became very thin. She finally turned into a dove (ihov^{i}) and is still mourning for her brother. She said that anyone who heard her would be lonely.

Why People Die. At one time Bald Mountain (Guha kaive) stood vertically, on end, on top of Diamond Mountain, and at the top of Bald Mountain there was a spring. One day Wolf and Coyote had a violent argument. Wolf wanted to continue to allow old people to climb up to the top of the mountain and bathe in the spring so that they could regain their youth. Coyote was of a contrary mind and thought that old people should die. During the argument Coyote got so angry that he kicked Bald Mountain and it toppled over into the valley below. The force of the fall flattened the mountain as it is today. The water from the spring splashed out forming Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, Eagle Lake and several other lakes in the region. Since then the old people cannot bathe in the spring and become young again.

Coyote Digs Potatoes. Young Coyote went out with a group of old women to help them dig Indian "potatoes". He straggled behind the women and urged them to stoop over to dig potatoes. They had heavy packs on their backs but he urged them to stoop over even further. Finally Coyote took advantage of the position in which the old women had put

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone. 224

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:— 224 796 [539].

wázunaq	ína	hā̆ûʙa	wō̆'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hā̆ûʙa.	nō̆'mōnáqa	ína	hā̆ûʙa.	
? .	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained. [756] [787] [841] [857]

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nō̆'qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

193 15. That's my knife and that's your knife
ni-Ka Kwibi-s imi Kwibi
I-of knife-and your knife
16. I cut it with your knife.
imi Kwibi-ma nĭ a-TsKya
your knife-by I it-cut
17. Cut it! *a-TsKwa·*
18. I am cutting it. *ni a-TsKay·-win*
19. I am cutting all the time. *nĭ a-TsKwa·-win aTá'e*
20. I chopped it with the axe.
KuTsan·o-ma nĭ a-KuTsa'
axe-by I it-chop
21. The dog drank all the water.
saTĭ'ĭ Pa· biBiu nooqo
dog water drink altogether
22. The dogs drank all the water
mĭ saTĭ'ĭ Pa· biBiu nooqo
23. I saw a dog and a coyote together.
saTĭ'ĭ-noqo iẓa'a nĭ u-Ponne
dog-with coyote I him-see
24. Everybody went to fight the forest-fire.
qoso-no naqoya nooqo neim·ĭ
fire-with fight all people

Episode from the Coyote-Wolf Cycle.

193
● 539
773
1. *iẓa'a na PaBe'e ica'a noBe Tya'yu*
Coyote with elder Wolf camp had
brother (house)
Coyote lived with his elder brother Wolf.
2. *ha ĭ BaTsa'TaBĭ PaPa'Bau KĭDĭ*
? you kill very big ground-hog
"How do you manage to kill such big ground-hogs?"

iẓa'a a-TĭBin Tĭ-PaBe'e 3. *TciPi*
Coyote him-ask elder brother Rocks
Coyote ashed his brother. "(I call :) Rocks.
i-Tĭma'biK KĭDĭ i-Tĭma'biK
you + me-roll ground-hog me-roll
roll down on me" and ground-hogs roll down on me.

PaPa'Bau ʒi'ma ni q'oi' 4. *Pis u*
very-big only I kill He
I kill only the big ones". Coyote

mia'o iʒa'a 5. *ooPi i-Tima'biK*
depart Coyote rim-rocks me-roll
went to the rim-rocks "Rocks, roll down on me!"

6. *KiDi u-Tima'biK u-PaPa'Bau ʒi'ma*
ground-hogs him-roll him-very = big only
Ground-hogs rolled down on him and he killed

q'oi' 7. *qac ini na q'oi'*
kill not hard and kill
only a big one. "That's easy hunting".

8. *ni sHwana naPia' TiKa'-s* 9. *naPia'*
I wish here eat-and here
I might as well eat it right here". And he

TiKa' 10. *u-Kema'BaT usu' mia'*
eat he-move the go
ate it there. He oved to another place.

11. *ooPi i-Tima'biK KiDi u-Tima'biK*
rim-rocks me-roll ground-hogs him-roll
"Rocks, roll down on me." Ground-hogs rolled down on him.

12. *naPia' TiKa'* 13. *u-Kema'BaT usu'*
there at he-move he
He ate right there. He moved to another

mia' 14. *ooPi i-Tima'biK* 15. *ooPi*
go rim-rocks me-roll rim-rocks
place. "Rocks, roll down on me." Nothing but

yaic u-Tima'biK naTa'winai-c Kwasi' Taq'aa
only him-roll jump-and tail cut
rocks rolled on him this time. He was jumping around but his tail
was cut off.

Wadátkuht

Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men. 832

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, sinup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^{a} nu^{u} maiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return. 224 789

Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands. 223 789

Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov[1], of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier. 539 776

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

Wadatkuht

539 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob
told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would
776 give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack
said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon.
It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or
vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater
than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai,
"magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they
meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her
sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy,
had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about
Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common
name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy
said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them
on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an
[756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that
petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to
[881] themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in
any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect
to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was
the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that
Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains"
and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the
same time and seem to have had an equal status within the
group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times",
and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them
to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They
[692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within
the band. The situation of having other people work for them
[177] as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

Wadátkuht

Kitty said the Paiutes never fought the Maidu, but they did fight the Pit River people who were called Sai'^{t} numusi hu uhd, "People's insides hung up". They got this name because they killed and eviscerated some Paiute people at the Paiute village of ^{t}'Pog on Pyramid Lake. This village was at a spring on a hillside on the Simon ranch. The Pit River people wound the intestines of the slain Paiutes on the sagebrush. This fight took place about 1851 when the whites first began to come into this area. 648

The Pit River people also killed some Paiutes near Likely, Modoc County, at about the same time as the fight at Pyramid Lake. During various other fights, however the Paiutes were able to kill some Pit River people.

Kitty had never heard of fights between the Washo and the Paiutes. However, the Washo and the Maidu never could get along together, and often fought.

The informants gave several accounts of stealing women by the different groups. Pit River men returning from fishing trips, and on their way back to their own country would capture Maidu women. Dick Wright, a Wadátkuht, captured a Maidu woman, Ginny, and kept her for his wife. Joaquin's father's brother, Baba Kuhku^{a}, captured a Maidu woman for his wife. A small Paiute man named Wihibigo'gai^{yuh} had two wives. One of them was a Pit River woman he captured during a fight with the Pit River people at Likely around 1850.

Ike told a story about the capture of a Paiute woman (from a band he did not identify) by the Bannock. The man who stole her already had a Bannock wife and the Bannock treated the captured woman badly. The Paiute woman had a son by the Bannock man. 648 539

The Bannock man's mother took pity upon the Paiute woman and made her several pairs of moccasins and told her to steal away and return to her own people. One day when everyone else was away hunting, the mother-in-law gave the Paiute woman a big dog upon which she had tied packs of food for the trip of the woman and her boy back to her own home. The two were able to make good their escape. When the boy grew up he went back to the Bannock to steal horses and on one trip was captured; at that time he discovered his father. [492]

Ike also gave information concerning horse stealing by the Paiutes. The only Paiutes who had horses in the early 648 425

WadatKuht

524 Kitty, who was younger, would take advantage of the temporary absence of the other girls and destroy all of the toys. She also broke her sister's toy cradleboards and her beadwork. For doing this her sister would beat her up.

MYTHOLOGY

538 [821] Story telling was reserved for stormy days, therefore, presumably during the winter. To do otherwise would cause it to storm. Ike seemed to know many myths and enjoyed telling them, unfortunately in Paiute. When he was getting ready to tell some stories he would say "Na'isha dukwi", "Let's tell a lie". Despite the fact that it was not possible to obtain the myths as he told them the essence of several was gotten and is given below.

539 Why Dove Makes a Mournful Sound. A brother and a sister were the last people left in the world, and they were very attached to one another. The brother died and his sister was very sad. She told her distant relatives that she was going to turn into a dove. She mourned and became very thin. She finally turned into a dove (ihov^{i}) and is still mourning for her brother. She said that anyone who heard her would be lonely.

Why People Die. At one time Bald Mountain (Guha kaive) stood vertically, on end, on top of Diamond Mountain, and at the top of Bald Mountain there was a spring. One day Wolf and Coyote had a violent argument. Wolf wanted to continue to allow old people to climb up to the top of the mountain and bathe in the spring so that they could regain their youth. Coyote was of a contrary mind and thought that old people should die. During the argument Coyote got so angry that he kicked Bald Mountain and it toppled over into the valley below. The force of the fall flattened the mountain as it is today. The water from the spring splashed out forming Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, Eagle Lake and several other lakes in the region. Since then the old people cannot bathe in the spring and become young again.

Coyote Digs Potatoes. Young Coyote went out with a group of old women to help them dig Indian "potatoes". He straggled behind the women and urged them to stoop over to dig potatoes. They had heavy packs on their backs but he urged them to stoop over even further. Finally Coyote took advantage of the position in which the old women had put

WadátKuht

themselves and had intercourse with them. From this the old women bore coyote pups.

Coyote and His Frog Wife. Coyote was married to old Frog Woman who got more ugly as she grew older. Coyote was always good-looking so he "stepped out" on his wife. He told her that he was going to a dance with some other woman. Frog Woman let him go but she dressed up very prettily and went to the dance herself. Coyote did not recognize her as she had put on a mask and looked so pretty in her nice clothes. Coyote always kept an eye open for any pretty women so he was greatly attracted by this new woman. He danced with her all evening and told her how beautiful she was. Later on when Frog Woman took her mask off Coyote was very unhappy to find that he had been tricked.

Coyote and the Doe Deer. Coyote met a beautiful doe grazing in a meadow so he began to follow her and tried to get her to stop with him for awhile. She would not oblige but kept ahead of him until they reached the edge of the desert. Coyote then told the doe to come south with him, for if she were to continue she would soon be out in the desert without grass or water. Rather than go with Coyote the doe went on out into the desert. Even today if you see deer you will soon see a coyote following them.

Coyote and Mrs. Squirrel. Coyote saw Mrs. Squirrel out gathering nuts and asked her to come closer and "visit" with him, but she stayed out of his reach and continued to gather nuts. Finally when she had finished her gathering she ran up a tree. Coyote ran over to the tree and leaned up against the trunk with his forefeet and looked up the tree to see Mrs. Squirrel. He kept begging her to come down but she would not come to him. While he was looking up the trunk and talking Mrs. Squirrel ran down the back side of the tree trunk and walked up behind Coyote and smeared two hands full of pitch over his eyes.

Cottontail Tries to Catch the Sun. Cottontail tried to catch the sun by climbing through the notch in the Sierra called KukwaPta. (Plate 3-c). Each time he almost got through he was blown back by the wind which blows through this notch in the mountains. After many adventures and by playing tricks on Buzzard he was successful in climbing through the wind hole. (The details of this myth were not obtained as the interpreter forgot them when she tried to retell it.)

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+

N W A 591
N W A 684
586
N 548
N A 836

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2054. Speech taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2056. "Respect" required	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2058. Avoidance continues for life	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2060. Brother sister	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2061. Obscenity avoided	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+

N 606
N A 602

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 605 607

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2088. Orphans adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 597

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2094. Marriage to man	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2095. Lives with man	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2102. Does man's work	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2103. Has male organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2104. Marriage to woman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2106. Is shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 838
N W A [[illegible]2]
N [787]

[p. 405]

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [77] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N 591 2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N 586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439b]

Crushed sagebrush bark was used for padding, and a single rabbit skin or woven sagebrush bark served as a blanket. Great care was taken in the disposal of this first cradle; if it were burned or thrown away the baby might be harmed. It was either put in a tree "way off somewhere" or was saved until the child could walk, when it could be given away without danger. The specimen shown in plate 28 was purchased in lieu of being given away. Upon another occasion I tried to purchase such a cradle but without success, although the owner was quite willing to part with several later ones. 854

After the saki'-hu'p^{a}, a child had two successively larger cradles until he could sit up. Thereupon he was given a fourth cradle, and when he could walk, a fifth. Old cradles were thrown away, not saved for younger children, because "there were plenty of willows."

The attachment of the umbilical cord to the cradle has already been mentioned. Tinkling objects such as the "points" of deer hoofs were sometimes hung from the hood. The technical aspects of cradles are treated elsewhere.[281]

NAMES

Personal names are either meaningless or of the nickname variety, with the former in preponderance. The naming of a child was not the function of any particular relative, but the mother or the grandfather often decided upon a name. A child was not named until he began to walk and talk. "When a baby starts to talk and says a word not plainly enough, they give him that name. Or they name him for something he did when he was little." 551 ●

A sampling of names and their explanations is here given:

Ko'"sokwaib^{a} (Pindy)	He always used to whistle when he was little.
Si'gi-bai (Pindy's wife)	Cross-eyed.
Mawä'zat (Dick Ochiho)	When he was small he splashed his hand on the water.
Ha'dsi'-sagi (Billy Steve)	He choked on sage hen.
Ma'na"si (Daisy Brown)	This name doesn't mean anything. I just used to say that when we came back from gathering wild plums. I was glad to be back.

The following names are meaningless; they are "just names": Na'ni'gu, Nora Henderson's younger brother; Wi"güdai, Susie Burns; Tüsa'püca^{a}, Big Dick; Nada"müzü^{a}, Petty; Nu'ni', Mettie Petty; Sihwa'n^{i}, Joshua Brown; Mo'no'itsi^{i}, Charlie Washo; Tsü"nüs, Minnie Archie's mother; U'tcihu, Ochiho (former chief).

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[281] P. 132.

[766] times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much.
764 He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money." Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for
[428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog." If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

● [551] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

2 762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

551 According to Sarah Winnemucca the Paviotso named the majority of their girls after flowers, others after rocks; boys were designated according to some chance observation they made in infancy. If they particularly noted the flight of a bird or the passing of an animal or a sister's black eyes, they were named after the objects in question.[1] My Paviotso informant said that some but not all girls were named for flowers. Usually a child received a nickname, which developed into a permanent designation. Bob Carson, now called Oitc^{i}, Left-handed, was originally known as Nü'ʙanats, Snow-on-him, from nü'ʙaʙi, snow, and nats, boy. Later because he always wore clothes of canvas he was named Toxákus, from tohá, white, +?.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni parents or some of their friends gave names to children, sometimes according to what the children do when old enough to laugh. These real names are not altered in later life, but nicknames may be acquired and used so constantly that those ignorant of the circumstances mistake them for the real names. Wilson was called the Crier because he once mimicked some crying women and children.[2] There is no objection to mentioning deceased persons, but a distinctive suffix, *hap*, meaning "the late" is appended, e.g., Tíndoi-hap. Carrot-leaf, Drowning, Elk-twins, are illustrations of women's names. The Wind River Shoshoni do not like to tell their names; a man rarely does so—more readily if alone than in the presence of other tribesmen.—a woman never. If other Shoshoni are present, one of them may, however, pronounce his name. This reticence with regard to one's own name is found also among the Lemhi, and though I can find no specific note for the other groups mentioned above I think it is probably a deep-rooted and widespread Shoshonean feature.

MENSTRUATION.

According to a Moapa Paiute, his tribe never had a menstrual lodge, but the Shivwits say that during the period of illness a woman would sleep some distance from her husband. At the first menses a Shivwits girl would abstain from eating meat for a whole month because it had a disagreeable odor for one in this condition. However, this rule is no longer maintained. On later occasions the women merely abstained during the menstrual period.

The Southern Ute had very definite rules. A girl would announce her first menses to her mother, who then led her out and made her run

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[1] Hopkins, 46 f.
[2] Wilson, 27

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

K
101 to the fact that he did not visit Sprague River (ibid., p. 13). His state-
114 ments on possible aboriginal Klamath settlements on Sprague River are
131 uncertain; he locates, but does not map, hicdiclucluke as a Klamath settlement on middle Sprague River "west of Gearhart mountain" (idem, also p. 16 and fig. 3), and also says that "...there were settlements of some sort on the [Sprague] river near Yainax before the coming of the Whites" (ibid., pp. 14-15) — yet elsewhere he states "...I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague River as Yainax in pre-Reservation times" (ibid., p. 23).

Philleo Nash, whose ethnographic field work among the Klamath post-dates Spier's, recognized the existence of an aboriginal upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group, largely on the examination of Klamath Agency unpublished letters and reports. Nash, however, does not document the existence of this group in his single publication on the Klamath, nor does he describe the group in any detail (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1 and pp. 386, 403).

N
551 7. Panaiña is Gatschet's transcription of the Klamath name for this war leader (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 29); no Northern Paiute transcription is known to me. Paulina is the spelling generally used for the several geographic features in Oregon named for this leader (McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, pp. 410-411).

8. No Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs or representatives
114 thereof actually visited the various groups of Northern Paiutes of south-
648 central Oregon until late in 1868, when J. W. Perit Huntingon made his long-delayed trip from Salem, Ore., via Warm Springs and Klamath agencies to Yainax and camps Warner and Harney, etc. (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868).

Fifteen years earlier, in June, 1853, Joel Palmer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, had sent Indian Agent Joseph W. Garrison, with presents of trade goods, on a special mission to interview and collect information about the Indians of "Middle Oregon" (RCIA 1853 [CDS #690] pp. 447-448, 451-452; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-112. Palmer to Garrison, Dayton, O. T., June 22, 1853). This expedition was a failure; Garrison returned home in eighteen days, having been told the Cascades were impassible because of heavy snow (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-122. Palmer to Manypenny, Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Aug. 4, 1853). A year later, in 1854, Superintendent Palmer appointed one Nathan Olney of Dalles, Ore., as Special Indian Agent for central Oregon (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dallas, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854) and in 1855 ordered Olney to visit the Indians of central Oregon east of Klamath Lake and to make a full report on them, since "no agent of the

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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103. Court of Claims E-344, p. 670.

N 115 551

104. Grandson of Winnemucca, the well-known Northern Paiute leader; age ca. 70 years in 1951; born thirty miles north of McDermitt, Nev., and living, in 1951, on the Summit Lake, Nevada, Indian Reservation.

K 101 551 [701] [622] K [103]

105. "Chiliquin" is now used locally by Indians and Whites for Klamath-speaking Indians living in the Williamson-Sprague River area (information from Mrs. Charlotte Roberts, Eugene, Ore., March, 1955). Chiloquin was a Klamath war leader who lived on Sprague River and whose name is second in the list of Klamath signers of the October, 1864 treaty as "Chili-que-nas" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). He evidently had connections with the Sprague River Klamath group; Dick Brown, Motcunka'sket's son, testified in 1926 that his father was "head chief of the Bly [Klamath]," that Le-lu (another treaty-signer) was Motchunka's-ket's "chief sub-chief," and that Chiloquin was his "next sub-chief" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129, also p. 952). The present town of Chiloquin on lower Sprague River is named for this leader, but his home was farther up Sprague River (Court of Claims E-344, p. 767; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 113).

106. Reno Transcript, pp. 68-69.

N 103

107. Elliott, Journals, vol. 11, pp. 218-220. The Warner Lakes are southeast of the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region. We identify "Salt Lake" as Abert Lake because Salt Lake is the name used for Abert Lake by John Work, Ogden's successor, in Work's journal of his 1832 expedition (Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 11).

108. Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 10.

109. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

110. Ibid., p. 11.

111. Ibid., p. 12.

K /103 137 222

112. Chewaucan Marsh takes its name from Klamath tchua, wild potato, plus keni, meaning locality or place. The wild potato is generally known in Oregon and Washington as the wapato, arrowhead or sagittaria (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 112). Possibly it was this the Indians had been digging.

113. Frémont, Report, pp. 208-209.

114. Ibid., p. 209.

115. Ibid., p. 212.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty—that of August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-zhe, Che-em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142] 648 [622] [551]

The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties—the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145] [621] [131]

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> vation with Moshunkosket's people having been left there by the capturing parties of soldiers and Klamath Indians. These women and children are those who belong to the prisoners at the Fort.

Applegate attributed the Army's success to "the war [against the Snakes] farther North," which probably drove them to take refuge in the Summer-Silver lakes-upper Sprague River country.[204]

N 648 726

In the meantime, little is heard of Panai'na after he left the Reservation. On Aug. 10, 1866 Capt. Walker[205] with a party of infantry pursued Panai'na "and a large band of warriors. They attacked them, but were driven back, Captain Walker having had a horse killed under him in the fight."[206] Some time in October, as we have already noted, Lts. Oatman and Small, of Ft. Klamath, engaged Indians near Lake Abert; possibly Panai'na was among them.[207]

N 648 166 [551]

By October, 1866, sixty "Snakes proper–16 men and 44 women and children" had been captured and brought onto Klamath Reservation. Among these were Shas'-took, We-ah'-shau, Ske'-zhe, Sah-too-too'-we and Now-weep-a-cow'-ich, all signers of the 1865 Walpapi treaty, as well as Enkail'toak and Wail-a'-cho-ak. These two last-named, with Shastook, met Indian Sub-agent Lindsay Applegate at Klamath Agency for a talk on Oct. 3, and promised that all sixty Snakes would immediately move down from Sprague River Valley to Council Grove, near the Agency, where Applegate and the Army could keep watch on them. Applegate assured them that if they did as told, and remained faithful "they might yet receive the benefits of the [1865] treaty now ratified and made good." Although he does not specifically refer at this time to these captives as "Walpapi Snakes" he clearly (and with reason) accepted them as such.

N K 648 N 166

True to form, the Walpapi quickly did the unexpected. The night of their talk with Applegate,

> the head men eluding the vigilance of Moshunkosket and his men[208] escaped to Sprague River Valley, and in the absence of that chief and his men, took two of his

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-
648 pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. In-
622 deed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name
103 are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and
551 Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes,"
131 as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Des-
101 chutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habita-
tions, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and o-
bliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

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191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatcháktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'na's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'na] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'na in 1865. N 361 131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

N 551 200. "Giltewa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a N [224] Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baer" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

K 648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'skEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. N K [101] OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'skEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable.

202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

N 648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N K 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

649 208. Motcunka'skEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above. 800

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to McKay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account). [114]

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatchâktchaksh; see fn. 193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tcháktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatchâktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties. 114 648

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tcháktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below). 551 622 621

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

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then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above. N 648 [103]

225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's avoidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group. K [648 101]

229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had probably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223. N [551 649] ●

230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19. N [103]

At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was considered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had K 361 N K 226 plegate to A. B. Meacham, Klamath Agency, Oct. 18, 1870). In 1871 Tcháktot was sent with Dr. William C. McKay, Klamath Agency physician, by Meacham's order, "to collect Snake Captives now with Indian tribes in Eastern Oregon;" about twenty miles from the Umatilla Council Ground, so McKay wrote to Ivan D. Applegate, "Old Choctoot, Skaidot and the Young Man gave me the slip ... they must have taken a straight shoot across the Blue Mountains and into the Silver Lake Region... Little Bob told Donald McKay, that... he herd Choctoot telling the other two that he was not going to attend the Umatilla Council, as he was afraid to meet old We-Yawewa and his band: also many other Indian's bands who are to assemble there... they went off well rigged each on a Govt. mule saddle, blankets bridles, and well cloathed." Evidently the deserters returned to Sprague River Valley, because at the end of October Ivan D. Applegate reported to Meacham that "Chock-toosh," and "Skidat" were at Yainax, "doing all they can in forwarding operations" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yainax, Ore., July 31, 1871; Official Letters Received, W. C. McKay to I. D. Applegate, Salem, Ore., Aug. 28, 1871; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871. In April, 1872, Ivan Applegate notes the presence of "Chief Chock-toot and Kilo-to-ik at Yainax (see fn. 239). In 1873, as already mentioned, three men of Tcháktot's band were killed at Summer Lake, and Tcháktot went with Dyar to Summer Lake to investigate. On July 25 six of his Indians visited Camp Warner (see fn. 235a; WD. DC. 1726-DC-1873. A. Josslyn to A.A. General, DC. Camp Warner, Ore., July 25, 1873). 648

238. Possibly synonymous with Lindsay Applegate's "En-kal'to-ak" or "En-kal'to-ik"? Ivan Applegate's "Kilo-to-ik" is not noted as being the "Kile-to-ak" who in 1864 signed the Klamath treaty as a Yahooskin Snake; it seems dubious that he was. [551]●

239. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to T. B. Odeneal, Yainax, Ore., April 30, 1872.

240. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC. 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A.G., DC, Camp Warner, Ore., Nov. 23, 1869.

241. RCIA 1872 (CDS #1560) pp. 781-782.

242. NA. Record Group No. 98. U. S. Army Commands. DP. Elmer Otis to A.A.G., Camp Harney, Ore., April 15, 1872.

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants claimed that masturbation did not exist.[4]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little. When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels. In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often taking their younger siblings.

DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead are never mentioned.

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[4] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

159 (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, appears to quote Sarah as stating her father was then about eighty years old. Sarah Winnemucca (1882, p. 252) states that both she and her father were born at the Sink of the Humboldt River (i.e., Humboldt Lake).

[151] The name Winnemucca has been given a variety of meanings. The Pacific Tourist (Williams, 1876, p. 191) says the word means "chief"; DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it means "charitable man." In 1931 Skinny Dave, whose mother was Sis Winnemucca (a daughter of Truckee John or *Wa-hee Winnemucca*, who was the brother of Chief Winnemucca)[2] and whose father was *Numana* [304] (Captain Dave), told me that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Mubetawaka*, "man with hole in his nose," the name coming from the pierced nasal septum in which he wore a stick or bone about 4 inches long. This nose-pin can be seen in Plate 1, *right*. Thompson and West (1881, p. 151) say that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Po-i-to*.

[177] The feather headdress which Winnemucca wears in Plate 1, *right*, is not an aboriginal Nevada form, but is clearly recognizable as a ceremonial headgear of the sort used by Central California Indians north of San Francisco Bay in a ritual called the *KUKSU* cult. Since he is known to have been in California, it may be presumed that Winnemucca secured this bit of ceremonial finery from across the Sierras.

The Winnemucca we have been speaking about, and who is shown on Plate 1, is often referred to as Chief Winnemucca or Old Winnemucca to distinguish him from his nephew *Numaga* or Young Winnemucca (DeQuille, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Young Winnemucca's picture is shown by Thompson and West (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 144), but they erroneously state (*ibid.*, p. 151) that he was not related to Old Winnemucca. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 60) correctly refers to Young Winnemucca as her cousin.

The death of Winnemucca rated some notice in the press, and the San Francisco Call of October 15, 1882 carried the story of his last illness. Winnemucca died at Coppersmith Station on October 21, 1882, and attributed his illness to having been bewitched by his young wife. Either on the night of his death or a few days afterward (the accounts are not in agreement on this point), the young wife and her three-year-old child were stoned to death as punishment for causing her husband's death. This incident, with the newspaper accounts quoted in full, has been presented elsewhere in publication (Heizer, 1955).

PLATE 2

Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah, whose father was Old Winnemucca and whose mother was a daughter of Captain Truckee, in some way acquired a fair education. She and her father correctly saw that the only hope for the Indians' survival lay in cooperation and submission rather than in war, and that only an informed public could help the Indians by bringing pressure upon the Department of the Interior to appoint honest Indian agents. Sarah's life is one of extraordinary interest, and is too lengthy and complex to be sketched here. In her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, she indicates her birth at about 1844, although a few years earlier she gave information appearing in the Virginia Enterprise (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, that she was then about thirty-one years of age, which would make her birth year 1848. She states in her book (*ibid.*, p. 70) that she was taken to San Jose, California, in 1860 to school, but stayed only three weeks because of objections raised by parents of Caucasian children also attending. The Virginia Enterprise (Jan. 14, 1879) says that she and two of her sisters (Mary and Emma, probably) stayed seven years in a "select school" in San Jose. She was married at least three times to white men; first to a man named Snyder who died on his way to Germany on a visit, next (in 1876) to a Lt. Bartlett, USA, with whom she lived only a short time, and then to a man named Hopkins whose name she still used when she published her book in 1883. Her Indian name is variously given; De Quille

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[2] The death of Chief Winnemucca's brother, Wa-hee Winnemucca, also known as Truckee John, occurred in 1859 at the hand of Augustus Moore, who shot Wa-hee for stealing a valuable mare which he owned and kept on his ranch in Truckee Meadows (Moore, 1878, pp. 15–19).

✓ Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

361 [177] Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites.

[182] The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained.

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. [312] It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd^{a} ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. [551] He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death.

[525] The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). [172] These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. [224] The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with

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When anyone died his "camp" (house) was burned.

764 Personal Names. Men's and boys' names included the following: Sagwúda, "Porcupine"; Muhu'^{k} dosa, from muhu'^{a}, "owl", and dosa, which had no meaning, but was an ending a little boy put on the word for owl to name himself; Pongádz, "Mouse", because he looked like a mouse when he was a boy; 551 Wádanatzi, a Paiute name for a Pit River (Atsuge) shaman which may have had reference to wada (Suaeda depressa) and nátzi, "boy"; Baba kuhku^{a}, "Big Feet"; Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}, "Feces to Wipe"; Idzákad, "Loose"; Kwidu'^{u}, so-named because he constantly broke wind; Wõhudi'^{i}, "To Carve"; Matad^{u}, "Crawler"; Wawa'^{a} bob, "Stranger Bob"; Tupaskima skia, "Mouth Crooked"; Tabök, "Cottontail"; Kubuts, to grind one's teeth; Nana'^{a}, "Younger"; Baba'yu dzim, "Big Jim"; Numunana, "Indian Man"; Tusį^{yu}naná', "Little Man"; Kasi no uhd^{a}, "Train Haul"; Nunú'kai, possibly from nunu', "snake", and kai, "no".

Women's and girls' names included the following: Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl"; Nunu' biawuhb^{i}, "Snake Old Lady"; Kwidapino'^{ya}, "Feces Carrier"; Kaiyaguht, "Never Cry"; Ptaitnat^{yu}, "Thin"; Atsábona', "Woodpecker Old Lady"; Tunuhpiuts, "Nighthawk"; Soiyeza biawuhb^{i}, "Soldier Old Lady"; Babayu sait', "Big Pit River"; Bababui, "Big Eyes"; Udōyu biawuhb^{i}, "Tall Old Lady"; Kwiduk^{w}ti'^{i}, "Excrement Shoot"; Ṫsí tsi, ("Sissie"?) she was called this because she was about ten years old before she stopped nursing; Wukwits'^{i}, "Throw", so-named because this fat woman had considerable movement in her posterior as she walked; Muíd^{i}, from muhibi, "fly" (insect).

Some personal names, as demonstrated in the above lists, tended to be derived from physical traits, while others stemmed from some episode in the individual's life. Others were obviously meant to convey the humor of some action or situation. The informants also gave a number of names for which they had no translation.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

821 The sun was of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht and his religious expression, since it was common to find instances in which the individual in times of stress prayed directly to the sun for aid. Repentance of guilt might be
[782] made in prayers to the sun. Guilt feelings in an individual
[626] appeared often to be associated with strong social pressure for the person to "repent" and admit his "guilt". It is

231 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A
224 good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."

● [552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated.
492 The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago"o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^{a}; koso', fire; yakwi'n^{a}, hold in the hand ?)) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

Wadátkuht

more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 2.31 [177]

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone. [262] [825]

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Ki maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English. [552]

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people. 500

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated. 843

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults. 845

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?). 826 [189]

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was 854 826

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba*, sorcery power. All of these are thought
to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who
have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are
thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment
for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The
doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ba*, are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit
helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect
a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their
power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very
common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to
attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [534
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224]
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men
went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot [554]
resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand,
get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for
guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type
of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure
within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869]
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned
him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father
had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and
uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and
his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect
that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that
Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore,
his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him
that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the
child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

578 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the
758 father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with
157 whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with
her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known
to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband
deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated
[684] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a
very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No
one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith
married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she
left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded
him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married
to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few
months.

[554] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[8]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife
with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men
of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came
back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie
759 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and
157 was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen,
[754] Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

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[8] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

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> shaman asked for beads, skins, or flint when he brought the wind, he 756
> would spoil his power. He would lose his power if he did not obey his
> spirit. (Joe Green)

Some shamans, but not all, are able to foretell the future. Ap- 787
parently even among those who are supposed to have the ability 756
to predict future events the power is not frequently exercised. One shaman is reported to have foreseen the coming of the whites, and others have foreseen several serious epidemics.

Sarah Winnemucca mentions the shamans' gift of prophecy. She describes a dream of her father's in which the killing of the Indians by the whites was predicted.[19] Although Sarah does not specifically make a statement about her father's power, there is evidence both in her account and from my field notes that he was a shaman. On still another occasion, future events were revealed to Sarah's brother in a dream. When he awoke from the dream, the people were called together and the prophecy was related.[20]

All informants denied that shamans exercise their clairvoyant 726
powers either on the warpath or on the eve of the departure of 787
the war-party. In fact, aside from their rôles in treating the 756
wounded and fighting shoulder to shoulder with other men,
shamans have no outstanding position in battle or the preparations
that precede it. On these occasions, the shaman's position is defi- [554]
nitely subordinate to that of the war-leader or chief. This official may, however, owe his position to the possession of supernatural power which makes him invulnerable, hence a daring and fearless fighter, the qualifications for the leader of a war party. In Sarah Winnemucca's account there is a suggestion, not borne out by the above, that shamans previsioned the outcome of battles. At least her father on one occasion and her brother on another foretold from dream experiences the outcome of impending conflicts with the whites.[21]

In all these clairvoyant revelations, only harmful events such 787
as sickness, warfare, and death are predicted. There is no indica- 756
tion that successful undertakings or happy events are previsioned. This characteristic of Paviotso clairvoyance may be related to

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[19] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 14–15.

[20] Ibid., 80.

[21] Ibid., 14, 80.

stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the 756
past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also 622
possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, [668]
was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was re- 756
sponsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence 622
of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with 178
the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of 756
Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and 554 ●
accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, [424]
the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner.
It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization
or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman
acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 157 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual
[525] gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive
resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Largely because of this popu- 756
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [457]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear, the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

N W 276 578 *795

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote." The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

N W [784] [832]

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

N W 182 ● 554 *795

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

N W 182 435 511 *795

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from \$2.50 to \$5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

N W 182 493 *795 [434]

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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177 compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near
182 the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it
*795 was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

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*795 As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of

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[124] Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Coleville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III,[1] show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[20]

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*795 Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

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[20] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 123-Au.]

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white N 177
culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the
Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. 178
It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as 619
Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from 621
aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance
of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets N
(Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tend- 177
ency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The
first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they in- 62
troduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the ac- 554
ceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the
peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in
postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, W
however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communi- 177
cation with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particu- 554
lar status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to 622
believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo
tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt
to introduce new ideas through such men.

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among W
the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although 177
there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to 178
deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock
mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and N W
post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time 105
of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner.
It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization
or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman
acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual
[525] gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive
resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Largely because of this popu-
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store 556
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an [437]
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear, the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

668 792 preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e.,
[787] they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals. Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because
[756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for their curative abilities.

668 The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to recon-
792 struct on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests,
756 however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in
[622] fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an impor-
[622] tant and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief
[556] and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a 756
wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not [556]
relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In
short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to
gain marked economic privileges.

SUMMARY

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is 755
the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public
participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional
crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely
lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire cere- [790]
monial life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of or- 756
ganization, Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several
features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in ac-
quiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt
acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all [754]
shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indi-
cate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be re-
garded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in
emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity
of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel com-
binations of practices found widely over western North America, [171]
the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are
unique.

Wadátkuht

762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her. As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to drink some cream and saved her life. ●[557]

561 192 Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded: baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi; young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman, biawuhb.

838 Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment, however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white standards. [177]

648 [754] Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however, and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean". Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one) in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

SOCIAL ASPECTS

KINSHIP AND STATUS TERMS

Except for orthographic differences, the kinship terms recorded agree substantially with the Paviotso lists published by Kroeber[189] and Lowie.[190] Consequently it will not be necessary to reproduce the series complete, but one or two additions may be noted. As Lowie suggests, the initial i proves to be the pronoun of the first person. The term, hai^{n} (hai', hĕ'^{n}), may be extended to include father's sister's husband as well as father's brother, stepfather, and mother's sister's husband; and the term, bi"du (pidu'u; piru"^{a}), to include mother's brother's wife as well as mother's sister and stepmother. Similarly, the term, hu"za (huza; hŭ'za, h^{u}ja), may be enlarged to include wife's sister's child. 601

Lowie seems to be in error in applying igŭ'ma (gu'ma') not only to husband but to sister's husband as well. According to my informants, sister's husband (m.s.) is a'da'toi and (w.s.), nŭna'i^{i}, corresponding to Lowie's ara'doi and (i)nine^{n}, respectively. While speaking of errors it may be noted that de Angulo,[191] who has published an incomplete kinship terminology, reverses the terms for husband and wife.

Status terms were recorded as follows: 561 ●

oha'^{a}; also, dăha'ai^{i}; infant or small child of either sex
nats^{e}; boy (3 to 12)
tsü'ü^{ü}; girl (3 to 12)
nama'dagai^{i}; adolescent youth; menstruating girl or woman
tui'pitsi^{i}; unmarried youth
süa'düm; unmarried girl
budü'ñawa; young persons, married or unmarried
oha'^{u}ka; newly married; a recent term used in jest
na'na; man
mogo'tsi; woman
dü'ba's; sterile person of either sex; berdache[192]
kohi'ad; pregnant woman
badi'kayu; man or woman with small daughter
du'a'kuyu; man or woman with small son (this and preceding term determined by the sex of the last born child)
nana'niadü; middle-aged man

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[189] California Kinship Systems, 358–365
[190] SE, 289–290; Bannock Kinship, 297.
[191] P. 330.
[192] Lowie, SE, 283, records the same term plus the word for man, woman.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

1 561 na'ukwai-mogo'tni; middle-aged woman
wa'i'tsi; old man
piũ'wab^i; old woman
mua'tüpü; old person of either sex

[838] A berdache and a sterile individual were called by the same term. Minnie Anderson had never heard of the former; she said "it would be bad luck for a man to wear women's clothing." Piudy knew of a woman who acted like a man; "she killed deer and stayed with the men all the time." Hermaphrodites affected the clothing of the opposite sex; they were never shamans and never tried to marry. No cure was known; "the Klamath could cure them but not we."

BIRTH

1-1 844 Birth took place in a special house (huni'-no'bi)[193] of tules or grass. It was built by women, presumably relatives or friends of the principal, and was situated north of the dwelling.

A woman in labor was assisted by three or four women including her mother. Certain individuals may possibly have been recognized as midwives. This was denied by one informant,[194] but "a woman who knows about such things" figures occasionally and for convenience she is referred to as the midwife. Assistants at birth might be paid, but there was evidently no feeling of compulsion. If a person had a deer hide the assistants might be given moccasins; "this was big pay."

The parturient kneeled, clinging to a post erected in front of her. The midwife supported her from behind, pressing downward on the abdomen. The child was received into a small hole previously dug and filled with grass and sagebrush bark. The umbilical cord was cut about an inch from the body, doubled back on itself, and tied with sinew. This operation was performed by the midwife, who used an obsidian knife. The cord was wrapped in rabbit or other skin and attached to the cradle beneath the child's head. One informant stated that it was tied to one side of the awning, but this doubtless refers to [846] later cradles. When the child began to walk, the cord was hidden in a hill of the red ant. If the cord were lost the child would "scratch around looking for it" and would never be able to do things well.[195] If the child died the cord (asi') was buried with it. The placenta

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[193] The menstrual hut is similarly named. I could not determine if they were one and the same or if they were two separate structures.

[194] "Everybody knows about babies" (NH).

[195] A similar belief is held by the Walapai. For further comparative material see Spier, Havasupai, 521.

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183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her
593 husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were
574 assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only
619 recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu·pavi'ᵘ) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikadᵃ at the time of the white advent
173 and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ᵘka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

592 [462] and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 [462] Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they collected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 562 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days, except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 593 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for economic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 861 867 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for being aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

756 776 tion with them. Supernatural spirits never appear to, nor are they ever heard by, anyone but those upon whom they bestow power.

Acquiring Shamanistic Power

756 Both men and women acquire and exercise shamanistic power. A shaman of either sex is a puhágəm. The power possessed by either a man or a woman is likewise known by a single term, puhá. The ratio of male to female shamans, as well as the proportion of practitioners to the total population, no doubt varied considerably from generation to generation. There are at present at Pyramid Lake, in a total population of nearly five hundred, eight shamans. Three of these are women. On the Walker River Reservation, where the population is about the same, there are seven shamans, five of them women, one of whom is a Shoshoni. In past generations, female shamans do not seem to have ever outnumbered the men.

756 162 562 In an attempt to arrive at some idea of the total number of shamans and the ratio of men to women practitioners, I asked informants to name all who could be remembered as possessing power for curing purposes. The results at best are only approximate, but some conception of the frequency with which men and women become shamans is suggested. At Walker River several people, after a lengthy discussion among themselves, were able to name twenty shamans who were living about 1900. Of these, five were women. Three of the men were said to have been much more powerful shamans than the others. No doubt the population was somewhat greater at that time than at present, but figures are not available. Joe Green was able to name nineteen shamans living at Pyramid Lake about forty years ago. Of this number, two were women. At that time the population on this reservation was nearly seven hundred.

All informants were certain that in former years the number of shamans was considerably greater than it is today. Consequently, these estimates may serve only as a clue to the proportion of shamans, perhaps in the order of twenty to seven hundred people, at the same time giving a rough idea of how many of the shamans were women. Obviously, these ratios must have shifted from decade to decade.

In theory, female shamans may become as powerful as the male 756
doctors. In practice, however, it appears that all the outstand- 562
ing practitioners are, and have been, men. On the other hand, female shamans are highly respected and are on an equal footing with their male colleagues; some may even have stronger powers than the less prominent male shamans. Moreover, according to several informants, women can acquire powers which are used, as with men, for purposes other than curing.

> Women who have power are as strong as men shamans. One time there was a woman who had a power that protected her against bullets.
> When the Indians were fighting the soldiers, she rode out in front of [789
> them to attract their attention while the women and children got away. 726]
> The soldiers shot at her but their bullets did not hurt her. She had the same power as men shamans. (Joe Green)

Apparently berdaches never became shamans. The several 756
transvestites who are remembered by people living today were 838
certainly not shamans. Lowie recorded only one case of sex-reversal among the Pyramid Lake Paviotso. This occurred some twenty years before his visit, and apparently shamanistic powers were not ascribed to the individual.[5] Sarah Winnemucca mentions the case of one cowardly warrior who was forced to don women's clothing and perform tasks allotted to that sex, but there is no reference to the possession of power.[6] This as well as the evidence in my own notes suggests that berdaches were of relatively infrequent occurrence and of slight importance. Certainly, they became shamans rarely, if ever, and clearly never as the result of their condition.

Acquiring shamanistic power, and later the exercise of power, 756
is an individual affair. This is true both for the power derived from unsolicited dreams and from the voluntary quest. Power is never acquired by people in groups or at public performances, but is the result of private personal experiences.

The acquisition of power involves more than the development of a personal relationship with a particular spirit. When shamanistic power is conferred, the candidate not only secures a spirit helper but also acquires those special abilities or capacities neces-

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[5] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 283.

[6] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 70.

N
W

171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
● 562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice
never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full partici-
[841] pation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

N
W La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

N The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
W elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben,
171 admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
177 have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meet-
*795 ing too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
N during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part
W of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs
[533] they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534] to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
[237] prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual
because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam.
[755] Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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276 755 *795 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

N W 782 Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

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The Peyote Ceremony

*795 796 [346] [782] Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[778] [276] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

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LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[*]

N 101 The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[*] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N 563 *795 A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

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FIELD METHODS

114 Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances 000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[*] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[*] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

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columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

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TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

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gories, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For N
example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were W
prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent 162
were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; 795*
and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 3.8 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in [273]
this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

TABLE 5

Other Peyotist Communities

(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes		Total
						(W)	(P)	
Total population	128	359	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6

Totals of All Peyotist Communities

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

liquor than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the [563]
rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed.

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received from more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

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The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

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Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

Northern Paiute NR13

History and Ecology

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It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white 648
man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a
rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids N
were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The [563]
reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent
history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups,
particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that N
these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared W
by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic [182]
ties.

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much N W
of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at 136
one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such 182
distribution.

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to N
their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of W
bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah 114
(Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. 136
However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems 174
to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the
first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada. 182

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Chiefs (vohenavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinanömö)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamovoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2160. For hunting generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2161. For pine-nut trip	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2162. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	•-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2167. Band owned fishing streams	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2169. Family owned seed plots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	•-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•-	•+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2177. Captives	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	+	•+	-	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Domed willow house	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	·	-	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	•+	·	•+	+	•-	•-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
2181a. 30 ("month")	·	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	·	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 571

N W A 622
W A [824]

N W A 621
423

N W A 721
W A 727

N A 778
832
N W A 844

[p.407]

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W does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the
177 aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other
*795 distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster.
His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction
and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

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REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

182 Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[illegible] its effect on the
group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh
● 571 of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions,
578 accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent
*795 opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his
son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John
a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with
their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her
disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members
N remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition
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[648] to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[illegible]
In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much
longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for
peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out."
Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all
meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the
summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most
communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with
N community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[illegible]

W An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in
182 witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of
754 the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or
*795 removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing
trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

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[illegible] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[illegible] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[illegible] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness 182
sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their 795*
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, N
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing W
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing
that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote
religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists,
attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct W
specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas. A danger in such [683]
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety. N

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise
several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely N W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, 571
peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment 795*
of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new
settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows
would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not
friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing
the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—
acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious
meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by
peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time. N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [191]
prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult. This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street.[illegible]

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[illegible] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

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As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

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Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[illegible] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[illegible] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar.[illegible]

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Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

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When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

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[illegible] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[illegible] See Appendix III for statistics.

[illegible] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[illegible] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[illegible] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben 182
is "robbing the Indians."

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A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle 795*
and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months
of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecu- [434]
tive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the N
cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[illegible] Two who temporarily joined the W
peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, [578]
the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist
a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is sug-
gested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism. N

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were W
also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[illegible] Just as 182
real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction 571
of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An ex-
amination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk 602
in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be 795*
apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly de-
termines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and
meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd
rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire N
for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[illegible] W

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, 182
wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or 795*
two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to
cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they
are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame
peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote
is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is
not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true
purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is
a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt
their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as
much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what
to believe. N

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

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Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly 177
or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural 795*
compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

Northern Paiute NR13

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute
22 were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The
[177] small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than
161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq.
132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim-
161 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that
22 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the max-
182 imum food supply.

224 I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects
[226] of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two
[222] species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years.
[476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be-
[571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the ap-
22 pearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi'^{i}) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikad^{e} at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'^{w}ka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [646
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles- 577] ●
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [583]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[7] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[7] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[a] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which
[574 Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite sud-
[753 denly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent
761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case
[755] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[a] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

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795 with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their
796 places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who
276 missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

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[264] [574] ● Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

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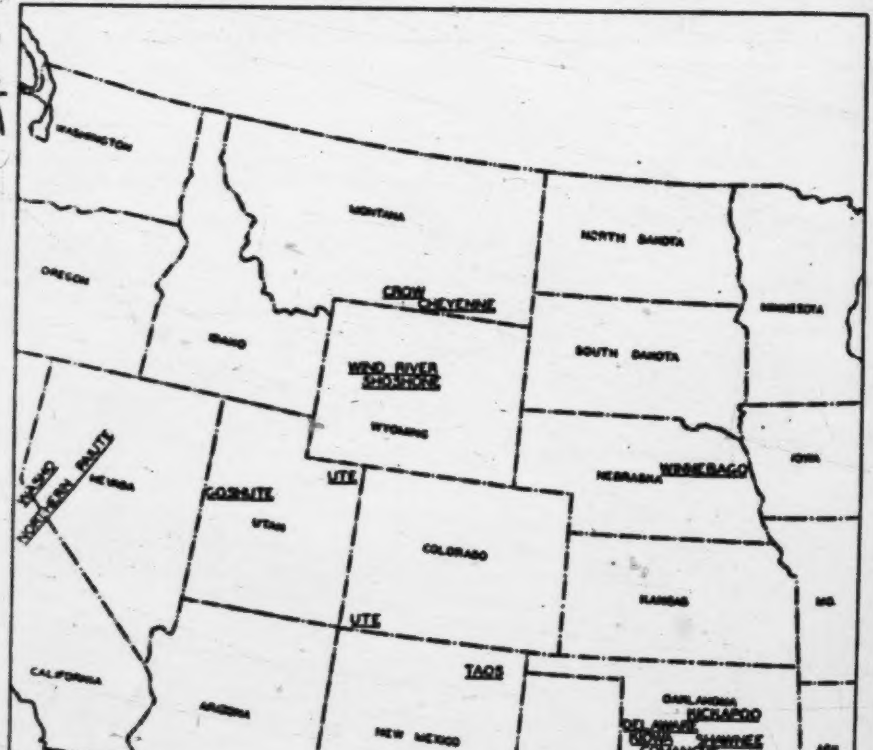
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
CROW
CHEYENNE
WIND RIVER SHOSHONE
WYOMING
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
NEVADA
GOSHUTE
UTE
UTAH
COLORADO
NEBRASKA
WINNEBAGO
IOWA
KANSAS
MO.
CALIFORNIA
UTE
TAOS
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
KICKAPOO
DELAWARE
KIOWA
SHAWNEE
COMANCHE
KIOWA-APACHE
ARK.
TEXAS
LA

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

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WadátKuht

same ones who went with her each day.

Before Kitty's ceremony was completed, however, the 881
family moved over to the village of Matá because the haying
was finished at Will Dill's ranch. At Matá Kitty's aunt
built a fire up the creek above the village and Kitty ran up
there and jumped over the fire twice. Her aunt then took her
and bathed her in a big tub and gave her a lecture on not
being lazy, and on being good. At this time Kitty's family
left a lot of new clothes, blankets, shoes, handkerchiefs...
"a whole new outfit"...to pay for the time and effort Kitty's
aunt had spent on the ceremony. While being bathed Kitty
was scrubbed with sagebrush, sawubi. She and her aunt re-
turned to camp together after Beowuhbi had packed up all of
her presents. When they got back to camp there was a big [574]
feast, and Joaquin gave presents to all assembled, which
included Washo, Maidu and Pit River people as well as the [431]
Paiutes. In fact, the man who sang for Kitty's puberty
ceremony was a Pit River man by the name of Katkat.

Gladys also went through the puberty ceremony at the onset of menses. During the ceremony she was attended by girls who had been through the ceremony as well as by some who had not yet reached puberty.

On the first day of her menses Gladys moved out of the house with her bedding as she was considered unclean. Her mother went with her. She was not allowed to eat or drink out of any utensil which might be used by anyone else, she had to wear old clothes, keep away from people, and got very little to eat or drink. She did get some soda crackers, however, because that was about all they had on hand at that time which she was allowed to eat. The family was camped at the De Witt ranch near Wendel at this time.

On the second day, the family was in Susanville and
Kitty, with Gladys, went to see Big Rosie George, a Maidu
woman, who was related to Gladys' father, who was a Maidu. [797]
Other people were notified that a ceremony was to be held
and they all went up to where the Indian Mission now stands
at Indian Heights (in Susanville) to look over the dance
ground. People prepared abalone shell pendants, deer hoof [574]
rattles and other things necessary for the ceremony. There
was a "pot luck" dinner in the evening of the first and second [535]
nights at the dance grounds. The dinner was followed by
dancing. As for food, Gladys was not supposed to get anything
to eat but someone sneaked her a slice of white bread.

Wadátkuht

that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem 881
that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologi-
cally for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of [413]
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eli- 881
gible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening. [574]

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in 165
camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and 177
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{a}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medi- 757
cinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi^{a}) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidū'tikad^{a} at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'^{e}ka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then the patient is all right. 752 755

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. 756 465 753 688

> About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to give back the fee. 579

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power. 755 753

> Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once. 841

> A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows. 756

869 756 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 577] On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disadvantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[771] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out
arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cut-
685 ting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another wo-
578 man's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each
other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He
told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded
755 together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the
wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power
789 over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring
about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in
order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on
which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings
224 was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made
from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the
drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the ante-
lope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk
into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told
them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and
784 those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse
841 with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had
843 to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there
would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

756 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went
224 into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he
787 came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people
that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all
533 night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin.
Another man used a notched stick to make music.

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her
mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she
[584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood
playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on
[578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and
Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant
again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have
[754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many
enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's
mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly
torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the
birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa
755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had
[753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she
had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the
importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked
her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt
that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her.
Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets
and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The
matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting
doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take
Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she
had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even
hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor
578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself.
Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that
he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [754]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however,
that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day,
two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation,
Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out
with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began
to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream
which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream
only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When
an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

155 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry [622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

[787] 755 753 Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 578 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved, is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to [753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, 754
in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his 578
arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet
seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would
have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a
relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when
he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As [657
the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. 177]
Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He
warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be
blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving
him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral 754
of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly
at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble
loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She
died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the
Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier
by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had [657
felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in 693]
the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were
satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This
latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more
conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

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[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

754 the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas
Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move
into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in
August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp,
[155] worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery.
He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T.
Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he
moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery.
Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis.
She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that
she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another
man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr.
M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was
not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a
result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly,
although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances.
[155] He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far
from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with
other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived
in Burns.

[578] The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly.
On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole
community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with
a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion
the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning.
Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to
defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated
the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got
drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs.
M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to
Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported
above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping
near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them,
but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that
he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling
[787] he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat
and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever
and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that
she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This
time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not
name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was
obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter
family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the
sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the
family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to
get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They
said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to
each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and
Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [755]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her
by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according
to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men. Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey. Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the
family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M.
girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public
opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [657]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and
no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had
relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of
the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has
had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

578 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the
758 father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with
157 whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with
her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known
to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband
deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated
[684] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a
very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No
one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith
married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she
left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded
him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married
to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few
months.

[554] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing
their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term
used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means,
literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other
hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal
and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval
and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of
these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life.
At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers,
Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She
evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant,
the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest,
but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in
hiding until public opinion calmed down.[1]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife
with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men
of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came
back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie
758 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and
157 was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen,
[754] Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

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[1] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood, is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its pos- 756
sessor employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punish- 578
ment. For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

754 [578] him, the safest thing to do may be to admit guilt, repent, and bathe so that the victim will recover. If a person is so terrified by the accusation that he flees from the band or stays away from all the relatives of the sick person, his action is taken as proof of his guilt.

It will be remembered that a person who has bad power is believed to be able to make others sick by thinking evil thoughts about them. He may use his power intentionally or unintentionally. If he uses it intentionally he may do it in one of the following ways: he may think aggressive thoughts about the victim; he may tell his victim to expect sickness and death; he may throw his power into his victim by hitting him with a stick or stone; or he may put his power in his victim's food, either directly or by biting something which the victim is going to eat. Any one of these things may be done to one of the victim's relatives, rather than to the victim himself. It is believed that the latter procedure will hurt the intended victim even more than injuring him directly.

When a sorcerer is angry, he may unintentionally kill someone in one of the following ways: he may think bad thoughts about the individual without being aware of his thoughts; in a fit of temper, he may express aggressive wishes about an individual without the intention of injuring him; or he may dream bad dreams about an individual. In the latter case, the victim may have dreams in which the sorcerer's power appears.

[114] It is very hard for an ethnographer to get a list of the sorcerers in a community. It was seen in an earlier chapter that as many as seven per cent of the community were accused of sorcery at one time or another. An even larger percentage were rumored to be "mean thinkers." It is also hard to determine the attributes of such persons, but an analysis of actual cases will give a better understanding of these attributes.

Of the eight people accused of sorcery on whom I have adequate material, three were recognized by all informants as being sorcerers. There was no unanimity of opinion on the other five.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter have already been mentioned; the former in connection with the accidental death of his young son, and the death of Polly, the latter in connection with the death of Mr. M.

Mrs. Porter's mother, father, sister, and brother were all said to have been mean, bad people who had power. Her father had beaver power. He wore beaver [301] claws in his ears and it was said that when his power was working on someone, the victim could feel the claws around his neck. I have no specific evidence as to what kind of power Mrs. Porter's mother had or how she used it, but she was evidently domineering and selfish as she prevented one of her daughters from marrying. Mrs. Porter's sister had power, and her brother had power in snakes and was blamed for several deaths. In short, all of Mrs. Porter's family were said to be bad and her husband had also come to be known as a sorcerer. There is no evidence that

155 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives.
157 According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending
will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of
578 James Howard's young son, Gale.[1] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James
Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further
information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to
Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also con-
nected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive
when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which
[574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace
White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is re-
ported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite sud-
[753 denly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent
761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group
who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his
death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case
[755] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom,
and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him.
It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[1] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754
in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578
It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689] around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828] the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579] drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684 population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276] was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[684] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself,
828] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
754 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
[832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
831] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

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band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578 ●
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [587
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. 164]
The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [756]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not
[158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men
[157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[578] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

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The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction to retaliation against this person.

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The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community, he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover. The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays, when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

754 681 would appear that in the old days in many cases the accused was killed by the community before he could flee.

626 Lastly, once a person has a reputation for sorcery he becomes a scapegoat and is likely to be blamed for offenses when no one knows who committed them.

681 578 In broad outline, then, we can see how the concept of sorcery works in social control. The important threat is that of ostracism or mob action. This punishment comes when the majority of the community and a doctor agree that a person is guilty of sorcery. The majority of the community will only agree to this if the individual has frequently behaved in such a way as to antagonize them. The behavior which annoys them may range from minor aggressive acts, such as speaking impolitely, to more serious offenses such as threatening others, adultery, destroying property, etc. Thus the fear of being accused of sorcery acts as a check on a great variety of anti-social behavior.

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the
family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next
chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the
family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of
bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions
husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently
or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate
physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect
check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation
for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give
rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because
she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another
informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother,
however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community.
Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were
deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink
and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members
of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 578 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every in- 152
stance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Con- 762
cerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remem-
bered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

762 154 578 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women.
578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

593 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[1] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586]
his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602]
his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835]
fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[1] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607]
under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

762 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of
154 strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other
578 frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and
155 sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the
867] family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed,
although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of
sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This
seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably
displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part
to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that
aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers
and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the
Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that
if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their
trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
[422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of
friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from
the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and
had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them.
However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
[231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but
gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The
Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights
arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626
to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
crimes.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. [681
Any offense against a member of a family by a nonrelative is liable to be revenged 627]
by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye.
If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's [682]
brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family.
Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead, the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of
retaliation. In one case a man left the community to avoid revenge. He had paid for [686]
a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

Murder by sorcery is also punished by retaliation but differs in that there is 754
no possibility of financial settlement.[3] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not 627
only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim, especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

Adultery and theft are also liable to kin retaliation. A man is liable to be 684
physically attacked and even killed by the husband of the woman with whom he 627
philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and [685]
their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

To kill a rival for adultery, however, is considered too severe, and when this

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[3] The murder of a sorcerer is now prohibited by the government. Ostracism has replaced it as a method of retaliation.

753 sorcery, dreams, ghosts, and animals, as well as the illness of shamans resulting from mistakes or disobedience either of the practitioner or of others.

753 787 Dreams (nɔsi) are commonly the cause of sickness. That is, the dream itself is directly responsible, not prophetic of, illness. The experiences in such dreams usually are connected with ghosts of the dead or visions of sickness and death. Often the dreamer will not suffer the ill effects of his dream, but a relative or a member of the household is the victim of the illness so caused. These disease-causing dreams seem to be entirely involuntary; one dreams—with no conscious desire to cause harm—that another is, or will be, ill; and shortly thereafter that individual becomes sick. Thus, illness among children is commonly believed to result from the dreams of parents. A father will dream that his child is ill; a few days later [756] the child is stricken and a shaman must be called in. If the shaman is not called very soon after the first manifestation of the sickness, the child will die. Visitors, as well as the parents, may bring about the illness of children as the result of dreams. In the summer of 753 787 578 1934, one such incident caused some excitement on the Pyramid Lake Reservation. As several informants reconstructed the affair, the following incidents led to a threat of murder.

> Joe Overall was visiting Rawhide Henry. After they ate at noon, Joe fell asleep at the table. When he woke up he said that he had dreamed about Rawhide's grandchild. He said that in the dream the girl was sick and weak. She was very sick. She was almost dead. The girl's parents told Joe to do something to take away the dream. Otherwise it looked bad for the girl. The girl's mother asked Joe to wash the girl and pray so the dream would go away. He did not want to do it. He told them that she would be all right. In a few hours the girl was sick. They called in a shaman to doctor the girl. The next day Rawhide's family wanted to kill Joe. Joe was a shaman a long time ago, but he lost his power. They think that he may have a little power left and that he used it to make the girl sick.

753 787 The contents of the dreams which result in sickness are varied. A relative may be seen to be ill or dying; voices may speak of sickness, or the dreamer may experience aches and pains. Apparently, in these dreams spirits or ghosts are not seen.

> Dreams about sickness just come natural. There do not seem to be any spirits that cause them. The dream just comes and then soon after you are sick. (Nick Downington)

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> After a shaman poisons one person, he cannot stop. When the first victim is dead, he tries to poison others. Then he always wants to make people sick and kill them. (Joe Green)

If he has sufficient power, a shaman who has been the victim of a sorcerer may extract the cause of disease and without the aid of another practitioner cast off the ill effects of his enemy's magic.

As sorcerers are believed to cause so much of the illness afflicting the Paviotso, they are greatly feared. Anyone suspected of sorcery is treated with every respect and consideration in order not to arouse his wrath and ill-will. It is said that any request or demand made by a known sorcerer is never refused out of fear of the revenge that might be taken through witchcraft. Those who fear a particular shaman will, if possible, avoid accepting anything from him or touching his person.

754 In aboriginal times, sorcerers were put to death when detected
683 in frequent killings. Their guilt was established then as now, by shamans who determined not only the nature of sickness but also the person responsible. An accusation of this sort by a shaman of standing was probably tantamount to conviction. When a sorcerer claimed several victims, the entire group became concerned and demanded the death of the guilty person. The execution was carried out by several men appointed for the task, or a large number of people fell upon the sorcerer and killed him. The usual practice
[766] was to burn the house over the murdered sorcerer; otherwise the body was buried in the usual manner.

If a sorcerer had not become notorious, members of a victim's family might take it upon themselves to avenge the death of a relative. The sorcerer, known to them from the shaman's diagnosis, was stabbed, clubbed, or shot. As in the communal execution, the house was burned with the corpse inside. As far as can be learned, the sorcerer's family rarely attempted retaliation for these murders. In so far as pre-Caucasian conditions can be determined from the memories of living people, it can safely be said that the fear of sorcery was easily the chief source of intra-tribal strife and violence; that the charge of witchcraft more frequently
● [578] than anything else led to the killing of one Paviotso by another. Suspicion of sorcery is in itself sufficient to endanger social relations and even life.

756 instructed sons and daughters in curing practices. It is reported
that in some instances when a shaman is invited to treat his first
patient, he may ask an older experienced man to help him the first
night. The instructor initiates the curing and carries it on for
nearly half the night. The younger shaman then takes over the
performance and goes on unaided. This is entirely a personal
affair between shamans, as there are no organizations or societies
of shamans. Usually, instead of mutual interests and aims bring-
● [578] ing shamans together, rivalry and jealousy, manifested by at-
tempts to poison one another, are typical of their feelings and
behavior.

755 In curing, each shaman is thought to derive his particular procedure from the supernatural power which directs his efforts. Therefore it seems perfectly consistent to the Paviotso that no two shamans will go through the curing performance in precisely the same way. There is, nevertheless, a general form of procedure followed by all shamans when they treat the sick. The characteristic features of this prevailing plan will first be described.

Curing always takes place at the home of the patient. In winter the mat-covered, dome-shaped house is the scene of the performance; in warm weather the shaman usually performs in the circular brush wind-break which serves as shelter while the family is away from winter quarters. Beyond sweeping the floor, nothing is done to the house in preparation for the arrival of the shaman and spectators.

The family of the sick person decides which shaman is to be called in to doctor. This decision may be made by the patient, if he is able to make his desires known. When the illness is quite serious, a shaman known to have unusually strong powers may be asked to doctor. Shamans of renown may be called in from another band, especially in serious cases, or after the failure of a local practitioner.

Shamanistic curing performances are attended by all who are living conveniently near. No public announcement is made when a shaman is about to cure, but the news of the coming event nevertheless circulates quickly. Often when a shaman is invited in the morning, everyone within walking distance has heard of the coming performance by nightfall. Consequently, a crowd never fails to gather for the curing rites.

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner. It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization or society through which the shaman's religious and social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing, and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke, laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the per-
[525] petual gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value, however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others, but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then, be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one W
mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members. 159

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake 755
(California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at 795*
the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young
Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of 797
digitalis,[*] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again
made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lan- N
caster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. W
When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the [578] ●
sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[**] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meet-
ing to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so N
converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding W

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[*] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop. [435]

[**] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

159 light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben de-
755 parted, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a
good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting
*795 for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started
797 when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys'
and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for
● [578 Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run
the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting,
a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an
end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more
of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie
N Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

W Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his
[578 wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between
Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

N The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he
W improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in
159 his absence.[illegible] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting
for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James
578 (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were
*795 invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to
797 support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's
headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[illegible] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

N W 159 795* 797

Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

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On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[illegible] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

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In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

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In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

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[illegible] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

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[535] A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

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[415] Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

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*795 Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

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*795 The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

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[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

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REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

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Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[illegible] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. N W [648] Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[illegible] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[illegible]

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An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

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[illegible] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[illegible] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[illegible] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness 182
sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed 795*
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, N
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing W
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing
that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote
religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists,
attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct W
specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas. A danger in such [683]
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety. N

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise
several accuse Sam Dick.

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In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, 571
peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment 795*
of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new
settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows
would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not
friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time. N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [191]
prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult. This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,[55] thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

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Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

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At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[56] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[57] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

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Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[58] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

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There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

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[55] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[56] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[57] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a *few* peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[58] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

N W 276 578 *795

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[illegible] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

N W [786] [832]

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

N W 182 554 *795

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[illegible] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

N W 182 435 511 *795

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

N W 182 493 *795 [434]

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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[illegible] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[illegible] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Mrs. Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

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Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[illegible] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

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Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[illegible] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[illegible]

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The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

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DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

Wadatkuht

Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhŏ","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuŏ", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each 525 [172]

Northern Paiute NR13

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods. N 182 22

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. N 621 Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. N [224] [222] This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. N [619] Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238). N [476] [628] [578] ●

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

W 131 [172]

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin. W 199

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture. W 171

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

fusion.[91] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[92] K N 161

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[93] N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[94] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[95] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[96] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

648 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in
579 the vicinity of the lakes."[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's
648 Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake
131 brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second
expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that
[487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and
along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a
beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108]
A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was
going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on
approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians
who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two
> [609] of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse
> one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the
> brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where
> they could not be found. This happened within sight and even
> [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and
> clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the
> people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use
> them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that
> we might get information from them. It will be difficult to
> keep some of the people on any terms with them now.[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt")
Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This
station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons
[224] they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils
of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at
Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found
"a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came
there is no knowing."[111]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

648 N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military
721 clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm
Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it
was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes
[726] with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into
the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such
conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid.,
Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver,
W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid
"retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T.,
Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm
Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

● 579 Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes
726 changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for
648 that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had
"one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington,
648 states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive
177 at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and
some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

154. Warm Springs Agent John Smith notes Snake raids on the Agency from 1859 through 1863; in 1859 the Snakes ran off 700 head of horses and took over the Agency buildings for a time; in 1863 they stole 200 horses. No raids are noted for 1864-1866, but in the latter year Weawewa wintered on the Deschutes River and raided Scott's ranch on Trout Creek, twelve miles east of the Warm Springs Agency (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. John Smith to J. W. Perit Huntington, Warm Springs Agency, Ore., April 11, 1866; NA. WDC. DC. R-35-1866, clipping from Daily Mountaineer, April 19, 1866 enclosed with Smith's letter). The next year (1867) Weawewa raided Warm Springs and killed Past-am-ine, "one of the most intelligents Indians" (RCIA 1868 [CDS #1399] p. 579). In 1868, before Gen. George Crook's peace at Camp Harney was concluded on June 30, 1868 (see fn. 223), there were minor raids on Warm Springs, with a total of thirty to forty horses stolen (idem).

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155. In 1862 and 1863, according to Capt. John M. Drake, Panai'na raided Warm Springs and also extended his activities eastward to the Canyon City road (WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 334). This road from Silver Lake to Canyon City, Ore., was then being used by heavily loaded supply trains and drovers, and was a new and lucrative field of operation for Panai'na. Gold had been discovered at Canyon City in 1862, and "work commenced in 1863 ... although the miners often suffered severely from the depredations of the Snakes." Canyon City was then "considered as good a mining camp as any in Oregon or Northern California" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Ore., Dec. 22, 1868).

Fear of attack from Panai'na and his warriors in the Warm Springs region persisted until 1867; in October of that year Huntington, apparently still skeptical of reports that Panai'na had been killed (see below), requested a military escort for the first annuity goods he was taking from Dalles, Ore., to Klamath Agency. He specifically asked for this escort "after leaving Trout Creek (which is about twenty miles North East of Warm Springs Agency and forty miles North of Crooked River)" because "Beyond Trout Creek is the country of Pauline and his band, the most dangerous of any on the route. I shall be very reluctant to go into it without escort" (NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73).

156. For location of Trout Creek see fn. 155. The Trout Creek region at this time was supposedly "neutral ground" between the Snakes and the Warm Springs Indians, and was used by the latter for hunting (Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 53).

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177 657 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of 648 the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan, Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and [756] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8] Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt), and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In 1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants. In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the 648 Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing [579] cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas, made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and 648 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different 657 groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

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[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754
in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578
It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives
would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in
their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They
explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed
this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689]
around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening
behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had
they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents
not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used
sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his
relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the
fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power
like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children
all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she
thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828]
the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably
why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not
take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because
of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other
people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's
behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important
information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very
likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579]
drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended
up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one
of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684
population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to
restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with
other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or
where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with
any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own
brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making
overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276]
was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of
them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath
the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite
mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling
debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed,
although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of
sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This
seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably
displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part
to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that
aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers
and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the
Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that
if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their
trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
[420] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of
friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from
the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and
had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them.
However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
[231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but
gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The
Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive
games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights
arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

841 especially deleterious to a shaman's power. According to Joshua, "All Indians—Paiute, Warm Springs, Achomawi, Klamath, Shoshone, and Umatilla—believe the same. They have to watch closely, or men will die." A shaman could neutralize the ill effects of a menstruant by smearing red paint about her wrist or by making a circle of red paint on the floor of the house and singing. After this procedure, the woman was not required to retire to the special hut.[208]

Minnie said that an older menstruant was not obliged to use the scratching stick. She abstained however from eating game. The results of breaking the game taboo were given variously as: the hunter would not be able to shoot more game; the hunter would die; he would just dry up, and death would come quickly as with tuberculosis. A less personal consequence was that the antelope might break out of the corral.[209]

The menstrual hut has fallen into disuse and I was told that the food taboos are no longer observed. There are vestiges however of the latter.

MARRIAGE

582 Formerly a boy married at about twenty; a girl was considerably younger, marriage following immediately upon puberty. There is general agreement that "nowadays they marry too young."

581 The prime requisite of a husband was that he be a good hunter. A man would tell his daughter, "Be sure you get a good man; be sure he can catch deer." The ideal wife was industrious and gathered many roots; no man wanted to marry a lazy woman. According to Minnie, "A girl wouldn't have an old man; she wanted someone just a little older than herself." Daisy thought otherwise, "Some girls would marry a man much older if he were a good hunter." Previous marriage was no serious bar, but "a man preferred a young girl. A widowed or divorced woman usually married an older man."

584 Parents frequently arranged a match. They might urge their son to marry a certain girl. A man with daughters would pick out a good hunter and say, "You marry that man." Daisy thought that the girl usually liked the man her parents selected; "she wanted plenty to eat." But Joshua said, "Many girls wouldn't mind, even in the old days." Elopement seems to have been rare. "A girl might like a boy, but she couldn't marry him if her father didn't like him;

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[208] JB.

[209] Reported for the Pyramid Lake band by Lowie, SE, 274.

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

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[208] JB.

[209] Reported for the Pyramid Lake band by Lowie, SE, 274.

not even if the girl and her mother liked him." There seems, however, to have been a certain amount of individual choice, for "sometimes a girl liked a boy. They would tell her, 'That boy, he has nothing,' but she liked him, and she married him anyway." 584

A boy who wanted to marry sneaked into the girl's camp at night to lie beside her. The parents would say, "Somebody comes here," and the old woman would get up and make a fire to see who had come. They looked at the boy but said nothing. If the girl accepted him he stayed until morning; then he sneaked away, being ashamed to eat there. He came back again, and finally stayed. If the girl did not want him, he went off not to return. The old people had many wives like that—maybe one here, maybe one down toward Alturas, maybe one at Pyramid lake (JB). 583

Marriage was conducted on extremely informal lines, polygyny and brittle monogamy being the rule rather than the exception. Thus, "a good hunter had many wives; in the old days they used to marry until they were too old to walk." A man might have two or three wives at a time, usually, but not necessarily sisters. He had a right to the sisters of his wife, but he was not obligated to take them; "he could marry just one sister if he did not want the others." His wives lived in the same house, or at least in the same camp. I was gravely assured that "they never quarreled," but the picture of domestic bliss was shattered by Minnie who claimed that "often they fought." 595

Blood relationship was the only bar to marriage. Informants agreed that cousins were "brothers," and that children of half-brothers could not marry[219] because "we call them like full brothers." An individual usually married within his own band or a related Paviotso band. There was no feeling for local exogamy. Concerning foreign marriages, "they never married with the Klamath. Sometimes a man would go to the Pit River country and marry, but he did not bring his wife back here. That is why all the old Pit River people can understand Paiute. Pit River men did not come here and take wives." Women captured in war were taken as wives. There seems to be relatively little intermarriage even at present. I recall a few random cases: George Brown is married to an Achomawi woman and lives at Likely (Pit River territory). Nellie Townsend's father was a "Digger" (Maidu ?) from Susanville, her mother a Paviotso; Minnie Archie's father and his sister, Warm Springs Indians, both married Paiutes. There are doubtless other cases, especially of marriage with the Achomawi. 582 ● 835 [727]

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[219] Cf. Kroeber, California Kinship Systems, 362.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 Northern Paiute

841 self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope 881 impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she returned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants. The entire [582] ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.[1] Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual (343) lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge 000 is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo, which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.[2] The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.[3]

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[1] Hopkins, 48.
[2] Lowie, 214.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 446.

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries.
If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated.
A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother disapproved
586 of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory.
Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587
tönónai" *qumádu*, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, 684
her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks
I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial (593)
affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the
husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any
other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that 582
a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances
connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nu-
bility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young 584
suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

> but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to "be himself," and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.
>
> At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits 585
> by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes 000
here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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[1] Hopkins, 48–49, 50.

To the north and to the south the range gradually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed 101
by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. 33
It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131]
Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like
Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by 648
both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by
both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit
Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different
groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits
did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must
have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and
Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that
intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [582] ●
both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [727]
home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed
to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them
them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of
culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between
these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely
separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact
that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful
chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their
ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother
to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good
deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101
through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 31
seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361]
eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as
Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River
territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316]
"mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention
between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears
strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes,
Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed
from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war.
Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner
Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of
Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133
northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
534

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ki	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1993a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1993. Fur on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	*+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2000. As toy	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2000a. For dance	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2001. Whistle	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	*−	−	+	−	+	−	+
2002a. 2 holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	−	−	−	+	+	*+	−	*−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*2004. Flute (moina)	+	+	+	+	−	*−	−	−	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2008. Length (in.): about 12	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2008a. About 18	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013a. By nose	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2017a. In hunting	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
MARRIAGE														
*2018. Bride price	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*2019. As present	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2022. Marriage by abduction	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2024. Friends assist in fight	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2025. Polygyny permitted	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2026. Sororal obligatory	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2026a. Sororal usual	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2027. Polyandry permitted	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	*−	+	+	+	−	−
2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2030. Required	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2030a. Customary	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2032. Required	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2032a. Customary	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2037. Child betrothal	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	+

N
A
583

N
A
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N
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● N
X

● 582

58[illegible]

[p.404]

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

592
595 two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

595 Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

182 It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connec-
595 tion with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women
in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as im-
[428] portant as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property
to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such
property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3]
595 Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso,
587 unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although
[582] Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the
development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso
the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

not even if the girl and her mother liked him." There seems, however, to have been a certain amount of individual choice, for "sometimes a girl liked a boy. They would tell her, 'That boy, he has nothing,' but she liked him, and she married him anyway." 584

A boy who wanted to marry sneaked into the girl's camp at night to lie beside her. The parents would say, "Somebody comes here," and the old woman would get up and make a fire to see who had come. They looked at the boy but said nothing. If the girl accepted him he stayed until morning; then he sneaked away, being ashamed to eat there. He came back again, and finally stayed. If the girl did not want him, he went off not to return. The old people had many wives like that—maybe one here, maybe one down toward Alturas, maybe one at Pyramid lake (JB). 583 ●

Marriage was conducted on extremely informal lines, polygyny and brittle monogamy being the rule rather than the exception. Thus, "a good hunter had many wives; in the old days they used to marry until they were too old to walk." A man might have two or three wives at a time, usually, but not necessarily sisters. He had a right to the sisters of his wife, but he was not obligated to take them; "he could marry just one sister if he did not want the others." His wives lived in the same house, or at least in the same camp. I was gravely assured that "they never quarreled," but the picture of domestic bliss was shattered by Minnie who claimed that "often they fought." 595

Blood relationship was the only bar to marriage. Informants agreed that cousins were "brothers," and that children of half-brothers could not marry[218] because "we call them like full brothers." An individual usually married within his own band or a related Paviotso band. There was no feeling for local exogamy. Concerning foreign marriages, "they never married with the Klamath. Sometimes a man would go to the Pit River country and marry, but he did not bring his wife back here. That is why all the old Pit River people can understand Paiute. Pit River men did not come here and take wives." Women captured in war were taken as wives. There seems to be relatively little intermarriage even at present. I recall a few random cases: George Brown is married to an Achomawi woman and lives at Likely (Pit River territory). Nellie Townsend's father was a "Digger" (Maidu ?) from Susanville, her mother a Paviotso; Minnie Archie's father and his sister, Warm Springs Indians, both married Paiutes. There are doubtless other cases, especially of marriage with the Achomawi. 582 835 [727]

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[218] Cf. Kroeber, California Kinship Systems, 362.

● 583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

591
583 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege. on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

		Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
N W A 534	1992a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1993. Fur on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
	*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1995. Archer's bow used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2000. As toy	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2000a. For dance	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2001. Whistle	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	–	+	–	+	–	+
	2002a. 2 holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2003. Willow whistle: as toy	–	–	–	+	+	*+	–	*–	+	–	+	+	–	+
	2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	*2004. Flute (woina)	+	+	+	+	–	*–	–	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
	*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	*2007. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2008. Length (in.): about 12	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2008a. About 18	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2009. Pitch stop	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2010. Holes: 4	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
	2010a. 6	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2013a. By nose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
	2017. By shaman	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
N A	2017a. In hunting	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	MARRIAGE														
583	*2018. Bride price	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	*2019. As present	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2022. Marriage by abduction	–	–	–	–	–	*–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
N	2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
A	2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
	2024. Friends assist in fight	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
595	2025. Polygyny permitted	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
N	2026. Sororal obligatory	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
X	2026a. Sororal usual	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2027. Polyandry permitted	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	*–	+	+	+	–	–
587	2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2030. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2030a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
N	2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X	2032. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2032a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
582	2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
583	2037. Child betrothal	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	*–	–	–	–	–	–	+

[p.404]

Wadátkuht

THE WADÁTKUHT

The Honey Lake Paiute, or Wadátkuht ("Wada eaters", 101 after the seed of Suaeda depressa), as they call themselves, are an independent band of Northern Paiute living entirely in California. This band had its own chiefs; the last two 622 were Kukwhi (Dick Wright) and Numunana ("Indian man"), also known as Joaquin. These men were contemporaries and apparently served jointly as headmen. Several earlier chiefs are listed by Stewart (1939, p. 138) and include No-jo-mud, Hozi-a and Adavugaya. Stewart equates Hozi-a with Ochio, the Kidütoka chief of Surprise Valley to the north of the Wadátkuht territory. Captain Dick, according to Stewart (ibid.), might be a Kamö man whose group immediately joins the Wadátkuht to the north and east. This Captain Dick is probably not to be confused with Dick Wright the Wadátkuht headman.

The Wadátkuht actually are composed of two groups of 101 closely related people. The main group lived in Honey Lake Valley and the secondary group lived in Secret Valley just north of Honey Lake. Those living in Secret Valley additionally utilized the eastern half of Madeline Plains north of Secret Valley. Apparently they shared it with the Kamötkuht ("Jackrabbit eaters") with whom they were closely related and affiliated. A more detailed discussion of this joint use is presented in a section on "Boundaries and Population".

Not only were the Wadátkuht closely related to the Kamötkuht, but they were close relatives of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Except for living in different areas and having their own headmen the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht might well be considered a single group. Genetic relationship to the Northeastern Maidu, Washo, Atsugewi, and Achomawi people also was considerable due to the fact that men often stole women (for wives) from, or lost women to these neighbor- [583] ing groups. Social intercourse between the Maidu and the Washo on the one hand, and the Wadátkuht on the other seems to have been of a much more friendly and cooperative nature than be- [648] tween the Wadátkuht and the Pit River people. Despite the apparently considerable foreign genetic inheritance of the Wadátkuht, not to mention certain cultural additions, the Wadátkuht strictly considered themselves as Paiute and maintained their strongest affiliations with their Paiute relatives. Linguistically there seems to be little difference between the [197] Wadátkuht and the Kuyuitkuht, except possibly for the preferential use of occasional words.

841 especially deleterious to a shaman's power. According to Joshua, "All Indians—Paiute, Warm Springs, Achomawi, Klamath, Shoshone, and Umatilla—believe the same. They have to watch closely, or men will die." A shaman could neutralize the ill effects of a menstruant by smearing red paint about her wrist or by making a circle of red paint on the floor of the house and singing. After this procedure, the woman was not required to retire to the special hut.[298]

Minnie said that an older menstruant was not obliged to use the scratching stick. She abstained however from eating game. The results of breaking the game taboo were given variously as: the hunter would not be able to shoot more game; the hunter would die; he would just dry up, and death would come quickly as with tuberculosis. A less personal consequence was that the antelope might break out of the corral.[299]

The menstrual hut has fallen into disuse and I was told that the food taboos are no longer observed. There are vestiges however of the latter.

MARRIAGE

582 Formerly a boy married at about twenty; a girl was considerably younger, marriage following immediately upon puberty. There is general agreement that "nowadays they marry too young."

581 The prime requisite of a husband was that he be a good hunter. A man would tell his daughter, "Be sure you get a good man; be sure he can catch deer." The ideal wife was industrious and gathered many roots; no man wanted to marry a lazy woman. According to Minnie, "A girl wouldn't have an old man; she wanted someone just a little older than herself." Daisy thought otherwise, "Some girls would marry a man much older if he were a good hunter." Previous marriage was no serious bar, but "a man preferred a young girl. A widowed or divorced woman usually married an older man."

● 584 Parents frequently arranged a match. They might urge their son to marry a certain girl. A man with daughters would pick out a good hunter and say, "You marry that man." Daisy thought that the girl usually liked the man her parents selected; "she wanted plenty to eat." But Joshua said, "Many girls wouldn't mind, even in the old days." Elopement seems to have been rare. "A girl might like a boy, but she couldn't marry him if her father didn't like him;

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[298] JB.

[299] Reported for the Pyramid Lake band by Lowie, SE, 274.

not even if the girl and her mother liked him." There seems, however, to have been a certain amount of individual choice, for "sometimes a girl liked a boy. They would tell her, 'That boy, he has nothing,' but she liked him, and she married him anyway." 584

A boy who wanted to marry sneaked into the girl's camp at night to lie beside her. The parents would say, "Somebody comes here," and the old woman would get up and make a fire to see who had come. They looked at the boy but said nothing. If the girl accepted him he stayed until morning; then he sneaked away, being ashamed to eat there. He came back again, and finally stayed. If the girl did not want him, he went off not to return. The old people had many wives like that—maybe one here, maybe one down toward Alturas, maybe one at Pyramid lake (JB). 583

Marriage was conducted on extremely informal lines, polygyny and brittle monogamy being the rule rather than the exception. Thus, "a good hunter had many wives; in the old days they used to marry until they were too old to walk." A man might have two or three wives at a time, usually, but not necessarily sisters. He had a right to the sisters of his wife, but he was not obligated to take them; "he could marry just one sister if he did not want the others." His wives lived in the same house, or at least in the same camp. I was gravely assured that "they never quarreled," but the picture of domestic bliss was shattered by Minnie who claimed that "often they fought." 595

Blood relationship was the only bar to marriage. Informants agreed that cousins were "brothers," and that children of half-brothers could not marry[219] because "we call them like full brothers." An individual usually married within his own band or a related Paviotso band. There was no feeling for local exogamy. Concerning foreign marriages, "they never married with the Klamath. Sometimes a man would go to the Pit River country and marry, but he did not bring his wife back here. That is why all the old Pit River people can understand Paiute. Pit River men did not come here and take wives." Women captured in war were taken as wives. There seems to be relatively little intermarriage even at present. I recall a few random cases: George Brown is married to an Achomawi woman and lives at Likely (Pit River territory). Nellie Townsend's father was a "Digger" (Maidu ?) from Susanville, her mother a Paviotso; Minnie Archie's father and his sister, Warm Springs Indians, both married Paiutes. There are doubtless other cases, especially of marriage with the Achomawi. 582 835 [727]

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[219] Cf. Kroeber, California Kinship Systems, 362.

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries. If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated. A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother dis-
586 approved of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory. Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587
tönónat" qumádu, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, 684
her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks [593]
I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial
affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that 582
a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nubility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young 584
suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

> but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to "be himself," and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.
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> At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits 585
> by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes 000
here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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[1] Hopkins, 48–49, 50.

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her
mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she
[584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood
playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on
[578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and
Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant
again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have
[754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many
enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's
mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly
torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the
birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa
755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had
[753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she
had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the
importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked
her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt
that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her.
Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets
and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The
matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting
doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take
Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she
had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even
hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor
578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself.
Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that
he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

762 154 578 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women. 578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

593 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593 in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578 wife is culturally recognized.[8] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154 girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586] his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602] his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835] fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584 court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837] girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606 of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837 in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154 ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[8] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607] under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584 parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man, and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well, usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered consumated [585] when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [451] food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends, wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534] flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men [308] and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [585] mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848] refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586 the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684] person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives, or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

8:Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
114 the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
595 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished
171 field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and
Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.

584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.

[2] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

more than two brothers. In one of these marriages, the union was first arranged [584]
between a woman and an older brother. Some time later the younger brother took 595
up residence with the couple and the girl's parents, and was then considered a co- [591]
husband. The three slept in the same house and apparently lived together without
any noticeable friction. When a child was born to the wife, both men claimed [861]
fatherhood and were so regarded by public opinion. It was not possible to learn
whether or not the child addressed both by the term for father.

Another polyandrous marriage was arranged between the parents of a girl and [584
two brothers. The brothers visited the girl's parents and talked over the matter.
The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591]
by the woman, came to live in the house of the parents-in-law. A preliminary discussion
involving the consent of the parents and the girl is the usual practice in
arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the 584
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary
for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had
selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed.
Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a
word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months,
until the girl's parents indicated by addressing him pleasantly and by offering him
food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay
down with the girl and, if she did not get up and move her bed, they had intercourse
and were then looked upon as married. Thereafter the husband lived with his wife's
parents. This courtship, frequently a long drawn out affair, does not seem to have
been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

There is no evidence to indicate that these were considered temporary unions 595
for either of the brothers. In the first instance mentioned, the two husbands lived
with the woman until her death. Public opinion seems to have regarded these
marriages as permanent, as much so as any other marital arrangements. In this
connection it may also be noted that informants were almost unanimous in holding [586]
that marriages in the old days were not frequently dissolved. Although the number
of instances of polyandry was small, this permanency seems also to be characteristic
of such marriages.

As in other marital unions, polyandrous marriages were not marked by ceremony
or exchange of gifts. A marriage is thought of as established when a man and a [585]
woman have had sexual relations. When a man and woman, one man and several
women, or two men and a woman are known to be living together and having sexual
relations, they are regarded by public opinion as married without further formalities.

In the matter of residence polyandrous marriages conformed to the usual [591]
Paviotso practice. The husbands in all known cases went to live in the house of the
wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the [592]
economic support of the household.

There is no evidence that one husband was always absent from the home. In 593
fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587
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two brothers. The brothers visited the girl's parents and talked over the matter.
The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591
by the woman, came to live in the house of the parents-in-law. A preliminary discussion
involving the consent of the parents and the girl is the usual practice in
arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the 584
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary
for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed. Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months, until the girl's parents indicated by addressing him pleasantly and by offering him food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay down with the girl and, if she did not get up and move her bed, they had intercourse and were then looked upon as married. Thereafter the husband lived with his wife's parents. This courtship, frequently a long drawn out affair, does not seem to have been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

There is no evidence to indicate that these were considered temporary unions 595
for either of the brothers. In the first instance mentioned, the two husbands lived
with the woman until her death. Public opinion seems to have regarded these
marriages as permanent, as much so as any other marital arrangements. In this
connection it may also be noted that informants were almost unanimous in holding 586
that marriages in the old days were not frequently dissolved. Although the number
of instances of polyandry was small, this permanency seems also to be characteristic of such marriages.

As in other marital unions, polyandrous marriages were not marked by ceremony
or exchange of gifts. A marriage is thought of as established when a man and a 585
woman have had sexual relations. When a man and woman, one man and several
women, or two men and a woman are known to be living together and having sexual relations, they are regarded by public opinion as married without further formalities.

In the matter of residence polyandrous marriages conformed to the usual 591
Paviotso practice. The husbands in all known cases went to live in the house of the
wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the 592
economic support of the household.

There is no evidence that one husband was always absent from the home. In 592
fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

591
583 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

● 586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bull-
berries. If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily con-
summated. A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children: if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother dis-
586 approved of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's mem-
ory. Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
KINSHIP RELATIONS														
Avoidances														
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2054. Speech taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2056. "Respect" required	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2058. Avoidance continues for life	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2060. Brother sister	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
Joking Relations														
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adoption														
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES														
2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2094. Marriage to man	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2095. Lives with man	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2102. Does man's work	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2103. Has male organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2104. Marriage to woman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2106. Is shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 591

N● W A 684

586●

N 548

N A 836

N 606

N A 602

N W A 605 607

N W A 597

N W A 838

N W A [842]

N [787]

[p. 405]

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N 586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.459b]

THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the 626 manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion.

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it 592 is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren. There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young [591] couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close by the parental household.

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many [595] households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the same man.

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, [586] he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him.

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. [462] The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[3] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that
the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with
good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns
to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586]
his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters.
Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their
aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to
their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602]
his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never
heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes
to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let
her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s
son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This
relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his
mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835]
fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten
years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the
strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem
on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing
to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the
young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by
sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this
may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law
and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent
sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

[3] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607]
under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A
girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a
woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife.
A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584 parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man, and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well, usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered consumated when the boy stays for breakfast. [585] During the courtship the man often brings presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431] food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends, wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534] flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men [302] and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a man refusing to marry a girl. [585] During my field trip, there were two young unmarried mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848] refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586 the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684] person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives, or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784 525] A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

more than two brothers. In one of these marriages, the union was first arranged [584]
between a woman and an older brother. Some time later the younger brother took 595
up residence with the couple and the girl's parents, and was then considered a co- [591]
husband. The three slept in the same house and apparently lived together without
any noticeable friction. When a child was born to the wife, both men claimed [861]
fatherhood and were so regarded by public opinion. It was not possible to learn
whether or not the child addressed both by the term for father.

Another polyandrous marriage was arranged between the parents of a girl and [584
two brothers. The brothers visited the girl's parents and talked over the matter.
The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591]
by the woman, came to live in the house of the parents-in-law. A preliminary discussion involving the consent of the parents and the girl is the usual practice in
arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the 584
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary
for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed. Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months, until the girl's parents indicated by addressing him pleasantly and by offering him food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay down with the girl and, if she did not get up and move her bed, they had intercourse and were then looked upon as married. Thereafter the husband lived with his wife's parents. This courtship, frequently a long drawn out affair, does not seem to have been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

There is no evidence to indicate that these were considered temporary unions 595
for either of the brothers. In the first instance mentioned, the two husbands lived with the woman until her death. Public opinion seems to have regarded these marriages as permanent, as much so as any other marital arrangements. In this
connection it may also be noted that informants were almost unanimous in holding [586]
that marriages in the old days were not frequently dissolved. Although the number
of instances of polyandry was small, this permanency seems also to be characteristic of such marriages.

As in other marital unions, polyandrous marriages were not marked by ceremony
or exchange of gifts. A marriage is thought of as established when a man and a [585]
woman have had sexual relations. When a man and woman, one man and several
women, or two men and a woman are known to be living together and having sexual relations, they are regarded by public opinion as married without further formalities.

In the matter of residence polyandrous marriages conformed to the usual [591]
Paviotso practice. The husbands in all known cases went to live in the house of the
wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the [592]
economic support of the household.

There is no evidence that one husband was always absent from the home. In 593
fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

591 583 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

● 587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife. 765 [587]

Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; "somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her. 597

GAMES AND PASTIMES

The Gidü'tikad^{a} had the usual assortment of games, and although they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212] 524 525

Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called paba'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used: 777

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

Football.—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players 526

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries.
If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated.
A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother dis-
586 approved of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory.
Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.

[2] Kroeber, (b), 261

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587 •
tõnónaí^{n} qumâdu, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, 684
her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks (593)
I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that 582
a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nubility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young 584
suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

> but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to "be himself," and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.
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> At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits 585
> by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes 000
here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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[1] Hopkins, 48–49, 50.

At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians 764 (Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of them "in any old way"[1] the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the Lemhi.[2] The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration; relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom, furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse, some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration. When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms, her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our de- 765 ceased friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was buried she would weep." When her uncle died, the widow and also 765 Sarah's parents clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and 302 legs, this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The [304) widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower like- [587]. wise cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length[3] and her face was not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other

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[1] Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

[2] Lowie, 215.

[3] A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.

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women until relieved of these restrictions by her father-in-law or mother-in-law. Sarah mentions signal-fires used to announce the death of a chief.[1]

A Wind River Indian who died was dressed up in his best clothing, painted, carried to the mountains, and deposited in a cleft or cave, which was blocked up lest the corpse be attacked by animals. This practice continued until recent times. Formerly the mourners would go off to one side and stay in a rude shelter. The women cut their hair short, gashed their legs, and removed their leggings for several days. When the hair had grown long again, the mourner returned home and the mourning period ceased. If a man died, one of his horses was taken to the grave and killed there so that his soul could ride away on it. Corpses were taken out by the door. If a person died in a house, the house was abandoned. A tipi was either buried with the owner or appropriated by a friend not related to the owner, for if a relative kept it he would die from the same cause. It was believed that if one member of a family died of some special cause, e.g., disease, the next would die for the same reason; for example, if one child was killed, all children would be killed. If a Shoshoni had been killed by the enemy, the people tried to recover his body; if they had slain an enemy, they would drag the corpse away and leave it exposed.

Wilson also describes cleft burial as the normal form. He speaks of a specific case in which a boy was mourned by the whole camp for five days. The corpse was put into a crevice together with bedding and various utensils, and three horses were killed and buried with the deceased.[2]

BERDACHES.

A Shivwits informant recollected hearing people speak of a man who never hunted and though not dressing like a woman acted like one and had a feminine voice. He would lead the women with a basket when they went seed-gathering and roasted seeds like them. He was married to two men, sleeping with each on alternate nights. In myths such persons are called *ma+dï'pots*.

Among the Southern Ute Panayúts remembered hearing his father tell of a berdache (*tuwásawits*), who owned a great many horses. Possibly as many as half a dozen boys would stay there and have him cook for them. One morning when the berdache rose early one of the boys was lying on the side as she was stirring the ashes and " she" touched his

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[1] Hopkins, 21, 41, 66, 70, 120.
[2] Wilson, 85, 196.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Ti	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AI
1992a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1993. Fur on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
•1994. Musical Bow	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2000. As toy	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2000a. For dance	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2001. Whistle	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
•2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	•−	−	+	−	+	−	+
2002a. 2 holes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	•−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
•2004. Flute (woina)	+	+	+	+	−	•−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+
•2006. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
•2007. Bone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2008. Length (in.): about 12	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2008a. About 18	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013a. By nose	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2017a. In hunting	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+

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MARRIAGE

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Ti	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AI
•2018. Bride price	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•2019. As present	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2022. Marriage by abduction	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2024. Friends assist in fight	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2025. Polygyny permitted	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2026. Sororal obligatory	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2026a. Sororal usual	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2027. Polyandry permitted	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	−	−
2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2030. Required	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2030a. Customary	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2032. Required	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2032a. Customary	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2037. Child betrothal	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+

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[p.404]

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

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525] A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

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595 two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual
one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there
seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

595 Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency
of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

182 It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connec-
595 tion with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women
in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as im-
[428] portant as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property
to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such
property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3]
595 Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso,
587 unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although
[588] Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the
development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T. tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his person- [754]
ality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to, but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing [762]
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest,
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [159]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-
five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation center- [657]
ing around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka ta gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

578
three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every in- 152
stance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Con- 762
cerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remem-
bered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, ~~some~~ cases were reported.

● [589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784 525] A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

● 591 583 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

MARRIAGE.

Among the Shivwits Paiute a man would work for his parents-in-law, 58 bringing them game. Both here and in the Moapa band some men had 595 two wives but never more, and usually the women of a bigamous household were sisters, a man sometimes marrying his first wife's younger sister. The levirate is also common to both groups, indeed is still said to be practised by the Shivwits; with the Moapa it was especially an unmarried man that took to wife his brother's widow. Among the Shivwits I was told that cross-cousin marriages were not in vogue.

The Southern Ute who wished to marry would send a friend to propose for him to the girl's father. When the latter asked what he wanted, the go-between would say, "My friend sent me, he wishes to marry your daughter." If a clearly negative answer was given, the messenger at once returned. Otherwise he waited for the family council. The girl's wishes were consulted; parents might persuade but did not force her to marry against her will. On the next day the suitor himself went to the lodge and stayed over night; after several days he took his wife to his own house. Sometimes, especially in the case of youths, proposals were made to girls while they were in the menstrual lodge. It was not customary to marry first cousins; a man who transgressed the rule was compared to the mythical trickster. In case of a separation the man would keep the children if his wife was at fault and vice versa. An aggrieved husband might take away a war-bonnet or leggings from his wife's lover, but if he killed his rival's horses by way of punishment he 58 thereby surrendered his marital rights to the culprit. If a man had an 684 intrigue with another woman, his wife might summon her friends and they would jointly take away all the paramour's property, even stripping her of the clothes she wore, and the adulteress had no redress and made no objection. In such a case the husband usually came back to his wife, but not always. Sometimes a woman finding her husband return home from a visit to his mistress would ask him why he had not stayed with his sweetheart and would strike him on the shinbone.

The Uintah Ute assert that in former days girls never married when 58 very young. The father-in-law would notice a young man who was a skilled hunter and bid his daughter marry him, knowing that his son-in-law 591 would provide him with venison and skins for moccasins. It was customary for the young couple to stay with the bride's parents for a long time, then they would live with the husband's family; nowadays this custom is not followed and the couple settle wherever they please. Young men who were not good hunters and were not skilled in going for 58

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 Northern Paiute

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries.
If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated.
A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

• 591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother disapproved
586 of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory.
Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2054. Speech taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2056. "Respect" required	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2058. Avoidance continues for life	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2060. Brother sister	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Marriage to man	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2095. Lives with man	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2102. Does man's work	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2103. Has male organs	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2104. Marriage to woman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2106. Is shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N W A 591

N W A 684

586

N 548

N A 836

N 606

N A 602

N W A 605 607

N W A 597

N W A 838

N W A [illegible]

N [787]

[p. 405]

N
534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N
[177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W
[538] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N
[756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.
W
[756]

N
[177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N
[172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N
[684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N
595
[177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W
[583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N
● 591 2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N
684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N
586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439]b

THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the 626 manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion.

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it 592 is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren. There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young [591] couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close by the parental household.

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many [595] households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the same man.

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, [586] he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him.

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. [462] The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584
parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls
were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry
the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated
her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man,
and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually
will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers
and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well,
usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The
girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer
of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually
sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over
and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and
shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to
catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often
encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered con- [585]
sumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings
presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431]
food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a
hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends,
wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a
whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534]
flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men [308]
and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the
menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a
man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [585]
mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848]
refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586
the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In
these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up
the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684]
person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned
their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives,
or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her
parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In
the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may
take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his
wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married
sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

more than two brothers. In one of these marriages, the union was first arranged [584]
between a woman and an older brother. Some time later the younger brother took 595
up residence with the couple and the girl's parents, and was then considered a co- [591] ●
husband. The three slept in the same house and apparently lived together without
any noticeable friction. When a child was born to the wife, both men claimed [861]
fatherhood and were so regarded by public opinion. It was not possible to learn
whether or not the child addressed both by the term for father.

Another polyandrous marriage was arranged between the parents of a girl and [584
two brothers. The brothers visited the girl's parents and talked over the matter.
The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591]
by the woman, came to live in the house of the parents-in-law. A preliminary discussion
involving the consent of the parents and the girl is the usual practice in
arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the 584
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary
for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had
selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed.
Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a
word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months,
until the girl's parents indicated by addressing him pleasantly and by offering him
food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay
down with the girl and, if she did not get up and move her bed, they had intercourse
and were then looked upon as married. Thereafter the husband lived with his wife's (
parents. This courtship, frequently a long drawn out affair, does not seem to have
been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

There is no evidence to indicate that these were considered temporary unions 595
for either of the brothers. In the first instance mentioned, the two husbands lived
with the woman until her death. Public opinion seems to have regarded these
marriages as permanent, as much so as any other marital arrangements. In this
connection it may also be noted that informants were almost unanimous in holding [586]
that marriages in the old days were not frequently dissolved. Although the number
of instances of polyandry was small, this permanency seems also to be characteristic
of such marriages.

As in other marital unions, polyandrous marriages were not marked by ceremony
or exchange of gifts. A marriage is thought of as established when a man and a [585]
woman have had sexual relations. When a man and woman, one man and several
women, or two men and a woman are known to be living together and having sexual
relations, they are regarded by public opinion as married without further formalities.

In the matter of residence polyandrous marriages conformed to the usual [591]
Paviotso practice. The husbands in all known cases went to live in the house of the
wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the [592]
economic support of the household.

There is no evidence that one husband was always absent from the home. In 592
fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

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early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.[*]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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[*] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies
ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved
over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When
there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the 626 manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion.

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it 592 ● is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren. There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young [591] couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close by the parental household.

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many [595] households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the same man.

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, [586] he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him.

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. [462] The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut

592 [142] and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 [142] Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they collected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 562 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days, except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 593 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for economic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 861 867 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for being aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

more than two brothers. In one of these marriages, the union was first arranged [584]
between a woman and an older brother. Some time later the younger brother took 595
up residence with the couple and the girl's parents, and was then considered a co- [591]
husband. The three slept in the same house and apparently lived together without
any noticeable friction. When a child was born to the wife, both men claimed [861]
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Another polyandrous marriage was arranged between the parents of a girl and [584
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The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591]
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arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary 584
for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had
selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed.
Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a
word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months,
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food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay
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been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

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wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the [592]
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fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

8:Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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595 two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

595 Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

182 It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connec-
595 tion with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women
in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as im-
[428] portant as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property
to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such
property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3]
595 Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso,
587 unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although
[588] Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the
development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Wadátkuht

103 361 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht. It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and [162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total population of approximately 34 people. [592] Each household was made up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from [312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the [343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). [171] This house was built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford. At the northern end of the village area a large granite [857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder that small children would slide with the result that the polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area with the result that a very large number of stone projectile points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite important even in ancient times. The archaeological designation for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections 25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife. This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sóhud^{a} as

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Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

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As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

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Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

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The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

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183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
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> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her
593 husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were
574 assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only
619 recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu·pavi^{i}) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 Ochiho was chief of the Gidū'tikad^{u} at the time of the white advent
173 and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'$^{ə u}$ka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587
tönónaí^{vi} *qumâdu*, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, 684
her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks (593)
I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that 582
a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nubility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young 584
suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

> but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to "be himself," and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.
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> At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits 585
> by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes 000
here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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[1] Hopkins, 48-49, 50.

000 regarded more or less like one's own mother. One informant said that formerly a man spoke with neither his wife's parents nor with her brother except through his wife, but the very inclusion of the latter relative renders the statement of doubtful value (see below), and as explained, the consensus of native opinion was clearly in the opposite direction. It may be noted that on the same Reservation there are also Arapaho Indians, whose observance of the taboo is a well-known fact, and possibly my informant's remark was in part due to this circumstance. In the beginning of married life the Wind River husband was looked upon as more or less of a hired man who was expected to perform odd jobs. Similar conditions prevailed among the Shivwits.

From all the available data I conclude that the mother-in-law taboo was not a feature of the ancient Shoshonean culture and that its occurrence among the Lemhi is merely due to probably Crow and Blackfoot contact.

I obtained no evidence of a joking-relationship in any of the tribes here specially considered, but a usage recorded among the Comanche will be noted presently.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni brothers-in-law are especially friendly. This also applies to the Comanche, in which tribe the brothers-in-law play jokes on each other and have a peculiar privilege in cases of adultery, as illustrated by a personal experience of Mr. Hope M. Fullbright, who grew up among the Comanche. An Indian had been guilty of adultery and his brother-in-law confiscated his horse, one of his hogs and some other property (all comprised under the term *ndnawŏkip*), and gave all to the aggrieved husband. However, such property was regarded as undesirable and the new owner at once disposed of the horse and hog, selling the former to Mr. Fullbright for $5 and the latter for $2 (one-fifth of its real value). Mr. Fullbright saw no reason why he should not ride the newly bought horse, but found that all the Indians looked down upon him for doing so; accordingly he exchanged it for a horse belonging to another white man. Against this no objection was raised. The Comanche treated a brother's wife and a wife's sister with familiarity and called them by the same term as their real wives.

603 A Pyramid Lake Paviotso told me that in his tribe an orphaned
593 child was usually taken care of by the maternal grandmother. At Love-
736 locks I was informed that a Paviotso woman would never walk with any man but her husband.

592 [162] and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 [162] Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they collected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 562 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days, except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 593 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for economic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 861 867 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for being aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the
family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next
chapter.

● [573 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the
family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of
bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions
husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently
or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate
physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect
check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation
for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give
rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because
she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another
informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother,
however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community.
Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were
deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink
and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members
of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 578
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every in- 593
stance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong 152
guilt because of this hostility. [762]

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their
aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or
is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps ?
aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened
the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true.
Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished
that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Con- 762
cerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported
in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed
her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted.
Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her
husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house.
Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back
when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remem-
bered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them.
Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might
be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the chil-
dren's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

762 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive
154 act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been
578 caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not
[784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their
[681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women.
578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

573 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest
[567] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her
[584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister-in-law 593 is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578 wife is culturally recognized.[8] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154 girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586] his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602] his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835] fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584 court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837] girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606 of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother-in-law 837 when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154 ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[8] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607] under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 573
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to
what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members
of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within
the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476]
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It
was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by
themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggregations [221]
of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall
when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July
when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another.
Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of
families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and
water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope
and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food
would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so
great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing
rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to
leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best
time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt
compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for 657]
their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation
was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that
they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power
than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692
681]

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the
593 extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and
627 order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person
681 wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the
practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of
being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by-
208 standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up
their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive
violence.

121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

754 The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

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[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

Wadátkuht

854 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so
826 used to being in it.

Punishing Children. If a child pretended to cry he was
861 apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her.

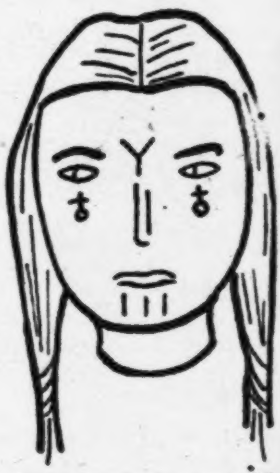
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

Sibling Rivalry. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as
593 typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and
[682] killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

304 **Tattoos**. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks.
[531] A tattoo was called naboidz.

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "lll" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



not even if the girl and her mother liked him." There seems, however, to have been a certain amount of individual choice, for "sometimes a girl liked a boy. They would tell her, 'That boy, he has nothing,' but she liked him, and she married him anyway." 584

A boy who wanted to marry sneaked into the girl's camp at night to lie beside her. The parents would say, "Somebody comes here," and the old woman would get up and make a fire to see who had come. They looked at the boy but said nothing. If the girl accepted him he stayed until morning; then he sneaked away, being ashamed to eat there. He came back again, and finally stayed. If the girl did not want him, he went off not to return. The old people had many wives like that—maybe one here, maybe one down toward Alturas, maybe one at Pyramid lake (JB). 583

Marriage was conducted on extremely informal lines, polygyny and brittle monogamy being the rule rather than the exception. Thus, "a good hunter had many wives; in the old days they used to marry until they were too old to walk." A man might have two or three wives at a time, usually, but not necessarily sisters. He had a right to the sisters of his wife, but he was not obligated to take them; "he could marry just one sister if he did not want the others." His wives lived in the same house, or at least in the same camp. I was gravely assured that "they never quarreled," but the picture of domestic bliss was shattered by Minnie who claimed that "often they fought." 595 ●

Blood relationship was the only bar to marriage. Informants agreed that cousins were "brothers," and that children of half-brothers could not marry[219] because "we call them like full brothers." An individual usually married within his own band or a related Paviotso band. There was no feeling for local exogamy. Concerning foreign marriages, "they never married with the Klamath. Sometimes a man would go to the Pit River country and marry, but he did not bring his wife back here. That is why all the old Pit River people can understand Paiute. Pit River men did not come here and take wives." Women captured in war were taken as wives. There seems to be relatively little intermarriage even at present. I recall a few random cases: George Brown is married to an Achomawi woman and lives at Likely (Pit River territory). Nellie Townsend's father was a "Digger" (Maidu ?) from Susanville, her mother a Paviotso; Minnie Archie's father and his sister, Warm Springs Indians, both married Paiutes. There are doubtless other cases, especially of marriage with the Achomawi. 582 835 [727]

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[219] Cf. Kroeber, California Kinship Systems, 362.

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries.
If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated.
A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother dis-
586 approved of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory.
Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[589] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N W A 534

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ea	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ak
1992a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1993. Fur on end	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2000. As toy	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2000a. For dance	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2001. Whistle	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*-	-	+	-	+	-	+
2002a. 2 holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	-	-	-	+	+	*+	-	*-	+	-	+	+	-	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*2004. Flute (noise)	+	+	+	+	-	*-	-	-	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2006. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2008. Length (in.): about 12	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2008a. About 18	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013a. By nose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2017a. In hunting	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

N
A

MARRIAGE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ea	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ak
583 *2018. Bride price	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*2019. As present	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+
● N 2022. Marriage by abduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	*-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
A 2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2024. Friends assist in fight	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
● 595 2025. Polygyny permitted	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
N 2026. Sororal obligatory	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X 2026a. Sororal usual	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2027. Polyandry permitted	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	*-	+	+	+	-	-
587 2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2030. Required	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+
2030a. Customary	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N 2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
X 2032. Required	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2032a. Customary	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
582 2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
583 2037. Child betrothal	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	+

[p. 404]

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [538] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

● N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N 591 2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N 586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439]b

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at
Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and
his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house
(Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him
(Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man
and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus
it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers
and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes
families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close
by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies
ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved
over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When
there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers
and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in
the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several
men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by
themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence.
This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with
other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and
the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative
enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits,
they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food.
Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals
to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered
at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food
supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if
many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season
at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the 626 manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion.

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it 592 is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren. There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young [591] couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close by the parental household.

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many [595] households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the same man.

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, [586] he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him.

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. [462] The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
114 the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
● 595 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished
171 field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and
Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.

584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.

[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

more than two brothers. In one of these marriages, the union was first arranged [584]
between a woman and an older brother. Some time later the younger brother took 595●
up residence with the couple and the girl's parents, and was then considered a co- [591]
husband. The three slept in the same house and apparently lived together without
any noticeable friction. When a child was born to the wife, both men claimed [861]
fatherhood and were so regarded by public opinion. It was not possible to learn
whether or not the child addressed both by the term for father.

Another polyandrous marriage was arranged between the parents of a girl and [584
two brothers. The brothers visited the girl's parents and talked over the matter.
The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591]
by the woman, came to live in the house of the parents-in-law. A preliminary discussion involving the consent of the parents and the girl is the usual practice in
arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the 584
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed. Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months, until the girl's parents indicated by addressing him pleasantly and by offering him food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay down with the girl and, if she did not get up and move her bed, they had intercourse and were then looked upon as married. Thereafter the husband lived with his wife's parents. This courtship, frequently a long drawn out affair, does not seem to have been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

There is no evidence to indicate that these were considered temporary unions 595
for either of the brothers. In the first instance mentioned, the two husbands lived with the woman until her death. Public opinion seems to have regarded these marriages as permanent, as much so as any other marital arrangements. In this
connection it may also be noted that informants were almost unanimous in holding [586]
that marriages in the old days were not frequently dissolved. Although the number of instances of polyandry was small, this permanency seems also to be characteristic of such marriages.

As in other marital unions, polyandrous marriages were not marked by ceremony
or exchange of gifts. A marriage is thought of as established when a man and a [585]
woman have had sexual relations. When a man and woman, one man and several women, or two men and a woman are known to be living together and having sexual relations, they are regarded by public opinion as married without further formalities.

In the matter of residence polyandrous marriages conformed to the usual [591]
Paviotso practice. The husbands in all known cases went to live in the house of the
wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the [592]
economic support of the household.

There is no evidence that one husband was always absent from the home. In 592
fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

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595 two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual
one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there
seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

595 Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency
of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

182 It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connec-
595 tion with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women
in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as im-
[428] portant as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property
to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such
property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3]
595 Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso,
587 unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although
[582] Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the
development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

WILLARD Z. PARK

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

9:Stewart E-5 (1936) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NORTHERN PAIUTE POLYANDRY

[114] 595 In his article *Shoshoni Polyandry,*[1] Dr Julian H. Steward said, "It is reasonably certain that it [polyandry] was not practiced by the Shoshoni of southern Nevada nor by the adjoining Northern Paiute." During the summer of 1936, while making a culture element survey of the Northern Paiute for the University of California, 101 595 I recorded the presence of polyandry among five of the eleven Northern Paiute bands visited. The bands admitting polyandry are now located at Burns in Oregon;

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[2] Pages 563, 564.

[3] Page 562.

[4] Page 561.

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

[Pg. 368]

and at Pyramid Lake (Nixon), McDermitt, Winnemucca, and Owyhee in Nevada. 101
The bands at Winnemucca and Owyhee are on the border between Paiute and 595
Shoshoni peoples and probably were influenced by the Shoshoni in regard to marriage, as we know they were influenced in regard to other traits.

The informants at Winnemucca gave no details concerning polyandry, but at 595
Owyhee I obtained a fair account of a present-day case which involved both Shoshoni and Paiute. At this reservation a Shoshoni woman was married for a long time to a Shoshoni man. A few years ago a young Paiute man started living with them; all three slept in the same bed. However, as the first husband was quite senile, sexual relations were only between the woman and her second husband. I should state that at the present time both Paiute and Shoshoni live on the Owyhee Reservation. However, my informant assured me that polyandry was known among the Paiute when they lived in Oregon about a hundred miles to the northwest.

At Burns, Oregon, the strongly Catholic informants gave no information beyond [795]
the admission that "old time Paiute women sometimes had two husbands at once." While at McDermitt, I was told that "right now a woman here has two husbands who are not brothers." But the informant went on to say that polyandry would not have been allowed in the old days. Although a hundred and twenty-five difficult miles separate the two, the McDermitt Indians have had much contact with the Shoshoni since the establishment of the Owyhee Reservation in 1877.

The most detailed evidence of Northern Paiute polyandry was obtained at Pyramid Lake, which is located in about the center of this area. On this reservation is a woman who has lived with two men for many years. The men are not brothers, and, my informants said, they share equally sexual privileges and economic burdens. The children call both men father, and together the men work their land. Unfortunately, no details could be had concerning any pre-contact cases at Pyramid Lake, although both informants had heard that in the old days women sometimes had more than one husband at a time.

However, polyandry was not a common feature in Northern Paiute social life, and it was not institutionalized. Dr Steward's explanation of Shoshoni polyandry as a result of the relative lack of male jealousy and the "extraordinary simplicity of social structure which made the relationship of both sexes to plural marriage almost identical" could also apply to Northern Paiute polyandry.

OMER C. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

By Robert F. Heizer
Director, University of California Archaeological Survey
Berkeley

The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification 114
of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of [101]
the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to.

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time 159
before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's [114]
History of the Big Bonanza (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144).

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the [595]
famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise

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[1] Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227–28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a lesser chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1883, pp. 96–99; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (op. cit., chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

361 621 592 [595] holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 224 [476] [731] [231] *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared, even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

● 596 462 476 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 183] In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A 765
woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if [587]
the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife.

Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; 597 ●
"somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her.

GAMES AND PASTIMES

The Gidü'tikad^a had the usual assortment of games, and although 524
they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not 525
develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212]

Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One 777
was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called paba'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used:

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

Football.—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer 526
by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	N W A 591
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2040. Variable	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	N W A 684
2042. Wife sometimes killed	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2045. Paramour's horse killed	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	586
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N 548
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2050. Prostitution	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	N A 836
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	–	–	–	–	±	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	N 606
2054. Speech taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2056. "Respect" required	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2058. Avoidance continues for life	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	N A 602
2060. Brother sister	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
2061. Obscenity avoided	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A 605
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	607

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A 597 ●
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A 838
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	
2092. Does woman's work	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	
2093. Has female organs	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2094. Marriage to man	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
2095. Lives with man	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	N W [842]
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2101. Wears man's dress	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
2102. Does man's work	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
2103. Has male organs	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2104. Marriage to woman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	
2105. Lives with women	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
2106. Is shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2108. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2110. Fire test in youth	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[787]

[p. 405]

SOCIAL ASPECTS

KINSHIP AND STATUS TERMS

Except for orthographic differences, the kinship terms recorded agree substantially with the Paviotso lists published by Kroeber[189] and Lowie.[190] Consequently it will not be necessary to reproduce the series complete, but one or two additions may be noted. As Lowie suggests, the initial i proves to be the pronoun of the first person. The term, hai^{n} (hai', hä'^{n}), may be extended to include father's sister's husband as well as father's brother, stepfather, and mother's sister's husband; and the term, bi"du (pidu'u; piru"^{u}), to include mother's brother's wife as well as mother's sister and stepmother. Similarly, the term, hu"za (huza; hü'za, h^{u}ja), may be enlarged to include wife's sister's child. 601●

Lowie seems to be in error in applying igü'ma (gu'ma') not only to husband but to sister's husband as well. According to my informants, sister's husband (m.s.) is a'da'toi and (w.s.), nüna'i^{i}, corresponding to Lowie's ara'doi and (i)ninɛ"^{i}, respectively. While speaking of errors it may be noted that de Angulo,[191] who has published an incomplete kinship terminology, reverses the terms for husband and wife.

Status terms were recorded as follows: 561

oha'^{a}; also, düka'ai^{i}; infant or small child of either sex
natsi^{i}; boy (3 to 12)
tsü'ü^{a}; girl (3 to 12)
nama'dagai^{i}; adolescent youth; menstruating girl or woman
tui'pitsi^{i}; unmarried youth
süa'düm; unmarried girl
budü'ñawa; young persons, married or unmarried
oha'^{u}ka; newly married; a recent term used in jest
na'na; man
mogo'tsi; woman
dü'ba'a; sterile person of either sex; berdache[192]
kohi'ad; pregnant woman
badi'kayu; man or woman with small daughter
du'a'kuyu; man or woman with small son (this and preceding term determined by the sex of the last born child)
nana'niadü; middle-aged man

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[189] California Kinship Systems, 358–365
[190] SE, 289–290; Bannock Kinship, 297.
[191] P. 330.
[192] Lowie, SE, 283, records the same term plus the word for man, woman.

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries.
If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated.
A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother disapproved
586 of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory.
Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

000

yáitcin, yáatcin, son's wife; husband's parent, husband's brother or sister, brother's wife (m. sp., w. sp.), husband's sibling's spouse
yayáitcin, collective name for all of husband's relatives
tatáwarin, wife's brother or sister, wife's parent, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.), daughter's husband, mother's sister's husband
tatáwarium, collective for wife's relatives

My Southern Ute material differs from Sapir's for the Northern Ute mainly in two respects. In the case of a single stem to designate two relatives of different generation my informants did not distinguish the junior member of the couple by a diminutive suffix but employed the diminutive form indifferently. Secondly, my two comprehensive terms of affinity are differently defined by Sapir.—*yaitcin*" as spouse's parent, son's wife: *tantauarin*" as wife's brother, sister's husband, m. sp. Among the Northern Ute I myself obtained the following renderings:—

yaᵉtcin, son's wife, brother's wife (m. sp.), husband's sibling, spouse's mother, mother's brother's wife;
tantaᵉwin, father-in-law, father's sister's husband, brother-in-law, daughter's husband.

From the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Lovelocks, and Fallon the following list was secured, which tallies fairly well with that obtained by Kroeber from a Pyramid Lake informant[1]:

601
[114

iná'a[2], father
pia, mother
dúa, son
badó, *pāró*, daughter
bábi'ⁱ, elder brother, male cousin[3]
baná'ᵃ, younger brother, male cousin
amá', elder sister, female cousin
bóni'ⁱ, younger sister, female cousin
hai', *hé'ⁱ*, father's brother, stepfather, mother's sister's husband
pa'wá, father's sister
átsi', *átsi'*, mother's brother, mother's cousin
piwi'ᵘ, mother's sister, stepmother
húza, *hᵘja*, brother's child (m. sp.), stepchild, wife's sister's child (m. sp.)
imidó', my sibling's child (w. sp.)
inanák'ᵘᵘ, my sister's child (m. sp.)
qómu'ᵘ, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)
hutsi'ⁱ, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
iroyó', my mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)
imu'á, my mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)

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[1] Kroeber, (b), 359 seq.
[2] The initial *i* is probably the first person pronoun, as it certainly is in such combinations as *idua*, *ibóni'i*, *etc.*
[3] No distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins.

601 *ühóni'ᵋ, ühónĭ'ᵋ*, my greatgrandfather, greatgrandmother[1]
igúma, my husband, sister's husband
inóŭk', inoŭg^{wu}, my wife
iyáhi, my parent-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
iroγóna, my son-in-law
gönübia, gö'nupia, daughter-in-law
aráto+i, arádoi, brother-in-law (m. sp.), father's sister's husband
ininá'ᵋ, my sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother
usánapia, wife's sister or cousin
arádzi'pia, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
na'idik'a k^{wu}, child's parents-in-law

Kroeber suggestively discusses the etymology and later extension of meaning of the terms *iro·γóna*, *gönübia*, *usánapia*, and *arádzi'pia*.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni, I recorded the following kinship terms:—

ápö, father, father's brother
pia, mother, mother's sister
nárüa, my son (*undúa*, his son)
nápä'di, my daughter (*umpä'di*, his daughter)
nábābi, my elder brother, male cousin,[2] wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband
nátsimi, my younger brother, male cousin, wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband
nábádzi, my elder sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife
námámi, my younger sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife
báha, father's sister, brother's child (w. sp.), spouse's mother, daughter's husband (w. sp.)
ára, mother's brother, sister's child (m. sp.), wife's father, son-in-law (m. and w. sp.[3])
kö'nu, father's father, son's child (m. sp.), husband's father
gágu, mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.), mother's mother's sister, mother-in-law
dóko, mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.), mother's father's brother, wife's father
hútsi, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
gwö', wife, wife's sister, brother's wife
gwáhapö, husband, sister's husband, husband's brother
mónapö, son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
hútsimbia, daughter-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)
báhambia, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)
nö'ri, husband's brother's wife
náréda, my sister's husband (m. sp.), wife's brother

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[1] Kroeber limits the term to mean father's father's mother and reciprocally son's son's child (w. sp.).
[2] No distinction is drawn between parallel and cross-cousins.
[3] Probably this is an error and should be limited to m. sp.; see above, *báha*.

It is interesting to note that suggestions of classificatory terminology 601 • are most conspicuous at Wind River, as we should expect. The lack of 171 distinctive cousin terms and still more so the use of reciprocal stems for the grandparental relationship are perhaps the outstanding features of our Plateau Shoshonean systems. The most interesting variations occur, as noted by Sapir, as regards the designation of the uncle-nephew categories. Thus, the Paiute and Ute are found to use reciprocal stems, while the Paviotso have correlative stems not etymologically connected (e.g., *hai*^{n} and *hŭza*, *ătsi*^{ni}, and *ɪnanák*$^{\cdot wa}$).

RELIGION.

Information on the personal aspect of Shoshonean religion is ex- 000 tremely sparse and the following notes are given mainly to stimulate further inquiry.

Among the Shivwits supernatural power did not come in solitary fasting but in dreams. Cünáwaʙ^{i} was prayed to for success in the chase, and after game had been killed some of the fat was thrown in all directions as an offering to him. Prayers were not addressed to Tüʙáts. The Moapa believe that Cotsípamâpöt never aged and never died. Cünáwaʙ^{i} and Töʙáts also are still living and sometimes people say the dead go to them.

Women, as well as men, might be doctors. Moapa is the center of the earth.

The object of the Southern Ute Sun dance[1] was primarily the attainment of a shaman's powers, secondarily the cure of sick men. The leader was of course possessed of shamanistic powers. Sometimes as many as forty men participated in the ritual, but only a few of them attained their wish of becoming medicinemen. Some Ute would take part in four or five ceremonies before having their hopes fulfilled. When exhausted from fasting, a person would faint and then he might dream about eating and the Sun would tell him that he was to be a medicineman. After a while he would wake up and feel quite well.

It should be noted that the Sun dance is a very recent acquisition of the Ute. At Ignacio I was told in 1912 that even the Utah branch of the tribe only got it from the Shoshoni about twenty-two years ago. Prior to that time the shaman (*pŏ'aγat*) apparently got his power in dreams without fasting. Some shamans were good (*áte-pŏ'aγat*), others bad (*ōwú-pŏ'aγat*). The latter were sorcerers who caused people to fall

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[1] See this series, vol. 16, part 5.

196 headed eagle *Pasia'*, vulture *wiho'*, chicken-hawk *TaBuTsi Kini'i*,
192 sparrow-hawk *Kini'* ; heron *PoiKwasa*, crane *wasa* ; duck *KuTa*,
[136] geese *naKiT* ; woodpecker (flicker) *aTsa'Ba*.

280. fish (no general word) ; salmon *aq'a'i*, trout *PaKwa'*.

290. spider *coaT* ; grasshopper *oaDoDa'a*, cricket *nizyo* ; *mobiP*. horse-fly *PiPiT*, bee *nobTa*, butterfly *Tso'a'nene* ; worm *wo'aB*.

196 300. wood *Ku·na*, dead-wood, fire-wood *PasaP* ; root *Tina*, trunk *niwia*
192 bark *aPo'a*, branch *ma'na*, leaf *ceaKv*, sap *ayoPī*.
137 311. tree (general term) *PọbiKya'i* ; pine *wogoP*, pine-cone *q'aa*, juniper
wa·P, fir *q'aTaBⁱ*, spruce *winiP*. poplar *sīṇa·Bⁱ*, willow *ci·B*.

312. mountain mahogany *Tupe*.

320. grass (general term) *waba'Bī*, wild buckwheat *aTṣu'*, tule : *caiB*, *PiBuP*, *Toyi'Ba*, foxtail *monoPī*, tobacco *Pacmu'*.

330. wild onion *baP·e*, wild turnip *buni'Boe*.

340. nut *obo'*, pine-nuts *TīBa*.

350. berries (of juniper tree) *apu·i*.

360. wild plum *Toyo*

370. seeds *PubiKʷTya*

196 410. person ; people *neïm·ī*, man *na·na*, woman *mogo'ne*, old man *wa'eTs*,
192 old woman *Piya'waBi*, young man *naTs*, *TuimiTsi*, young
woman *Tsïa''a*, little boy *naTi'*, little girl *Tci'a'*, baby *oba'a*.

420. paternal grandfather *Kīuu''u*, maternal grandfather *Togo'*, paternal
[601] grandmother *buTse'*, maternal grandmother *mu'a'* ; father *na*,
mother *Pia'*, paternal uncle *bai'i*, maternal uncle *aaTs*, paternal aunt *Pabwa'*, maternal aunt *PiTo'* ; elder brother *PaBi''i*, younger brother *Kwaṇa'a*, elder sister *bama'a*, younger sister *Pīne'e* ; son *Tua'* ; daughter *Patī-*, nephew or niece [through a brother] (uncle speaking) *buza'*, idᵒ (aunt speaking) *aDa'Tsi*, idᵒ [through a sister] (uncle speaking) *manaK'*, idᵒ (aunt speaking) *miDo''o* ; husband *noTe'Kʷ*, wife *Kuma'*, father-in-law or mother-in-law *yabi'*, brother and sister-in-law are composite terms made up of nephw + mother, niece + son etc.

430. I *ni*, thou *ī*, you and I *Taa* ; he, she, it, this, man, etc. *usu*, *isu*, *masu*, *Pīsu* ; myself, yourself, himself, etc. *-χun* ; (essential possession) *i-* ; accidental possession *-Ka* ; [Refer to the grammatical sketch].

440. shaman *Puba'gam* ; chief *PaBe'*.

450. strong *ini*, small *TīT·i*, pretty *TaBīa*.

460. Paiute *neïm·ī*, Pit River Innian *ici'cawi'*, Klamath *PaKwi'Dīq'a*, Modoc *ca'i'iDiq'a*, Maidu *TaKone*, Warn Spring Indian *aga'Tse*, white man *TaiBo'o* ; Local bands of Paiutes : see Ethnography.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tö	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
*2050. Prostitution	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+

N W A 591
N W A 684
586
N 548
N A 836

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tö	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2054. Speech taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2056. "Respect" required	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2058. Avoidance continues for life	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2060. Brother sister	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+

N 606
N A 602

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tö	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 605
607

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tö	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tö	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
*2091. Wears woman's dress	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
*2092. Does woman's work	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2094. Marriage to man	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2095. Lives with man	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni nobo or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2102. Does man's work	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2103. Has male organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2104. Marriage to woman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2106. Is shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2108. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 838
N W A [842]
N [787]

[p. 405]

592 and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large
[462] part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town
of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The
men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the
women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her
father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her,
it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support
him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated
in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they col-
lected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom
[462] of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained
meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform
all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care
for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two
women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while
the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home
while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important
and stable unit in the family.

476 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days,
562 except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a
man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore,
a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can
wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that
young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until
they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man
is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children
with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent
on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters
against aggression from outsiders.

602 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for eco-
593 nomic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity
of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for be-
861 ing aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a
867 child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong con-
science and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned in-
ward is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

762 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive
154 act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been
578 caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead
to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is
correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good
thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have
been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against
their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility
against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even
co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm
these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not
[784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the
expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said
to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their
[681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill
any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying
to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the
other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested
by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother
committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women.
578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

573 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older
women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must
inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is
extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother
and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest
[867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the
role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her
[584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to
their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers.
After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For
example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she
explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met
in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the
old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[1] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586] his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602] his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835] fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[1] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607] under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [754]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with rye grass and tule mats. 343 344

CLOTHING

1. Sagebrush Clothing (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings. 291

2. Badger Skin Aprons. These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin. [281]

3. Women's Skin Dress (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following differences). Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress. 291 281 [301] [171]

4. Men's Clothing.

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried. [301 602]

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

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Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[illegible] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

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Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[illegible] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[illegible]

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The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

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DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

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[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

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The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; ss, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, a	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, a	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, a	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	58	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	59	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, e, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	60	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, s			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, s			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 s, e			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	63	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, e			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 sd			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	28	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	e, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	58	P	1				

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* Indentation of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

(Continued on next page)

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d			
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, e
57. Gregory, N.	F	59	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	b			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	h			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				nph
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			w, fl
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1			d	ss, sl
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b			
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, ssl, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	22	P	1	ml, 2 sal, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 sal		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P-(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 sal, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P-(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 sal	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 sal, h, m, bl	2 sal, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d		s	
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss		b	
86. Walker, C.	M	59	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 sal
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 sal
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, s			f, stm, u, s
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				d
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	50	P	1	3 s, gs, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	a, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	a, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	a, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, a			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 c			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

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[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

(Concluded on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
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Active Peyotists in the Washo-Paiute Cult—*(Concluded)*

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
							Nonpeyotists	
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	ss	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 a, ss
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, a, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl. d, 2 ssl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, ss, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, ss, 2 u	ss	gf, 2 u	bl, ss
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		a			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			a, gs
109, Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, a, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

000 regarded more or less like one's own mother. One informant said that formerly a man spoke with neither his wife's parents nor with her brother except through his wife, but the very inclusion of the latter relative renders the statement of doubtful value (see below), and as explained, the consensus of native opinion was clearly in the opposite direction. It may be noted that on the same Reservation there are also Arapaho Indians, whose observance of the taboo is a well-known fact, and possibly my informant's remark was in part due to this circumstance. In the beginning of married life the Wind River husband was looked upon as more or less of a hired man who was expected to perform odd jobs. Similar conditions prevailed among the Shivwits.

From all the available data I conclude that the mother-in-law taboo was not a feature of the ancient Shoshonean culture and that its occurrence among the Lemhi is merely due to probably Crow and Blackfoot contact.

I obtained no evidence of a joking-relationship in any of the tribes here specially considered, but a usage recorded among the Comanche will be noted presently.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni brothers-in-law are especially friendly. This also applies to the Comanche, in which tribe the brothers-in-law play jokes on each other and have a peculiar privilege in cases of adultery, as illustrated by a personal experience of Mr. Hope M. Fullbright, who grew up among the Comanche. An Indian had been guilty of adultery and his brother-in-law confiscated his horse, one of his hogs and some other property (all comprised under the term *nánawðkip*), and gave all to the aggrieved husband. However, such property was regarded as undesirable and the new owner at once disposed of the horse and hog, selling the former to Mr. Fullbright for $5 and the latter for $2 (one-fifth of its real value). Mr. Fullbright saw no reason why he should not ride the newly bought horse, but found that all the Indians looked down upon him for doing so; accordingly he exchanged it for a horse belonging to another white man. Against this no objection was raised. The Comanche treated a brother's wife and a wife's sister with familiarity and called them by the same term as their real wives.

603 A Pyramid Lake Paviotso told me that in his tribe an orphaned
593 child was usually taken care of by the maternal grandmother. At Love-
736 locks I was informed that a Paviotso woman would never walk with any man but her husband.

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[8] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and
[372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The
● [803] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grandparents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he
862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

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[8] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
KINSHIP RELATIONS														
Avoidances														
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2054. Speech taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2056. "Respect" required	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2058. Avoidance continues for life	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2060. Brother sister	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
Joking Relations														
2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adoption														
2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES														
2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2094. Marriage to man	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2095. Lives with man	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2102. Does man's work	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2103. Has male organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2104. Marriage to woman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2106. Is shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 591
N W A 684
586
N 548
N A 836
N 606
N A 602
N W A 605
607
N W A 597
N W A 838
N W A [842]
N [787]

[p.405]

583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

591 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay
583 home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

000 horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed
in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries.
If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the
young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or
so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some
men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise
jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated.
A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because
some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came
home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with
someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young
children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the
girls generally to the mother.

591 Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also
customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a
584 girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young
men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's
father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the
morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will
like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who
was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes
the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that
they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother dis-
586 approved of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband
606 to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The
582 children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such
unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

> Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.[1]

[601] Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but
learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common
residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent
such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.[2]
595 Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory.
Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of
[587] them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused
at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and
587 daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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[1] Hopkins, 45.
[2] Kroeber, (b), 361

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000
advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was
another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor
Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624
rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. 224
Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed 223
to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914),
succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking [628]
he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth,
or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1]
Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out.
Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your
breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning
but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director.
If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion,
descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some
"smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622
authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire
Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn
was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief
presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain
all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623]
> said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least
> is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided
> upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any
> quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the
> great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief
> nor great chief has any salary.[2]

Kinship Usages.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606
Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171
group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence
at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or
Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000
that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.

[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.

[3] Lowie, 211.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2088. Orphans adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N W A 591

N W A 684

586

N 548

N A 836

N 606 ●

N A 602

N W A 605

607

N W A 597

N W A 838

N W A [842]

N [787]

[p. 405]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606

2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 838

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

N [842 848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841]

2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N [787]

2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462

2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622

2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621]

2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622]

2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535

2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravimoya, were old-time dance

[p. 440(A)]

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[8] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that
the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with
good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns
to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586]
his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters.
Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their
aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to
their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602]
his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never
heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes
to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let
her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s
son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This
relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his
mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835]
fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten
years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the
strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem
on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing
to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the
young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by
sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this
may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law
and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent
sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[8] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607]
under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A
girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a
woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife.
A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Vd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
KINSHIP RELATIONS														
Avoidances														
2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2054. Speech taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2056. "Respect" required	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2058. Avoidance continues for life	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2060. Brother sister	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
Joking Relations														
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adoption														
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES														
2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2094. Marriage to man	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2095. Lives with man	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2102. Does man's work	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2103. Has male organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2104. Marriage to woman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2106. Is shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 591

N W A 684
586

N 548

N A 836

N 606

N A 602

N W A 605
607

N W A 597

N W A 838

N W A [842]

N [787]

4 [p-405]

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister-in-law 593 is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578 wife is culturally recognized.[8] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154 girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

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RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

[101]
609

The Gidū'tikad^a call themselves nūmū, persons, as do the Nevada Paviotso.[233] Most informants apply the term to related groups only, but by it Piudy designates all Indians in opposition to whites (taibu). Informants class neighboring groups linguistically, thus:

> The Bannock and Fort Hall (Idaho) are the same as the Paiute: they talk our language.[234] I am a Paiute; I am a Bannock; Bannock are Paiute. The Bishop (Inyo county) and Pyramid Lake Indians speak our language too but a little different. We are Paiute here, at Walker lake, at Klamath,[235] at Burns, and at Pyramid lake. Even the Umatilla are half Paiute.
>
> The Warm Springs and the Digger Indians (Maidu, Washo) are different too. The first time I saw a Washo I thought he was a Paiute, but he didn't understand what I said to him (JB).

With related bands the Gidū'tikad^a were on the best of terms and a few individuals could visit a neighboring group with little hesitancy. Thus a camp of Gidū'tikad^a would sometimes wander as far east as McDermitt and occasionally winter there. Also:

> Sometimes one or two Pyramid Lake and Nixon (Nevada) Paiute came here to hunt. We didn't object because they didn't come in bands (P).

Contacts with the Shoshone who "lived northeast of McDermitt, the other side of some mountain" seem to have been slight. Joshua had heard of Snake Indians "somewhere to the east" but had not seen any. The Bannock (Pana'k^a), living "somewhere to the northeast in Idaho, the other side of Malheur," were known chiefly through the Burns Paviotso but also through occasional transients who did not winter in Gidū'tikad^a territory. According to Piudy:

> The Bannock came here only once. When the Klamath and Warm Springs Indians were fighting us, we sent word north and many Bannock came and helped us.

---

[233] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[234] This accords nicely with Kroeber's linguistic classification of Bannock. Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, 266.

[235] Doubtless Yainax, near Beatty, which is on the Klamath reservation.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

ence or at the treaty negotiations,[16] how many Indians gathered for the treaty-signing,[17] how the twenty-two Snakes present at the signing were persuaded to attend,[18] how long treaty negotiations lasted,[19] who spoke during these proceedings,[20] or the exact day the treaty was signed.[21] Available data being so scanty about the treaty proceedings as a whole, Philleo Nash concluded in 1937 that "It is impossible to learn from the treaty whom the commissioners dealt with as 'Yahooskin Snakes'"[22] in the treaty negotiations. Nash bases this statement on his examination of Klamath Agency correspondence; examination of other fugitive material which Nash did not consult makes the impossible now possible, as follows. 648

On July 17, 1864, almost three months before the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty was signed, Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew of Ft. Klamath encamped with a military expedition of sixty-two men near the head of Goose Lake, at the western base of the "Sierra Nevada Mountains" [Warner Range]. Two Indian scouts attached to Drew's expedition went from this camp "up into the Sierras [Warner Range] to hunt;" these scouts brought back twenty White prospectors they met in the mountains, as well as "three of the principal Snake Indians of that region" (underlining ours) whom, Drew says, "they were anxious we should see. These Indians came into camp on foot and unarmed, having left their horses and their arms, if they had any, some distance back in charge probably of some of their comrades." [231]

Both Indians and prospectors stayed at Drew's camp overnight. The next morning the Indians and four of the White visitors departed, the Whites leaving on the pretext of going hunting, but actually to steal the Indians' horses, which they had seen the day before. A fight over the horses ensued and one prospector was killed. 648 609

As soon as he was told what had happened, Drew sent soldiers out to bring the White men and the Indians back to his camp. Drew was apprehensive that the incident would provoke an Indian attack on the expedition, but his fears proved unfounded. "The Indians seem to have comprehended," he writes, "that the troops were in no way responsible for the outrage that had been perpetrated, and they made no hostile demonstrations toward us. Subsequently these Indians were represented 648

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

648 579 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes."[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's 648 131 Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that [497] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two [609] of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now.[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons [224] they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

40. Army officials of this period were generally critical of the many unprovoked attacks on Indians by White settlers and miners. Such attacks too often precipitated needless Indian "Wars." Thus Dew, in narrating the clash between the White prospectors and Indians near the head of Goose Lake during his Owyhee Reconnaissance expedition, begins: "During our stay in the [Goose Lake] valley there occurred one of those incidents, that are unfortunately too common on our frontier, and often end in the injury or murder of innocent and unoffending citizens" (Drew, Official Report, pp. 7-8). 648

41. The Northern Paiute respected Army officers, who had a reputation of making few promises, but keeping their word. Col. Elmer Otis underscored the necessity for this sort of behaviour, in a letter written in the 1870's to Special Commissioner I. D. Applegate: "All promises to Indians must be kept faithfully, or they soon lose confidence and when once lost it is hard to regain" (NA. WDC. DC. 0-31-Encl. 4-1870). [609] ●

42. Thus Frank Lynch, a Sprague River Valley Klamath testifying in Court of Claims E-344 in 1931 on how he happened to attend the treaty council of 1864, said: "The eastern part of the Indians was requested to come to that council and they arrived at the place they called — below the place where they now call Chiloquin; and from that point we moved to this place of council. And I went there because I wanted to learn something and we had been promised to get some stuff from the Government, was word sent out. That is how I come to be there" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 827).

43. Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, p. 135; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, pp. 16-18.

44. In fact, Drew indicates in a letter dated July 12, 1864 that he considered the Silver-Summer lakes region as being occupied at that time "by Indians of Ou-a-luck's band who are giving so much trouble near Canyon City" (Drew to Assistant Adjutant General, WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 877, 900). In his official report Drew blames another "Snake chief," Pauline, for an attack on a wagon train near Silver Lake on June 6, 1864 (Official Report, pp. 5). Information about Ou-a-luck or Howlark is fragmentary; after 1865 nothing is certainly known about him (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 89). 131 648

45. Kelly, ibid., p. 67; Omer C. Stewart, idem; Whiting, idem. 000

46. Kelly, ibid., p. 69.

47. Kelly, ibid., p. 70.

48. Frank John, a Surprise Valley Paiute witness at the Reno hearings, who was born in Warner Valley near Adel, Lake Co., Ore., ca. 1885, 115 131

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A good boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 593 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 574 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 619 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi'ⁱ) of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 173 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikad[8] at the time of the white advent and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Pindy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ᵊka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Pindy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habi-
619 tat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute
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These people call themselves *neim·i* (e. g. *ni neim·i non·o* = I Paiute
man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak
[197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for ins-
tance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my infor-
mants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

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821 built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and
moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the
practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when
622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also
the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong
feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is nei-
ther respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

N
been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership with- 621
in a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for ante- N
lope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also con- [222]
centrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger group-
ings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as op-
posed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership [619] ●
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad dif-
ferentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476]
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against [628]
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo W

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evi-
dence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once ex-
tended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they repre- 197
sent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. W [668] The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. W [18] [623] Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

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among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white 177
culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the
Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. 178
It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as 619
Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from 621
aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance
of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets N
(Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tend- 177
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first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they in- 62
troduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the ac- 554
ceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the
peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in
postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, W
however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communi- 177
cation with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particu- 554
lar status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to 622
believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo
tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt
to introduce new ideas through such men.

W
In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among
the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although 177
there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to 178
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mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

Summary and Conclusions

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This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and
post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time 105
of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

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man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership 622 if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering [621] over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the 342 summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient), were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles). Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation 342 between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California 171 house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr. Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers, slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three 342 foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it. Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has [137] pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much [178] greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
462

DIVISION OF LABOR

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2111. General seed gathering, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2112. Pine-nut gathering, both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2113. Knocking down, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2114. Picking up, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2115. Transporting, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2115a.Male	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2116. Preparing, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2116a.Male	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
2117. Cooking, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2117a.Male	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2118. Carrying water, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2118a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2119. Near camp, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2119a.Male	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2120. Long distance, female	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2120a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2121. Fire tending (gathering wood), female	+	+	+	+	+	L	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2121a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2122. Hunting, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2123. Fishing, female	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2123a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2124. Gathering: larvae, female	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2124a.Male	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Grubs, female	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
2125a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Grasshoppers, female	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
2126a.Male	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2127. Rats and mice catching, female	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2127a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2129. Pine nuts from mt. cache, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
2129a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−

Manufactures

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2130. House, female	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2130a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2131. Baskets, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Skin preparations, female	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2132a.Male	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2133. Clothing, female	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2133a.Male	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2134. Moccasins, female	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2134a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
2136. Metate, female	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
2136a.Male	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2137. Skin blanket, female	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2137a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2138. Cord, female	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2138a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139. Weaving, female	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139a.Male	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2140. Rabbit net, male only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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A
621

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Group

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2141. Sovereign body is: localized band (named group of defined region)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2142. Village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p.406]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Chiefs (vohemavi or voimavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voimavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2152. Chief's assistant	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinancmo)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voimavi)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamovoimavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoimavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoimavi)	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2160. For hunting generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2161. For pine-nut trip	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2162. Village chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2167. Band owned fishing streams	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2169. Family owned seed plots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•−	•+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
2177. Captives	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2180. Domed willow house	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	•+	·	•+	+	•−	•−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•−
2181a. 30 ("month")	·	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2182. Ground warmed	−	−	·	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	−
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
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N
W
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W
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[624]

N
W
A
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423

N
W
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721
W
A
727

N
A
778
832
N
W
A
844

[p:407]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 838

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. N [842 848] Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N [787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

● N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravinoya, were old-time dance

N 624 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days,
535 men became dance captain merely by taking an interest
in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen
drive.

2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake
N [527] Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i¹-nó°ga (kuyui
dance), for which there was also a special master
of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority,
and conducted harvest dance just before
piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

● N 621 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas
423 and other places because their parents went
there. It was not private ownership. It is
like saying "my home town," or "my favorite
fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands
claimed certain areas, streams, mountains,
valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get
food any place without fear of payment or
W trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger,
[226] Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid
Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: – (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was
owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among
the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding
this, everyone got piñon nuts where
he wanted without payment or permission, unless
"owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse
for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon
nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when
they were chased away. Each family had several
"claims" which could be used if crop failed in
one place. These "claims" inherited from both
parents.

N [776 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone
beads and other things, which were thrown into
782] it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between
721 Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no
W [721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai
(Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with
the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff,
on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers
N [423] of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive
right to them. Trespass might result in fight.
N Aeries descended from father to son. KH: The
721 only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original
173 owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink.
At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater.
As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute
who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

[7.440(B)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 131 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake 226 262 222 224 and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to- 621 648 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall 529 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis- 755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among 755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of 754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among 756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful 182 as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty—that of 648 August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, [622] Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-she, Che- [551] em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142]

The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, [621] Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that [131] were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties—the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above.

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to Mc- [114]
Kay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account).

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, 114
killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatchâktchaksh; see fn. 648
193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tchâktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatchâktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties.

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tchâktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's 551
small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had 622
signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in 621
the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below).

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

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244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tcháktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

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246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

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249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
177 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun-
[648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the direct influences operating on their mode of living and political organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley, beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make.
114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of
121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general to a period coincident with the early years of the informants who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based. Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example, we note that the field work which this study is based on was done in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictu of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [177] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not [423 621] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

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[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

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early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.*

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [224]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *ī 'ape* (Chenpodium),
and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel
of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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* During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [221]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

C

361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at
Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and
his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house
(Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him
(Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man
and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus
it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers
and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes
families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close
by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies
ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved
over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
[731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When
there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers
and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in
the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several
men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by
themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence.
This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with
other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and
the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative
enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits,
they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food.
Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals
to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered
at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food
supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if
many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season
at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of
shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others
requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by
both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen
or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary
material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The
[131] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five
lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson
Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of
128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture were recorded from informants belonging to each of these
localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on
shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that
appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data
on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation
rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the
loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not
to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing
these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso
756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances
[782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for
relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of
dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and
the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these
play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to
shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings
unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds,
and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains,
water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits
of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist
him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to
cure sickness.

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131 162 [161] The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[39a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

621 [114] [101] The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[40] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

● 621 101 131 sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsai'i.

[113]

[39a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[40] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Genega, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tonoyiet, Toespe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukeo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Poatsituktikuteh.

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook 621
gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a 131
canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people
who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives [162]
Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the
Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more [114]
correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was [115]
born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place
is ō-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1[1] although [103]
ō-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the
lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the [221]
seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early 224
spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not [221]

[1] [see end plate 1--An.]

Gathering seeds.—By October various seeds were ripe. The seeds 222
of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus nevadensis*, were especially mentioned, also the seeds from the cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The fine down to which the cat-tail seeds are attached is spread upon the hard ground of a playa to the depth of 1 or 2 inches and over a space of 5 to 10 feet in diameter. It is then burned. More of the down is gradually added and continually stirred with sticks in order that it may be fully consumed. At the end of a hard day's labor there may be a sufficient quantity of seed upon the ground to fill several sacks. The method of removing the nut-like shell of these and other minute seeds is explained in discussing the various implements. It was a [262]
common thing to make porridge of several seed meals mixed.

The one-leaf piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, a tree 8 to 25, or rarely 45, feet in height, is found on the range east of Carson sink at an elevation of over 1000 or 1500 feet above the valley. It formed so important [423]
a source of food that different bands of Northern Paiute held proprietary rights to certain tracts. [621] ●
Winnemucca claimed the particular mountain on which is located the mythical "Weasel trail," described later (p. 160; no. 1, pl. 68). Late in autumn the nuts were gathered and secreted in piles until opportunity presented itself for transportation.

Basketry.—The typical Northern Paiute hulling basket (tema) is 285
a flat triangular tray, while other tribes, as well as the cave people, 252
had circular hulling trays. A layer of seeds is placed upon such a basket, and pressure applied with a circular motion with a flat stone. This cracks the nut-like seed coverings, after which the kernel and shells are separated by winnowing. A hulling basket may be of coiled (pl. 30a)[1] or other weave, but it must be a tight weave, as it is used to hull small seeds. Tema baskets are also used in roasting seeds, either before or after hulling, by placing them on the basket with coals and shaking. For the hulling of pine nuts and the larger seeds a coarser basket called yata may be used.

A flat wicker tema basket, triangular in shape, 24 by 30 inches in 285
size, was found several miles north of Lovelock cave, at the base of a cliff, at an elevation of some 300 feet above the level of the plain. It is undoubtedly a Northern Paiute specimen left on the spot in recent decades. It is made of willow, there being 32 warp rods and 40 courses of woof to 10 centimeters. The woof is single, unlike that in baskets found in the cave, and passes over two warps at a time, giving the basket a superficial appearance of being of diagonal twined weave.

[1] [See category 116, End Plate 30—Analyst]

Northern Paiute NR13

N
been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within 621
a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope N
or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated [222]
people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings
of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed
to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership [619]
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation
between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476]
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against [628]
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

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The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence
as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended
well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent 197
an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

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As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

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Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

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[224]

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

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Northern Paiute NR13

175 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958)
gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this develop-
648 ment of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white
horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied
wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility
● [621] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute
[178] led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority
and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated
[423] with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249;
Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the
horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called com-
114 posite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting
231 groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this develop-
178 ment, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost
is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly
621 organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question
is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

Northern Paiute NR13

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177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination
648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to
668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However,
W they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once
[668] again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W
177 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian
182 tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This
648 adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W
[622] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent
[666] them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on
W another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly
[181] unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion
[623] and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W
177 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo
648 as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N
177 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A
178 greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encour-
619 aged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This in-
● 621 creased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

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among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white
culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the 177
Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. 178
It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as 619
Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from 621 ●
aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance
of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets N
(Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tend- 177
ency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The
first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they in- 62
troduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the ac- 554
ceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the
peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in
postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, W
however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communi- 177
cation with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particu- 554
lar status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to 622
believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo
tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt
to introduce new ideas through such men.

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among W
the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although 177
there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to 178
deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock
mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

Summary and Conclusions

N
This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and W
post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time 105
of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

101 131 fore, that all references to the "Klamath" apply to the Modoc or to both groups rather than to the Klamath proper, although Spier reports summer settlements of the latter as far east as Sycan river. Informants placed the "Klamath"-Paiute boundary east of Bly and west of Gearheart mountain and it seems at this point to have run northwest, inasmuch as the northern shore of Goose lake was regarded as Klamath province. This northwesterly trend is substantiated by Spier's Klamath map, but his Modoc boundary might be shifted somewhat to include the eastern shore of Goose lake. Tradition has it that the Klamath once occupied all the present Gidü'tikad^{u} territory, including Surprise and Warner valleys. At this time these Paiute were living east of Steens mountain, in Oregon, but eventually they drove out the Klamath and took possession.

To the north the Gidü'tikad^{u} ranged more or less continuously through Adel and Plush in Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise. They seem not to have wintered north of Plush, but in summer they probably reached the head of the valley. To the north, south, and east, they were bordered by other Paiute, although most of the country between Plush and Burns is said to have been alkali and uninhabited.

The names of some of the neighboring Paiute bands follow, but anything in the way of detailed geographical distribution is not feasible. Informants are unfamiliar with distant areas, especially to the east.

Dühü'teyatikad^{u}, Deer-eaters, Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon.

Go'ya'tikad^{u}, Crawfish(?)-eaters, Yainax and Beatty, Oregon. These Paiute were brought from Silver lake in recent times and the name is therefore post-reservation.

Wada'tikad^{u}, Wada'(seed)-eaters, Burns, Malheur district, Oregon; and Susanville, California.

Tübu'initikad^{u}, (?) Berry-eaters, east of Steens mountain, Oregon.

Kwi'nadüva^{a}, Kwi'nodub, Smoke (?) Indians, McDermitt, Nevada. The country north of McDermitt is said to have been uninhabited.

A'ga'itikad^{u}, Fish-eaters, Summit and Walker lakes, Nevada.

Kuyui'tikad^{u}, Sucker-eaters, Pyramid lake, Nixon, Nevada.

To'itikad^{u}, Cat-tail-eaters (from toib^{u}, cat-tail), Fallon and Yerington, Nevada.

622] My informant did not know the name of the band immediately to the south but stated that their headman was named Sa'ihida^{a}. Similarly he gave Wobi'ününabügai as the chief of the Paisley Paiute but did not know the group designation. Paisley is known as So'ho. He stated definitely that two bands, those of Burns and Susanville, were known as Wada'tikad^{u} and that the Walker and Summit lake bands, walking and gradually got within shooting range by imitating the movements of the animal, pawing the ground and simulating grazing in order to make the deception realistic. The antelope disguise was called düna'-dua. 224

In the fall of the year four or five persons cooperated in hunting antelope. One or two would hide and the remaining members of the party would go far around, approaching the herd from the opposite direction and frightening them toward the concealed marksmen.

According to Dr. Sam, a herd might start for the rim, pursued by the hunter. "Any kind of game" might be so caught, even elk (pa'dühüte; pa, water, dühü'te, deer).[24] As Gidü'tikadᵃ informants denied driving game over a cut bank, this statement may hold only for the Silver lake band.

In winter, when antelope ran in large herds, they were driven into brush corrals and slaughtered in great numbers. This is the so-called "antelope charming," several accounts of which follow. 224 787 622

Two men here and one in Warner could charm antelope. Charlie Washo's father could drive them into the corral like cattle.

One or two men were bosses, just as in the rabbit hunt. The headman (boss) sent one or two young fellows to look around for a band of antelope. In the evening they said, "We found one band." Then the boss called everyone; 15 or 20 camps came, maybe 100 men. In the evening that headman talked like a doctor, not like a common man: "We are going to have a song. We'll make them turn here." They had singing.

The doctor (headman) took a stick about so long,[25] and a string of horse hair (or other string before we got horses; maybe a deer string), and twisted this around the stick. Then he took off his coat, put it on a hide, and folded it into a bundle about four feet long like a body. He tied it tight lengthwise with a rope. Then he rubbed the rope with his stick, and made a noise on the string like a violin.

The boss faced the antelope; the young men faced him, and the other men sat around the fire in a circle, inside a brush fence. They sang maybe ten songs. They danced and made a noise like antelope.

The doctor (headman) stood up. The young men touched all the dancers and knocked them down. Then the boss sat down. All was quiet.

Soon there was talking, "The antelope come. Get up, boys. What do we know? The antelope are looking this way. They will come tomorrow. They say, 'If you do no wrong we shall come. You boys and girls, mind well.' "

We had a circular brush corral, two miles [*sic*] around, with an opening each side of which everybody lined up in a long wing. Four or five men went after the antelope. The boss stayed at the corral and directed the people: "The antelope are coming. Watch out. All steady; all quiet."

As the antelope galloped between the wings into the corral they never were frightened. If angry they would escape through a wing. The doctor stood

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[24] Which seem to have been extremely rare.

[25] About 18 inches.

224 in the center of the corral with a married woman [not his wife], who knelt.
● 622 He told her, "Don't move. The antelope will come to you. Don't be frightened."
She kept still.

789 We camped in a circle and before sundown built campfires. The headman came to me and said, "Steady, take off your cap and scare them for about three hours until the sun is over there [indicating mid-afternoon]."

One man scared them around inside the corral until the headman said, "That's enough. They are tired already. When the headman said this, all the men tried to get one antelope apiece. The first man who shot a big buck put it in the center where the woman knelt (JB).

Just one man can charm antelope; I don't know how he learns. He is like a doctor. He sits with everyone in the circle and sings, making music on a doe hide (deer or antelope) that is stuffed with clothes and tied with string. If the people know how, they help him sing. A plain stick (unnamed) is wrapped with any kind of braid, and the charmer works it back and forth on the bundle. After a long time he says, "They haven't looked at us yet." Finally he says, "The deer are coming," and falls senseless on his drum and visions an antelope. Finally he recovers, sits up, says: "We are sure to kill antelope. I see them coming inside the corral. I see them lying there."

They have already placed sagebrush, root ends up, in a big circle, about as far as from here to camp.[26] There were many people so it didn't take long to pile the brush. Men and women line up in wings by an opening in the circle, the women nearest the corral, the men at the outer ends.

Then the fastest runner goes out, returning when he has sighted a herd of antelope. Then the men go out in 2 parties and circle the herd and drive them in. They close the opening of the corral and stand between the piles of sagebrush that form the corral. If an animal starts their way, they head him back.

The fastest runner chases the antelope around in the corral until they are tired and frightened, when he kills a doe and throws it on top of a sagebrush pile in the center, and then a buck. They eat these two first and everybody gets a share. Then the headman tells his people it is their turn to shoot. They shoot from the circle as the animals approach. A wife stands with each man and drags away his kill. A man (charmer or fastest runner?) stands in the center with a woman (maybe his wife), who takes the animals he kills.

When they stop for the night, the fastest runner guards the antelope. They set fire to that sagebrush[27] to frighten the animals.

The headman tells them to go ahead and kill. There are so many animals that they don't have to divide them; they never kill all of them, some escaping. Almost everyone kills one. Sometimes an antelope becomes so tired that it falls down, and a woman can kill it. A woman might even kill two or three.

The headman shoots too; he takes most of the buck horns, but not the does'. They put the horns on a pile of sagebrush in the middle of the camp circle. All the heads are turned toward the charmer's camp. He wants everyone to come. They cook the heads under the ashes and all eat, each person perhaps getting one head.

They butcher the antelope and dry the meat on sagebrush bushes. Coyotes and wolves never bother it.

When there is no sagebrush for a corral, they braid sagebrush bark and make a fence by tying it to posts about four feet tall. Loose strands of bark

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[26] About a half-mile.

[27] These seem to be the only circumstances under which antelope are fired.

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hang down the poles and when the antelope are in the corral the people pull the braid, and the loose strands wave.

I have done this kind of antelope hunting. In winter the antelope are in big herds and that's the time to kill them. This kind of hunt is called ku'a'; many camps join. They tell everybody to come.

It takes just one day to charm antelope (P).[28]

In the old days they made a sagebrush corral and danced around it. They did not smoke. The wealthiest woman knocked over each man in imitation of an antelope. As each fell, he said, "Ao, ao, ao."

Early in the morning when all the antelope were bunched, the people went out in two parties and drove them into the corral.

The antelope boss was a doctor. He wore an antelope head with horns and stayed behind in a corner of the corral.

Then the people took off their clothes, put them in a big bundle, and tied it with cord from the neck of an antelope. Then the doctor took a good straight (unnotched) stick and made music on that bundle.[29]

The first antelope killed was given to the boss. Sometimes two hundred were killed and divided evenly among all. If one person got more than his share the people would never be able to catch antelope again (TA).

When they were charming antelope, everybody stood up. The doctor made the antelope act as if they were poisoned. They got tired and ran slowly. Then the boss told one man to chase them. Every now and then the man would call out. Soon he caught one buck and threw it on a stack of brush, then another and threw it on top of the first. Then everybody went after them.

The boss got all the heads. They cooked them in the ground, covered with grass and dirt and with a fire on top. Then all the people came and ate them (BA).

Long ago many people were starving. My great-uncle told them to come to him and he would charm antelope for them. Many came. He made a big circle with piles of sagebrush and told a man and woman to stand at each pile of sagebrush. He said not to drop any clothing, or the antelope would run through the hole.

He went out alone on foot and drove in forty or fifty antelope. Then they had plenty to cook (DB).

One way to get antelope is to have a doctor do it. A doctor sent two men to sight antelope. When they returned he had the people stack sagebrush in piles (wa'Tu) to form a great corral, leaving a wide gap for an entrance.

Then the doctor asked all the people to come. They put out the fires and gathered. The doctor made his things into a bundle and tied it with sagebrush-bark twine. He took a notched stick[30] and made music.

He picked out ten men to dance and these ran around making noises like an antelope. The doctor sang, "The antelope are coming; I scent them coming through the canyon." Then he fainted, falling to the ground, his body hot and smoking. Finally he got up and said, "We have two, a doe and a fawn."

Next morning everybody went to the corral and surrounded the antelope. They made noises like wolves, and the antelope came into the corral. One man was selected who walked up and caught a doe and a fawn which were called "first luck," and divided among everyone.

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[28] But the killing evidently continues into the second day.

[29] In other accounts the music comes before the animals are driven into the corral and this is probably a slip in sequence.

[30] Dr. Sam here reports the notched stick for the Silver Lake band, but it was explicitly denied by Gidü'tikadü informants.

224 They kept these antelope there all night. Nobody had to watch them. Just this man who caught the doe and the fawn killed the antelope for the people. It
622 took him two days.

789 Sometimes they stretched a long rope of sagebrush around like a corral. To it they tied bunches of sagebrush which shook and frightened the animals as they moved about.

Afterward they had a big feast. The doctor got most of the heads. They roasted them in the ground. The hides were divided. The doctor gathered all the horns which he strung and wore about his neck. A doctor never hunted, but he went where they killed the game. He had just certain medicine for game (SW).

These several accounts have been included because, though two or three are obviously cursory, each contributes something novel in the way of detail and, at the same time, confirms the general features of the procedure. It is of some interest that the notched stick figures only in the account of Dr. Sam; Gidü'tikad^{a} informants vigorously denied its use.[31] None had heard of charming horses[32] and the suggestion was received with great amusement. Now and then a certain person could charm bears. He could make a bear "so tame that it would come right up to him." Deer were not charmed "because they aren't in bands and aren't in open country," not, apparently, because of any innate incapacity.

224 *Bear.*—Piudy gave names for three kinds of bear: padu'a'^{a}, grizzly oha'-paiyuna'^{a} (oha', yellow, tan)) brown bear;[33] toka'-kwatca'^{a}, black bear. Pa'hwa', father's sister, is a term applied to any kind of bear; sona'^{a} is also bear, perhaps only grizzly.

Bears were plentiful in Warner range and Fandango pass (Padu'-a'-agan) derives its native name from that fact. In the old days, before the Paiute had horses, they shot bears from ambush. Early in the morning one or two hunters would conceal themselves in thick brush near a plot from which roots had been dug and shoot the bear when it came in search of roots. It was skinned and butchered; the hide was taken directly to camp and the meat left for a subsequent trip. In more recent times bears were hunted from horseback. The hunter went forth early in the morning carrying a spear in addition to his bow.

In winter several men would hunt bear. They tracked the animal to its hole into which they thrust a dry tree. The hunters then stood to one side, calling, and shouting.[34] Eventually the bear emerged,

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[31] See section on Musical Instruments for further discussion.

[32] Which Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, 57, claimed her brother could do.

[33] De Angulo, 329, gives oha'yo'ha as grizzly bear.

[34] Hallowell, 53, discusses the matter of address. Informants claim that they do not address a statement to the animal but only shout to attract its attention.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Pa
Surprise Valley

183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

> A good boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.
>
> My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.
>
> A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her
593 husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were
574 assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

> When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

● 622 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only
619 recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi') of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikadᵃ at the time of the white advent
173 and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ʷka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

and none could recall the name of the leader prior to Chocktoot, who lived at the time of the white influx and during early reservation days. 622 173

The chiefly office was loosely inherited, but if a person were thought not capable, someone from another family was chosen by general consent. As one informant put it, "Dick Ochiho is Ochiho's son, but he isn't chief; he wasn't just the man for the place." None of a number of informants could formulate his ideas as to the essential qualities for chieftainship. 622

TORTS

If a person's goods were stolen he accosted the thief, asking him to return the articles. Sometimes a fight would ensue; sometimes the goods were returned promptly or a buckskin or the like given as indemnity. The chief sometimes directed the offender to restore a person's property. 685

There was no distinction in penalty between accidental and deliberate homicide. 682

627

> If someone killed a person, the families would fight all the time. Perhaps the deceased's family would wait, and the murderer would think they had forgotten. They did not have to kill the murderer himself but tried to kill the best one in his family, the best hunter or the best woman. Then they were satisfied.

And again:

> In the old days when a man was killed, his family might wait a year. Then his brother would try to kill the murderer. They did not have meetings over it as now. The murderer's family would say, "Why did you kill him? You had better settle it; give a skin blanket, a gun, a horse—the best you have. Then you will live a little longer."

A murder was not always avenged. One committed by an Achomawi, for example, was unavenged, probably through expedience rather than sentiment. [628]

> When an Achomawi killed a Paiute, we felt sorry, but did not kill back. The chief told us, "Don't get angry and kill someone. You only make it worse."

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000
advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624
rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively.
Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed 224
to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), 223
succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking [628]
he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622 •
authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623]
> said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606
Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171
group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or
Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000
that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101
619 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habitat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *neim·i* (e. g. *ni neim·i non·o* = 1 Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak
[197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBī*
Silver Lake	*Toba'TeP·i*
Duck Lake	*TīBī'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sauwi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Dīqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Dīqa*
Maidu	*TaKone*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tse*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tīziyamoso*
Lake City	*Paua'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pībī-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361
881 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when
● 622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership 622
if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less
cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups
impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wan- [621]
dering over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the 342
summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was suffi-
cient), were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a frame-
work of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large
enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm
even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in
view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this
could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles).
Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of diffe- 342
rentiation between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The Cali- 171
fornia house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least
for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof cav-
ed in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of
Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of
house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with
two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut
themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subter-
ranean hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr.
Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy tim-
bers, slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particu-
lars of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the
tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three 342
foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only
one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it.
Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has [137]
pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at
least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roam-
ing and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is notice-
able how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much [178]
greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Chiefs (vuhenavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2152. Chief's assistant	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinanomö)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamovoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2160. For hunting generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2161. For pine-nut trip	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2162. Village chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2167. Band owned fishing streams	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2169. Family owned seed plots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•−	•+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
2177. Captives	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	•+	+	·	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2180. Domed willow house	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	•+	·	•+	+	•−	•−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•−
2181a. 30 ("month")	·	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2182. Ground warmed	−	−	·	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	−
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
571

N●
W
A
622●
W
A
[624]

N
W
A
621
423

N
W
A
721
W
A
727

N
A
778
832
N
W
A
844

[p.407]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836 2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. K1: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. K1: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell. N [842 848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (KN).

N [787] 2110. K1: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him mügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravisoya, were old-time dance

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty—that of August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-zhe, Che-em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142] 648 [622] [551]

The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties—the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145] [621] [131]

648 728 wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

[161] From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads [131] to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was [622] the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-nine's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

N
K
648
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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panaiʼna and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panaiʼna was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

After Panaiʼna's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

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The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

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In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

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In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

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Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panaiʼna still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

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114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band
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[622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Goˀy'atikad^{u}, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period.
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[166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyatikad^{ü}, or Deer eaters."[249] Kelly obtained some folk tales and one
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115 historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

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181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

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[140] Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

648 622 148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 103 551 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panaiʼna's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

131 101 151. Prior to Panaiʼna's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very [231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither [501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr. [361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above. 600

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to McKay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account). [114]

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatchâktchaksh; see fn. 193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tchâktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatchâktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties. 114 648

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tchâktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below). 551 622 621

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [648
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles- 574]
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [883]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[7] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[7] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

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657 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of
646 the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and
the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which
the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action
were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan,
Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and
[756] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them
bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8]
Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose
parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt),
and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be
actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the
area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes
used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In
1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult
time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement
was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military
camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants.
In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual
nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons
moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm
Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the
646 Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing
[579] cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas,
made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was
constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes
in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably
took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of
the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the
valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and
646 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different
657 groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members
of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

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[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

155 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a
scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States
Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not
become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry
[622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor
of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by
the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

[787] Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her
former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed
755 her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she
753 diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the
ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person
578 who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one
of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone
or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly
indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved,
is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is
accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A
further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden
death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to
[753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger
on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in
old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was
diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality [754]
was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, [762]
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [586]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering [657]
around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 593
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to
what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within
the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476]
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It
was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by
themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggrega- [221]
tions of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall
when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for 657]
their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692
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787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.

756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

ANTELOPE SHAMANS

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic
life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured
by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a
[622] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope. A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

[796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life,
are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites
that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely
simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The
shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the
success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of
the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one
of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only
men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may
enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the
antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the
[776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice,
but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

224 The "Kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[24] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days. [534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[25]

224 756 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an important place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

THE POSITION OF THE SHAMAN IN THE SOCIAL ORDER

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's [182] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

756 ● 622 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

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[24] Ibid., 56.

[25] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304–305.

stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the 756
past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also 622
possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, [668]
was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was re- 756
sponsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence 622
of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with 178
the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of 756
Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and 554
accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, [424]
the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

668 792 preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e., [787] they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals. Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because [756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for their curative abilities.

668 792 756 [622] The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to reconstruct on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests, however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 [622] [556] It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an important and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

PLATE 9

342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought
[415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Paviotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there
[177] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622
648 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

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[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

Caucasions. This stage of interracial contact which created the milieu of Indian groups under 622 pressure and who needed a strong leader, and of Caucasians who had to handle the "Indian problem" by negotiation rather than by force if possible, is what may have led to the emergence of Old Winnemucca as a strong chief. The record is clear that he had much more prestige, support, and authority among the Paviotso in the 1860–1870 decade than in the 1880's when the Paviotso tribe no longer could be considered a "problem" (i.e., after the Indians had been "reduced" in the Pyramid Lake war). 648

After Winnemucca, although his name is today remembered and honored among the Paviotso, his son and successor, Natches, was much less important as a chief *because a strong chief was no longer required by the whites.*

The lineal descent of the chief's position survives today, but a man whose father and grandfather were chiefs, and who today claims that title, may be laughed at for his pretensions by most of the Indians he claims to represent. That this is true of the Washoe tribe is probable, and in my own experience of thirty years ago, I recall that Skinny Dave at the Lovelock Indian Colony was the self-styled chief who was laughed at for this by most of his fellow tribesmen. His claim to the office was correct since his grandfather was Captain Dave, who was married to a daughter of Old Winnemucca—what made it different was that in 1930 Indian chiefs were no longer either needed or in vogue. Sarah Winnemucca (1882) says of this: "I will now speak of the chief. His rank is inherited from father to son, the oldest being the chief by law. If he is dead, the one next to him became chief, or, if there are no sons, the next male relative; but never a woman." 622 [423]

For some reason which I do not understand, this subject has been practically ignored by ethnologists. Before Indian memories become too dim to provide accurate testimony, some student should make detailed inquiries into the matter of Paviotso chieftainship and combine these data with the rich documentary record to produce what is a much-needed study.

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Wadátkuht

THE WADÁTKUHT

The Honey Lake Paiute, or Wadátkuht ("Wada eaters", 101 after the seed of Suaeda depressa), as they call themselves, are an independent band of Northern Paiute living entirely in California. 622 This band had its own chiefs; the last two were Kukwhi (Dick Wright) and Numunana ("Indian man"), also known as Joaquin. These men were contemporaries and apparently. served jointly as headmen. Several earlier chiefs are listed by Stewart (1939, p. 138) and include No-jo-mud, Hozi-a and Adavugaya. Stewart equates Hozi-a with Ochio, the Kidütoka chief of Surprise Valley to the north of the Wadátkuht territory. Captain Dick, according to Stewart (ibid.), might be a Kamö man whose group immediately joins the Wadátkuht to the north and east. This Captain Dick is probably not to be confused with Dick Wright the Wadátkuht headman.

The Wadátkuht actually are composed of two groups of 101 closely related people. The main group lived in Honey Lake Valley and the secondary group lived in Secret Valley just north of Honey Lake. Those living in Secret Valley additionally utilized the eastern half of Madeline Plains north of Secret Valley. Apparently they shared it with the Kamötkuht ("Jackrabbit eaters") with whom they were closely related and affiliated. A more detailed discussion of this joint use is presented in a section on "Boundaries and Population".

Not only were the Wadátkuht closely related to the Kamötkuht, but they were close relatives of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Except for living in different areas and having their own headmen the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht might well be considered a single group. Genetic relationship to the Northeastern Maidu, Washo, Atsugewi, and Achomawi people also was considerable due to the fact that men often stole women (for wives) from, or lost women to these neighboring groups. [583] Social intercourse between the Maidu and the Washo on the one hand, and the Wadátkuht on the other seems to have been of a much more friendly and cooperative nature than between the Wadátkuht and the Pit River people. [648] Despite the apparently considerable foreign genetic inheritance of the Wadátkuht, not to mention certain cultural additions, the Wadátkuht strictly considered themselves as Paiute and maintained their strongest affiliations with their Paiute relatives. Linguistically there seems to be little difference between the [197] Wadátkuht and the Kuyuitkuht, except possibly for the preferential use of occasional words.

Wadátkuht

103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (típugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designa-
tion for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

●[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife. This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sóhud^{a} as

WadatKuht

539 776 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon. It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai, "magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy, had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an [756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to [881] themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

●622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains" and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the same time and seem to have had an equal status within the group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times", and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They [692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within the band. The situation of having other people work for them [177] as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

Wadátkuht

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). 622 [177]

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given. 421 [648]

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed. 428 [764]

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'ᵏzua's husband, also, was a doctor. [756]

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, hakiⁿᵘᵏᵖᵃ. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method. 762

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink. [757]

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000
advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624
rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respec- 224
tively. Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is sup- 223
posed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big under- [628]
taking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622
authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623]
> said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606
Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171
group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000
that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

The preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 593 within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626 among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476] not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggrega- [221] tions of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622 Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177 drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders 657] came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626 have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622 other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623 could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692 681] would drive the rabbits while four or five tended the net. They would 000 catch thirty or forty a day.

Rabbits were cooked in hot ashes. Dellenbaugh writes:—

> Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes.[1]

The Paviotso had a communal antelope hunt with a pound into which 224 the game was driven (see section on "Ceremonies and Dances"), and also communal duck, mud-hen, and rabbit hunts. Individual hunters stalked deer and antelope; they approached the game wearing a deer or antelope head with the antlers and mimicking the actions of their victims. This practice is called *tü'hü-itaqwd*. In this way it was possible to sneak up close to the herd, and shoot an animal, which was then pursued till it fell down. A strong man might also run down an antelope by tracking it for one or two days before shooting at all. The antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley.

The duck and mud-hen hunting was executed under the leadership 223 of two head men. One of them would tell the people: "On such and such 624 a day each of you shall make a tule boat for himself. The next day you shall make arrows. Two days after finishing the arrows you shall start." [501] They would go on the water about daylight, led by one of the head men. There might be as many as thirty or more men in the party. They were led through the tule rushes out on the lake, where ducks and mud-hens were sighted. The hens would try to hide. Then they would divide into two parties, each led by one head man, and surround the flocks. When they had shot enough, they went home. That evening the head men told them to come again in two days for another hunt. They would scare the ducks from a small into a big lake. Then the head man said, "In three days from now we will go close and camp there. We'll start early." Then they would go through the tule on their rafts, sometimes driving the ducks out on dry land. Ducks were also caught in nets (*pühü'kwana*) stretched between long sticks stuck into the water. From a Fallon informant I obtained two canvas-back decoys (Fig. 1), the birdskins of which were fitted over a tule body.

The rabbit-hunt is likewise under the direction of a special manager; 224 at Fallon the office is filled by Billy Springer. Usually the Paviotso of 624 Wadsworth, Walker River, and other localities are invited to participate. The visitors stay with the Fallon people as long as the hunt lasts—say

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 252.

224 ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November
624 is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but
nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the
[462] spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The
women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not
return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have
to go a considerable distance.

223

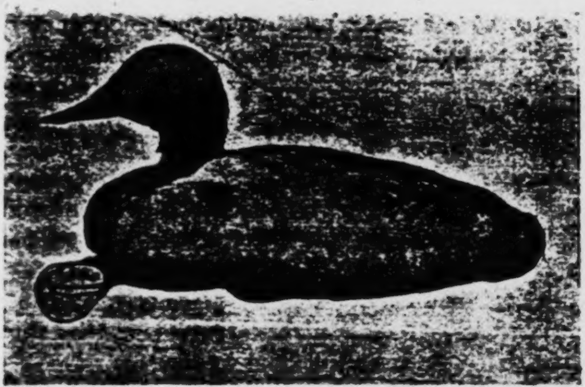

Fig. 1 (50.1-7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

224 In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and
624 all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of
the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

000 The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.[1]

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[1] Chamberlin, 335 f.

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000
advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624
rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respec- 224
tively. Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is sup- 223
posed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big under- [628]
taking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622
authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623]
> said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606
Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171
group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000
that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AP
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Chiefs (vuhenavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2152. Chief's assistant	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinandmö)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamövoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2160. For hunting generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2161. For pine-nut trip	–	+	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2162. Village chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2167. Band owned fishing streams	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2169. Family owned seed plots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2177. Captives	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180. Domed willow house	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	.	+	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181a. 30 ("month")	.	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2182. Ground warmed	–	–	.	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A 571

N W A 622

W A [824]

N W A 621

423

N W A 721

W A 727

N A 778

832

N W A 844

[p. 407]

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu'i¹-nö°ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas
and other places because their parents went
there. It was not private ownership. It is
like saying "my home town," or "my favorite
fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands
claimed certain areas, streams, mountains,
valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get
food any place without fear of payment or
W [226] trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Dig-
ger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid
Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between
Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no
W [721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai
(Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with
the Pit River Indians, was fought near Sutt-
cliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discover-
N [423] ers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive
right to them. Trespass might result in fight.
Aeries descended from father to son. Kü: The
N 721 173 only Paiute war was against the Sai, the origi-
nal owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink.
At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater.
As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute
who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

[p. 440(8)]

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Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

W 182 22

W [648]

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

W N 592 621

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

W N 621 [624] ● [224]

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

W 628 619 [616]

W [701] [648] [211]

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood,
is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its possessor 756
employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punishment. 578
For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having
made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

such power ran in his family, and it seems as if he shared the reputation because 754 he was married to Mrs. Porter. He was said to have power in sea gulls. In the account of the death of Polly, reported in the previous chapter, it is interesting that some accused him of the act, and some accused his wife, but everyone agreed that one or the other was guilty. Mrs. Porter's power was in snakes and it was said that all the victims of her power saw snakes or felt them on their bodies. It was also stated by the community that all the Porter children would probably be just like their parents, mean, bad, and dangerous.

In determining how Mrs. Porter got the reputation for sorcery, the first fact which seems important is that her family were already marked as mean people. [157] Although none of them seem to have been in such an uncomfortable position as Mrs. Porter, they certainly were not popular. The two types of behavior attributed to her father and remembered with disapproval were winning at games too frequently, which was attributed to using his power to cheat, and spitting in other people's food. This latter behavior was attributed to jealousy and the wish to have the food for himself.

Seven different people were said to have been killed by Mrs. Porter. I have 754 reconstructed the chronological order of these cases as accurately as possible as it 761 seems important in determining how a reputation is built up. One of the first sicknesses blamed on her was that of a young child. It is stated that during the doctoring of this child, which Mrs. Porter attended, she could not sit still and the doctor stated that her power was responsible for the child's condition. Evidently Mrs. Porter was very nervous and did not challenge the accusation as the doctor is said to have worked on her and with her consent taken away her power. One would surmise that she was in a bad position or she would not have accepted the blame. It may also be that she was young at the time and more sensitive to criticism than she became in later life.

Three other accusations were leveled against her which date from about this period. She is said to have killed her own uncle, a man who specialized in helping women who had trouble in childbirth; and she is also reputed to have killed her own niece. The evidence against her in this latter case was quite damaging as several people are said to have seen a snake crawling around the young girl's neck; one man tried to pull it off but did not succeed until the girl was already dead. The third offense was explained as revenge for theft. Sophie is said to have stolen Mrs. Porter's' beads. Sophie's mother died soon after this episode and Mrs. Porter was held responsible for her death.

About 1930, when the Porters were living in Fort Bidwell, the accidental death [626] of their son precipitated the accusation of sorcery already discussed in the previous chapter. This accusation was backed by the entire community. The circumstantial evidence was damning. The Porter's had publicly blamed the Simms for the death of the Porter boy and in their uncontrolled anger had theatened the family. Soon

754 761 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen [753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 684 761 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 761 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 208] In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion. It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

754 would appear that in the old days in many cases the accused was killed by the com-
681 munity before he could flee.

Lastly, once a person has a reputation for sorcery he becomes a scapegoat and
626 is likely to be blamed for offenses when no one knows who committed them.

681 In broad outline, then, we can see how the concept of sorcery works in social
578 control. The important threat is that of ostracism or mob action. This punishment comes when the majority of the community and a doctor agree that a person is guilty of sorcery. The majority of the community will only agree to this if the individual has frequently behaved in such a way as to antagonize them. The behavior which annoys them may range from minor aggressive acts, such as speaking impolitely, to more serious offenses such as threatening others, adultery, destroying property, etc. Thus the fear of being accused of sorcery acts as a check on a great variety of anti-social behavior.

THE CONTROL OF AGGRESSION WITHIN THE FAMILY

ANALYSIS of social control in Paiute society reveals a contrast between the manner in which intrafamily and interfamily conflicts are settled; within the family, the mechanisms of control are internalized and depend upon authority; between families, control is based on retaliation and public opinion. 626

In order to understand the mechanisms of control within the family group, it is necessary to describe the composition and function of this basic unit of the social organization. This group, which wandered as a unit in the days of the old economy and which today remains the nucleus of the social life, varies in composition and size. It seldom consists of the nuclear family alone, but includes affines and grandchildren. There are no hard and fast residence rules which dictate where a young couple should live. Most frequently they spend the first year or at least the first few months with the wife's family. After this they may continue to reside with them, move in with the husband's family, or set up a house of their own near either the husband's or wife's family. Personality factors determine the choice. The only unusual combination is for both a sister and brother and their respective spouses to live in the same parental household. This is due to the relation between a sister and her brother's wife, which is one of avoidance based on jealousy—a sister-in-law is known as a "rival." However, married sisters and brothers may both live close by the parental household. 592 [591]

In the old days, polygyny—most often sororal—was frequent and many households consisted of parents and their daughters who were married to the same man. [595]

Often the children of the household include cousins as well as sons and daughters. This is a result of divorce, which is frequent. If a man leaves his wife, he most frequently takes his children and leaves them either with his parents or one of his married sisters. Sometimes, however, the husband leaves all the children with their mother or takes only the elder ones. If a woman divorces her husband she may attempt to take the children with her or she may leave them with him. [586]

The family group is the essential economic unit. In the old days they wandered together in the summers and settled close to each other in the winter. The women collected the seeds, roots, and berries while the men fished or hunted. The women cooked and cared for the children. On the trips they helped the men pack and make the sagebrush enclosures which served as houses during the summer months. The women made the tule mats for the winter houses while the men cut [462]

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
● [626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 593
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476]
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggrega- [221]
tions of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for 657]
their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692
681]

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
[422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
[231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626 to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578 crimes.

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. [681 Any offense against a member of a family by a nonrelative is liable to be revenged 627] by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye. If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's [682] brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family. Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead, the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of retaliation. In one case a man left the community to avoid revenge. He had paid for [686] a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

Murder by sorcery is also punished by retaliation but differs in that there is 754 no possibility of financial settlement.[2] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not 627 only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim, especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

Adultery and theft are also liable to kin retaliation. A man is liable to be 684 physically attacked and even killed by the husband of the woman with whom he 627 philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and [685] their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

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684 occurs blood money is paid to the family of the murdered man. One woman shot
627 her rival with her father's gun, and the girl's father paid two horses to the parents
of the murdered girl.

627 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another
685 person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the
owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to
compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and
arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked.
A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the
morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves
and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions.
Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and
went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could
find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical
[858] violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations
from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said
that a child does not lie about such things.

686 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation.
627 It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping
his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such
fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather
than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all
offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered
just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses.
Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and
627 kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as
to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further
arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents
permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear
that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation
of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [754]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents. Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out [182]
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery, his word gives authority to community gossip.

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the
593 extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and
627 order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person
681 wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the
practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of
being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by-
[208] standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up
their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive
violence.

121 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests
626 that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate.
Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

[754] The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

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[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

Wadátkuht

When anyone died his "camp" (house) was burned.

764 Personal Names. Men's and boys' names included the following: Sagwúda, "Porcupine"; Muhu'^{k} dosa, from muhu'^{a}, "owl", and dosa, which had no meaning, but was an ending a
551 little boy put on the word for owl to name himself; Pongádz, "Mouse", because he looked like a mouse when he was a boy; Wádanatzi, a Paiute name for a Pit River (Atsuge) shaman which may have had reference to wada (Suaeda depressa) and nátzi, "boy"; Baba kuhku^{a}, "Big Feet"; Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}, "Feces to Wipe"; Idzákad, "Loose"; Kwidu'^{u}, so-named because he constantly broke wind; Wǫ̃hudi'^{i}, "To Carve"; Matad^{u}, "Crawler"; Wawa'^{a} bob, "Stranger Bob"; Tupaskima skia, "Mouth Crooked"; Tabök, "Cottontail"; Kubuts, to grind one's teeth; Nana'^{a}, "Younger"; Baba'yu dzim, "Big Jim"; Numunana, "Indian Man"; Tusį^{yu}naná', "Little Man"; Kasi no uhd^{a}, "Train Haul"; Nunú'kai, possibly from nunu', "snake", and kai, "no".

Women's and girls' names included the following: Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl"; Nunu' biawuhb^{i}, "Snake Old Lady"; Kwidapino'^{ya}, "Feces Carrier"; Kaiyaguht, "Never Cry"; Ptaitnat^{yu}, "Thin"; Atsábona', "Woodpecker Old Lady"; Tunuhpiuts, "Nighthawk"; Soiyeza biawuhb^{i}, "Soldier Old Lady"; Babayu sait', "Big Pit River"; Bababui, "Big Eyes"; Udöyu biawuhb^{i}, "Tall Old Lady"; Kwiduk^{w}ti'^{i}, "Excrement Shoot"; Tsí tsi, ("Sissie"?) she was called this because she was about ten years old before she stopped nursing; Wukwits'^{i}, "Throw", so-named because this fat woman had considerable movement in her posterior as she walked; Muíd^{i}, from muhibi, "fly" (insect).

Some personal names, as demonstrated in the above lists, tended to be derived from physical traits, while others stemmed from some episode in the individual's life. Others were obviously meant to convey the humor of some action or situation. The informants also gave a number of names for which they had no translation.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

821 The sun was of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht and his religious expression, since it was common to find instances in which the individual in times of stress prayed directly to the sun for aid. Repentance of guilt might be
[782] made in prayers to the sun. Guilt feelings in an individual
[626] appeared often to be associated with strong social pressure for the person to "repent" and admit his "guilt". It is

Wadátkuht

also quite likely that the individual did not realize that he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to the sun at sunrise. To pray was nanishtuhai, and one had to pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the evening. 821 [626] [782]

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could still hear them if one was to go around that place. 775 [753]

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary babies except that they had long hair. 776 [756]

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father, Nunu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was Wadátkuht. 756 778

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

and none could recall the name of the leader prior to Chocktoot, who 622
lived at the time of the white influx and during early reservation days. 173

The chiefly office was loosely inherited, but if a person were thought not capable, someone from another family was chosen by general consent. 622 As one informant put it, "Dick Ochiho is Ochiho's son, but he isn't chief; he wasn't just the man for the place." None of a number of informants could formulate his ideas as to the essential qualities for chieftainship.

TORTS

If a person's goods were stolen he accosted the thief, asking him 685 to return the articles. Sometimes a fight would ensue; sometimes the goods were returned promptly or a buckskin or the like given as indemnity. The chief sometimes directed the offender to restore a person's property.

There was no distinction in penalty between accidental and 682 deliberate homicide.

> 627 If someone killed a person, the families would fight all the time. Perhaps the deceased's family would wait, and the murderer would think they had forgotten. They did not have to kill the murderer himself but tried to kill the best one in his family, the best hunter or the best woman. Then they were satisfied.

And again:

> In the old days when a man was killed, his family might wait a year. Then his brother would try to kill the murderer. They did not have meetings over it as now. The murderer's family would say, "Why did you kill him? You had better settle it; give a skin blanket, a gun, a horse—the best you have. Then you will live a little longer."

A murder was not always avenged. [628] One committed by an Achomawi, for example, was unavenged, probably through expedience rather than sentiment.

> When an Achomawi killed a Paiute, we felt sorry, but did not kill back. The chief told us, "Don't get angry and kill someone. You only make it worse."

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood,
is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its possessor 756
employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punishment. 578
For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having
made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626
to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
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of the murdered girl.

627 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another
685 person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked. A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions. Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical
[858] violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said that a child does not lie about such things.

686 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation.
627 It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses. Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and
627 kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [734]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this
report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627 ●
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act [152]
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 593 627 681 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by- [208] standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive violence.

121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

[754] The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

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[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

and none could recall the name of the leader prior to Chocktoot, who 622
lived at the time of the white influx and during early reservation days. 173

The chiefly office was loosely inherited, but if a person were 622 thought not capable, someone from another family was chosen by general consent. As one informant put it, "Dick Ochiho is Ochiho's son, but he isn't chief; he wasn't just the man for the place." None of a number of informants could formulate his ideas as to the essential qualities for chieftainship.

TORTS

If a person's goods were stolen he accosted the thief, asking him 685 to return the articles. Sometimes a fight would ensue; sometimes the goods were returned promptly or a buckskin or the like given as indemnity. The chief sometimes directed the offender to restore a person's property.

There was no distinction in penalty between accidental and 682 deliberate homicide.

627

> If someone killed a person, the families would fight all the time. Perhaps the deceased's family would wait, and the murderer would think they had forgotten. They did not have to kill the murderer himself but tried to kill the best one in his family, the best hunter or the best woman. Then they were satisfied.

And again:

> In the old days when a man was killed, his family might wait a year. Then his brother would try to kill the murderer. They did not have meetings over it as now. The murderer's family would say, "Why did you kill him? You had better settle it; give a skin blanket, a gun, a horse—the best you have. Then you will live a little longer."

A murder was not always avenged. One committed by an Achomawi, [628] ● for example, was unavenged, probably through expedience rather than sentiment.

> When an Achomawi killed a Paiute, we felt sorry, but did not kill back. The chief told us, "Don't get angry and kill someone. You only make it worse."

else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving 000 advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the 624 rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. 224 Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed 223 to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking [628] he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.[1] Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' 622 authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

> At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is [623] said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.[2]

KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the 606 Lemhi Shoshoni,[3] I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean 171 group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared 000 that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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[1] The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.
[2] Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.
[3] Lowie, 211.

Northern Paiute NR13

N
been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through 182
the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in 22
large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have N
been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership with- 621
in a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the
company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for ante- N
lope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of [224]
a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also con- [222]
centrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger group-
ings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating
in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as op-
posed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily
produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization N
and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership [619]
was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad dif-
ferentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock,
and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, N
appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for [476]
any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against [628]
some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war
among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights [578]
and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo W

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut 131
Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to [172]
have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evi-
dence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once ex-
tended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley W
(Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they repre- 197
sent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great
Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less W
complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in 171
the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in
subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. N [842 848] Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N [787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

● N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him mügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravimoya, were old-time dance

[p. 440(A)]

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [648
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles-
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other 577]
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [883]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[1] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[1] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

TRIBAL RELATIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS.

The Paiute of Moapa gave nōwu'^{u} as a generic term for all the Paiute 000 and enumerated the following four main divisions:—

1. Mu+ápöts^{o}; from the head of the Muddy River to the other side of the railroad station at Moapa, Nevada.
2. Tandü'waits^{u}; from Moapa to Las Vegas.
3. Tö'intesà+^{v}; from Moapa to Caliente.
4. Suwü'ntsu; the St. George Indians (see below).

The Shivwits give a somewhat different list, accentuating the local divisions in their own locality:—

1. Sü'süts; the Shivwits, referred to as St. George Indians at Moapa, with an agency at Shem, near the post-office of Santa Clara, Utah.
2. Qanâa^{i}; the Kanab of southwestern Utah.
3. Grass Valley Paiute.
4. Cedar City Paiute.
5. Moapa Paiute.
6. Qónto'qait; in the mountains.

A second Shivwits informant gives as the generic name for Paiute "nōwántsun^{wa}" and enumerates the following bands:—

1. ^{ma}'tü'sats; they used to live near Panaka, from Enterprise, Utah, northward, but only Alice and three others survive.
2. Mo'ápa, formerly known as Paránō, Put-foot-into-the-water; they lived near their present territory, Moapa, Nevada.
3. Qaináaite; the people of Moccasin, Arizona.
4. Yû+ita; not really Ute, living round Cedar City, to the number of twenty-five or thirty.
5. Qanâac; northeast of Milford, Utah.
6. Süsü'ts; south of their reservation, on both sides of the Colorado.

Linguistically, as already explained, the Paiute belong with the Ute, but, according to the Shivwits, they never came into contact with the Uintah in the old days, and this was likewise asserted with reference to the Navajo. On the other hand, a Moapa informant said that the Navajo were sometimes seen at St. George and had been in the Paiute country a long time ago. Of the Mǫ́'qwits—meaning evidently the Hopi—the Paiute merely knew by report. The Shivwits occasionally fought with the Walapai in the old days; in recent years the latter have visited the Moapa. Some "Shoshoni" from about Reno, i.e., doubtless Paviotso, sometimes came down to the Moapa. My Moapa interpreter has seen Mohave at Needles, but it is not certain that there was contact between these two peoples at an earlier period.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake regard the Shoshoni as their best 648 friends. They did not fight with the Washo, but neither did they enter-

648 tain any friendly relations with them. Their principal enemies were the Pitt River Indians, who used to live about Stillwater, but were driven out to California by the Paviotso. There is a tradition of the Paviotso killing the Pitt River near Honey Lake. Sometimes they would come, however, to attack the Paviotso. Horses and guns were first obtained by the Paviotso from the 'Forty-niners emigrating to California. [173] [721]

000 The Ignacio Ute gave the following as the names of their old bands:—

1. Möwátsi; about Cimarron, Colorado.
2. Kapûta+u; the people near the present Ignacio Agency.
3. Wímnenụtci; the Navajo Springs Indians.
4. Paiyútsi; the "Paiute" near Navajo Springs, but on the Utah side.
5. Töwûtsi Paiyûtsi; genuine Paiute in Nevada.
6. Yapárka+u; Wild-carrot Eaters, the Uintah Ute.
7. Möwátawiwȧdziu: Ouray Ute.
8. Tāvi-wȧdziu; those formerly west of Denver.
9. Pagûwadziu; west of the Uintah.

Of these the Möwátsi correspond to the Moache of the *Handbook*; the Kapûta+u to the Capote; the Wímenụtci to the Wiminuche, the Yapárka+u to the Yampa; the Tāvíwȧdziu presumably to the Tabeguache. The inclusion of the Paiute is intelligible on linguistic grounds.

The Ute were a warlike people and fought various neighboring tribes, including the Navajo, Kiowa, Arapaho, Comanche and Shoshoni.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni spoke of having once been together with the Comanche. They also traveled and intermarried with the Bannock. When my informant was a small boy his people were in the Fort Bridger country and then the Shoshoni split up into the Idaho and Wyoming branches. (Of course Shoshoni groups had been in Idaho long before this, as proved by Lewis and Clark's narrative.) The fact that Washakie is regarded as half Flathead indicates that the Wind River no less than the Lemhi came into contact with Salish tribes. The Arapaho were considered the principal enemies; in lesser degree the Crow, Dakota, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre. The French (Yúhundaibo) were the first whites encountered; the Shoshoni obtained a few colts from them in exchange for buffalo hides and also got flintlocks from them. The Spaniards (Tóyaraibo) came later when the Shoshoni already had possession of firearms. The subdivisions of the Shoshoni have been given in a previous publication.[2]

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[1] Cf. Stansbury, 232; Kroeber, (a), 8; Reed, 83 et passim.

[2] Lowie, 206.

To the north and to the south the range gra-
dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed 101
by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. 133
It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131]
Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like
Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by 648
both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by
both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit
Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different
groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits
did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must
have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and
Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that
intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of [589]
both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [127]
home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed
to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them
them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of
culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between
these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely
separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact
that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful
chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their
ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother
to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good
deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101
through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not 131
seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361]
eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as
Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River
territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316]
"mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention
between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears
strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes,
Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed
from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war.
Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner
Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of
Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133
northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
621 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance move-
ments would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755
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There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 855
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 887

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING[1]

Part 1

Erminie Wheeler Voegelin
Indiana University

For several decades two so-called "Snake"[2] groups, the Yahuskin and Walpapi, have been accepted by ethnographers as two Northern Paiute-speaking bands which existed in aboriginal times and were located in definable areas within what is now central Oregon.[3] This acceptance and localization of the Yahuskin and Walpapi[4] has rested on the fact that two treaties were made by the United States in 1864 and 1865,[5] respectively, with the "Ya-hoos-kin Band of Snake Indians" and the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians", and that both "Yahooskins" and "Wollpahpees" are mentioned in Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and correspondence, for several years after the treaties had been negotiated. Analysis of heretofore unused documentary material shows, however, that neither one of these two so-called bands of Snake Indians had any aboriginal validity as definitely localized, organized groups. The treaty-signing Yahuskin of 1864 consisted of a score or so of Great Basin Northern Paiute, deriving at that specific date from the Surprise Valley-Warner Valley region in northeastern California and south-central Oregon. They

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[Text continues on page 97]

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did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Summer- 101
Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region 648
is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin
of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small 101
Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, 131
but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline 648
position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaĩna (vars., Paulina, Pahnine, Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader. The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation; their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in 101
Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, re- 114
garding the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians 648
stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

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101 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe
114 Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern
648 Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

648 2. 1. The Treaty Yahooskins. First specific mention of the Yahuskin, as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

131 648 The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance below the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

648 In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes.....".[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

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ence or at the treaty negotiations,[16] how many Indians gathered for the treaty-signing,[17] how the twenty-two Snakes present at the signing were persuaded to attend,[18] how long treaty negotiations lasted,[19] who spoke during these proceedings,[20] or the exact day the treaty was signed.[21] Available data being so scanty about the treaty proceedings as a whole, Philleo Nash concluded in 1937 that "It is impossible to learn from the treaty whom the commissioners dealt with as 'Yahooskin Snakes'"[22] in the treaty negotiations./ Nash bases this statement on his examination of Klamath Agency correspondence; examination of other fugitive material which Nash did not consult makes the impossible now possible, as follows. 648

On July 17, 1864, almost three months before the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty was signed, Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew of Ft. Klamath encamped with a military expedition of sixty-two men near the head of Goose Lake, at the western base of the "Sierra Nevada Mountains" [Warner Range]. Two Indian scouts attached to Drew's expedition went from this camp "up into the Sierras [Warner Range] to hunt;" these scouts brought back twenty White prospectors they met in the mountains, as well as "three of the principal Snake Indians of that region" (underlining ours) whom, Drew says, "they were anxious we should see. These Indians came into camp on foot and unarmed, having left their horses and their arms, if they had any, some distance back in charge probably of some of their comrades." [231]

Both Indians and prospectors stayed at Drew's camp overnight. The next morning the Indians and four of the White visitors departed, the Whites leaving on the pretext of going hunting, but actually to steal the Indians' horses, which they had seen the day before. A fight over the horses ensued and one prospector was killed. 648 609

As soon as he was told what had happened, Drew sent soldiers out to bring the White men and the Indians back to his camp. Drew was apprehensive that the incident would provoke an Indian attack on the expedition, but his fears proved unfounded. "The Indians seem to have comprehended," he writes, "that the troops were in no way responsible for the outrage that had been perpetrated, and they made no hostile demonstrations toward us. Subsequently these Indians were represented 648

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648 in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and expressed a willingness to go upon the Klamath Reservation, when the treaty should be ratified"[33] (underlining ours).

So much for the material in Drew's Official Report. A letter from Drew, written in his camp at Goose Lake on July 18, 1864 to the Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., San Francisco, Calif., gives additional details about this incident and the Indians. The letter reads in part as follows:

> Yesterday the petty chief and two others of the band of Indians of this vicinity came into camp by my direction. . . . This morning, after gaining what information I could respecting their numbers, etc., I dismissed them and sent them from camp in company with the two Indian messengers who had brought them. Soon after their departure the messengers returned and stated that the other three [the Indian visitors] had been ambushed and fired upon by four of the party of citizens who came yesterday, and they thought all were killed. I immediately dispatched a detachment of ten men in pursuit....The object of the attack upon these Indians was to get possession of two horses, but the unarmed Indians being joined just then by armed comrades, the result is as stated. Both of the horses have been brought in....They are inferior animals and poorly repay the cost of getting them. No Indian depredations are reported to have been committed in this [131] vicinity, though the principal traveled route from Red Bluff and Fort Crook to John Day's River and vicinity passes directly through the country which these Indians occupy..."[34] (all underlining ours).

101 131 That the three Snake Indians brought to Drew's camp were, in 1864, definitely associated with the region in which they were encountered, and that they and their comrades did not constitute one of the roving, predatory Snake groups of the 1860's which were operating under notorious war leaders and plundering pack trains, emigrant parties, and ranchers, seems evident from Drew's letter. [648] A few days before he encamped on Goose Lake, Drew had searched Sprague River Valley for just such marauders.[35]

It also seems clear that the Indians Drew met did not customarily live in Goose Lake Valley, which extends for some 10-15 miles north of

the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, or that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[26] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[27] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[28] 101 131 [428]

That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty-signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[29] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[31] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[32] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[33] 101 648

Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre- 101

101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[36] Anglicized as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

648 Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the October, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

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The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

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It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunt- 101 131 ing in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known 221 as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall [224] they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region [423] west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise — Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern 423 Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver- 648 ● Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty 131 miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

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423 648 131 [101] with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improbable in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band" living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

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114 2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by ethnographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1865-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon-train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

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> ardson did not identify any of these Indians as having been among those who attacked him, nor could he discover any vestiges or sign of the property he then lost, and further he urged that these Indians should not be in any way held accountable for what transpired beyond their limits on the 24th of June. We returned to camp satisfied of the innocence of these Indians as to the matters charged. I made such changes in the command, and respecting the administration of affairs at Fort Klamath as would prevent the creating of Indian difficulties, and the consequent failure of the reconnaissance.
>
> Passing out of Sprague's river valley in a southeasterly direction we crossed the Goose Lake Mountains....[58]

K 101 131

From sources other than Drew we learn that the mixed group of Indians Drew met in Sprague River Valley were known in Klamath as p'laikni,[59] which derives from Klamath p'lai, above, high up, on an eminence, plus the suffix -kni, those of, people of.[60] In English the group is referred to as the "Sprague River Klamaths"[61] and "the Bly people."[62]

It was this upland mixed group of borderline Klamath-Northern Paiute living in upper Sprague River Valley which, soon after the October, 1864 treaty, became known as the Yahooskin Snakes of government record, and which was carried as such in Klamath Agency population records for a decade thereafter.[63] We arrive at this conclusion as follows.

N K 648

For almost a year after the October, 1864 treaty the Klamath Reservation existed only on paper, and had no agent.[44] During July and August, 1865, Huntington made a third visit to the Klamath Lakes region.[45] On August 12, 1865, he concluded a treaty of cession near Yainax Butte (now Council Butte)[46] in Sprague River Valley with "Pah-ni-ne" (Panai'na, the "hostile Snake chief" mentioned by Drew)[47] and ten other "chiefs and headmen" of the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians."[48] Little is known about this treaty; no minutes of the treaty-council are available.[49] We do know, however, that Huntington got into communication with Panai'na through some captive Snake women and some "partially friendly Klamaths" and that he reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the 1865 treaty was "mainly an addendum to the treaty of October, 1864, with the Klamaths and Modocs, bringing the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the same reservation."[50]

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It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley. K 101 648

Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73] K 114 161

In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley,[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78] K N 648

The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum- N [166] K N [177 241]

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K N 648 mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[80]

K N 101 131 648 721 That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K N 648 166 By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panaina] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

N 648 166 Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

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> do....[but] on the succeeding night [Oct. 4, 1866] they left the reservation, taking with them some horses and guns belonging to the Yahooskins and Klamaths, and a [wagon] train sent out by Captain Sprague to convey their property [from Sprague River Valley] to Council Grove returned, and a hostile force was sent out instead [to capture them]....I became convinced that danger [from the Snakes] was imminent. Early in October I commenced the fortification of the agency buildings, which were completed....[83]

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The help they had given Applegate and the military in the summer of 1866, and the abrupt withdrawal of Maj. Rinehart's Snake captives from the Reservation in the fall, made MotcunkasꞌkEt and his people apprehensive; consequently they removed temporarily from Sprague River Valley to the vicinity of the Agency, where they spent the winter of 1866-1867.[84] This move brought them in close contact with the Upper Klamath Lake group of Klamath. Friction evidently developed between the leaders of the two groups, for on January 31, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington,

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"There has been considerable excitement occasioned by an attempt on the part of Moshenkosket chief of the Yahooskins [underlining ours] and his followers, to depose High chief LaLakes and become High Chief himself. But the attempt resulted in little more than a great deal of talk and excitement, and the revolution has been stayed."[85] Here we have our first specific instance, in an excellent source, of misapplication of the name Yahooskin to the Sprague River Klamath group. In another monthly report written on May 31, 1867, Applegate makes it clear that the Indians he refers to as "Yahooskins" belonged in Sprague River Valley[86]-- and nowhere in his correspondence or reports does he mention any other Indian group as belonging in Sprague River Valley in 1867.

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There is also other evidence, both direct and indirect, indicating that the post-Reservation Yahuskin were Drew's Sprague River Valley Klamath group, to wit:

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a) In 1867 and 1868 the Statistical Tables in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the "tribes" of "Klamath Snakes &c." of Oregon as "Klamath, Modoc, and four bands of Snakes." These "four bands" are Huntington's Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and

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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 ● d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under MoctunkasʼkEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

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fusion.[181] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[182] K N 161

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[183] N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[184] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "'Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[185] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[186] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

648 579 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes."[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's 648 131 Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that [487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> [609] "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now."[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some sea- [224] sons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

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Eleven years after Work had been at Abert Lake John C. Frémont discovered Summer Lake, which Frémont named. Frémont and his party traveled south along the west shore of Summer Lake, following a well-beaten Indian trail which led to Chewaucan River and Chewaucan Marsh. At the marsh the ground appeared as though it had been ploughed; Frémont concluded that Indians had been digging tubers, but what these were he could not discover.[112] In the vicinity of the marsh Frémont also found "frequent trails, and fresh tracks of Indians," but encountered no natives.[113] From Chewaucan Marsh Frémont went eastward to Abert Lake, which he also named. On the eastern, or Abert Rim side of the lake Frémont found a well beaten Indian trail, which he followed southward,[114] but again he met no Indians. It was not until he was well out of the Summer-Abert lakes region and south of the 42nd parallel that he actually encountered "some Snake Indians"; by accident, members of his party almost rode over two huts of Snakes, in Long or Surprise valleys, early in January, 1844.[115] 131 487 [222]

From 1845 onward the Silver-Summer lakes region may have been visited in its northern half by loosely organized companies of Oregon pioneers in search of the "Blue Bucket Diggings," but of such parties we know little, except that their members were often attacked by "Indians."[116] "Some morning about daylight, twenty or thirty red blanketed men, with hideous yells would attack the sleeping men. Then would result a stampede....The few cool heads would make a stand, while the savages after getting away with the horses, would beat a retreat, leaving the gold hunters to straggle afoot back across the mountains [Cascades] to the [Willamette Valley] settlements."[117] Such attacks, however, seem to have been mostly north of the Silver-Summer lakes region. 648

In 1853 "the lost wagon train of 1853" went south of the lakes (Malheur and Harney lakes, or Silver and Summer lakes?) instead of north of them, trying to reach the Willamette Valley, and had "a very hard time of it."[118] In that same year, as we have already noted, Superintendent Joel Palmer sent Indian Agent J. M. Garrison to visit the Indians between the headwaters of the Willamette and Fort Boise, but Garrison failed in this mission.[119] The next year Capt. Jesse Walker, commanding a company of California volunteer militia, campaigned in Surprise

648 and Warner valleys. From Warner Valley Walker marched his men across the Warner Range westward, to attack an Indian encampment on the west side of the Warners near the head of Goose Lake Valley. The volunteers "killed two Indians and took another prisoner" at the Indian camp; the company then returned to Warner Valley.[120]

From Ogden's time on, west-east travelers across central Oregon had used the Crooked River route north of Silver and Summer Lakes; in 1846 a more southerly road was laid out.[121] Neither of these "great thoroughfares leading to the States"[122] passed through, or even very near the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, however. Hence this latter region, bounded on the west by the 1,000-foot high Winter Ridge,[123] on the north by a wide expanse of barren high desert,[124] on the east by Abert Rim and the Warner Range, and on the south by mountains and Goose Lake Valley, remained until a relatively late date an isolated, unexplored pocket. By 1859, however, there was a north-south road leading from Yreka in northern California to northeastern Oregon and Washington Territory, which passed through the Sprague River Valley-Silver Lake country.[125] After the gold strikes around Canyon City in the Blue Mountains, and also in the Nez Perce Mountains and around Oro Fino, Idaho during the early 1860's,[126] this north-south trail was well traveled, and was popularly referred to as the "Canyon City Road."[127] Indian depredations on supply trains and mining parties using the Canyon City Road were notable in the late 1850's and early 1860's;[128] some of these attacks, as we have already seen, occurred on the Sprague River-Silver Lake [726] section of the road.[129] Such attacks, however, made by mounted Indians under a leader like Panai'na, who in the early 1860's was operating throughout central Oregon, furnish practically no clues as to whether any Indians were actually living in the Summer-Silver-Abert lakes basin 131 at this time. A map dated January 1, 1864 and signed by Huntington, which shows the location of Oregon Indians, does not assign any Indians to the regions north of Summer and Abert lakes, nor to the region east of Abert Lake, between Abert and Harney lakes.[130]

648 In the spring and summer of 1864 one scouting party and three major military expeditions took the field against the Snakes of central and eastern Oregon,[131] but none of these expeditions operated in the

Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which continued to remain isolated 648 ●
and undescribed. However in the late fall, as we have already noted, Huntington obtained by the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin Snake treaty of cession the entire Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, embracing some 5,000 square miles.[132]

Two years after the 1864 Klamath treaty cession, in October, 1866, 649
a small military expedition from Ft. Klamath "had a fight with a band 166
of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [Abert];" fourteen Indians were killed and many wounded.[133] In September of the next year (1867) Lt. Small, then commanding Ft. Klamath, captured five Snakes at Silver Lake, and fourteen on Chewaucan River, between Summer and Abert lakes.[134] Small took his prisoners, nineteen in all, to Ft. Klamath, arriving at the fort on September 22, 1867.[135] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a council with the Indians on the Reservation, including the newly arrived Snake prisoners.[136] Two days later, on October 1, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington requesting a Snake interpreter; to justify the request he remarked in his letter, "Besides the Ya-hoos-kin Snakes there is a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the Reservation. These last mentioned Snakes are parties to the Snake Treaty and are residing quietly and harmoniously on the Reservation in pursuance to the provisions of the compact."[137] In none of his previous correspondence does Applegate mention that any of the Walpapi had returned to the Reservation; this is the first reference to Walpapi having settled there since Panaiña had decamped in the spring of 1866. Obviously Applegate's "division" of Walpapi consisted of none other than the nineteen prisoners which Lt. Small had brought to the Reservation eight days previously from the Silver-Summer lakes region.

Less than a year after the first small detachment of Silver-Sum- 101
mer lakes Paiute had been brought onto Klamath Reservation the re- 166
mainder of the Indians from Silver and Summer lakes voluntarily re- 648
moved to the Reservation.[138] These later arrivals numbered around a hundred souls, and were also immediately referred to, in Agency correspondence and records, as "Wall pah-pe Snakes."[139] The applicability of this name, for Indians deriving in 1867 and 1868 from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which had been ceded on the authority of the "Yahooskins" in 1864, is reserved for discussion in the second half of this paper.

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Notes

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1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

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The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

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All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

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2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognized or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name. N 101 648

At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix. N 101 197 [131]

3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem). N 114 101

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used. N 101 128

5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). N K 648 113

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due K 101 114 131

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K 101 114 131 to the fact that he did not visit Sprague River (ibid., p. 13). His statements on possible aboriginal Klamath settlements on Sprague River are uncertain; he locates, but does not map, hicdiclucluke as a Klamath settlement on middle Sprague River "west of Gearhart mountain" (idem, also p. 16 and fig. 3), and also says that "...there were settlements of some sort on the [Sprague] river near Yainax before the coming of the Whites" (ibid., pp. 14-15) — yet elsewhere he states "...I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague River as Yainax in pre-Reservation times" (ibid., p. 23).

Philleo Nash, whose ethnographic field work among the Klamath post-dates Spier's, recognized the existence of an aboriginal upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group, largely on the examination of Klamath Agency unpublished letters and reports. Nash, however, does not document the existence of this group in his single publication on the Klamath, nor does he describe the group in any detail (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1 and pp. 386, 403).

N 551 7. Panaiña is Gatschet's transcription of the Klamath name for this war leader (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 29); no Northern Paiute transcription is known to me. Paulina is the spelling generally used for the several geographic features in Oregon named for this leader (McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, pp. 410-411).

114 648 8. No Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs or representatives thereof actually visited the various groups of Northern Paiutes of south-central Oregon until late in 1868, when J. W. Perit Huntingon made his long-delayed trip from Salem, Ore., via Warm Springs and Klamath agencies to Yainax and camps Warner and Harney, etc. (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868).

Fifteen years earlier, in June, 1853, Joel Palmer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, had sent Indian Agent Joseph W. Garrison, with presents of trade goods, on a special mission to interview and collect information about the Indians of "Middle Oregon" (RCIA 1853 [CDS #690] pp. 447-448, 451-452; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-112. Palmer to Garrison, Dayton, O. T., June 22, 1853). This expedition was a failure; Garrison returned home in eighteen days, having been told the Cascades were impassible because of heavy snow (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-122. Palmer to Manypenny, Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Aug. 4, 1853). A year later, in 1854, Superintendent Palmer appointed one Nathan Olney of Dalles, Ore., as Special Indian Agent for central Oregon (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dallas, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854) and in 1855 ordered Olney to visit the Indians of central Oregon east of Klamath Lake and to make a full report on them, since "no agent of the

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Government for these Indians has ever visited [them]" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Olney, Feb. 19, 1855 [enclosure with April 16, 1855 letter]). Olney apparently considered central Oregon too dangerous to venture into without military protection, and failed to carry out Palmer's instructions (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dalles, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "D," Neil McArthur et al, Salmon River, O. T., Dec. 23, 1854; NA. WDC. DP. 1-5-1855, Palmer to Bonneville, Dayton, O. T., Feb. 20, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letter Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Manypenny, Dayton, O. T., April 18, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-493. Olney to Palmer, Fort Boise, Aug. 31, 1855). There is also a hint, in Palmer's unpublished correspondence, that Olney expressed anti-Indian sentiments unbecoming to an Indian agent at The Dalles in 1854 and that Palmer became disillusioned with him as an envoy to the Indians (Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Manypenny). In 1856 A. F. Hedges succeeded Palmer as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, and for various reasons exploration of south-central Oregon by Indian Office personnel was delayed until 1868. No adequate mapping of the area existed as late as 1867 (Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign). 114 648

9. See especially sections 2. 2 and 3. 2 for examples of such manipulation.

10. Primary published source material heretofore overlooked includes Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew's official report of his Owyhee reconnaissance trip of 1864 which, although rare, has never been unobtainable; two Senate documents, Klamath Boundary Commission, published in 1897, and Protection Afforded by Volunteers of Oregon and Washington, relating to affairs in south-central Oregon in 1854; and Pacific Coast Army reports and correspondence for the years 1861-1865, published in War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, vol. 50, pts. 1 and 2. Drew's Official Report is reproduced in full in the Documents department of this number of ETHNOHISTORY. 114

Much valuable information is also to be found in two fugitive, but published sources: 1) Publication No. E-344, United States Court of Claims, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. The United States. Evidence for Plaintiff, and 2) Indian Claims Commission, Northern Paiute No. 87R, Statements, 1951 (referred to in this paper as the Reno Transcript). A microfilm of the Court of Claims publication is now in the Ellison Collection of Indiana University Library; the Reno Transcript should also be microfilmed, since it is fugitive and contains a wealth of data on Northern Paiute basic subsistence activities, obtained from a score or so of Northern Paiute informants.

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K 114 Two other valuable and fugitive documents, both Mss, are two letterbooks of official letters received, 1869-1872, and letters sent, 1870-1877, from Klamath Agency and Yainax Station; these are now on deposit at Klamath Agency. Nash seems to have been the only ethnologist writing on the Klamath who had consulted these letterbooks prior to 1952 (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1).

N 648 11. See fn. 5. The Indians gathered first at Kowasti, on Agency Lake, but after a few days removed to Council Grove, nearer Ft. Klamath (see fn. 18, below).

12. Huntington was the chief negotiator. He had been instructed to arrange with Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California A. E. Wylie who, since the Modoc lived partly in California, was to serve as the second commissioner, but Wylie was unable to attend. Huntington therefore appointed Warm Springs Indian Agent William Logan, of the Oregon Superintendency, to serve (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270; see also RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 256-259, and NA. NIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H" pp. 743-745, Huntington to Maltby, Salem, Ore., Oct. 28, 1865).

12a. For areas ceded and reserved see Royce, Indian Land Cessions, p. 834, and maps 8 and 51 (California 2, Oregon 1), areas No. 462, 463.

N K 114 131 648 13. According to plaintiff's Amended Petition in Docket No. 100 before the Indian Claims Commission the ceded area contained 13,700,000 acres, of which 1,650,000 acres were set apart for an Indian Reservation (Klamath Reservation). Since neither the Klamath nor Modoc groups had any settlements in the eastern half of the ceded area (Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region), ethnographers have taken for granted that this part of the total area was ceded on the authority of the twenty-two Yahooskin Snakes present at the treaty council — and then have further assumed that the Yahuskin were the aboriginal occupants of the 5,000 sq. mi. Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in aboriginal times (see Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and p. 131).

14. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864. Kelly's letter is dated Oct. 15, 1864.

15. RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 228-229, 256-259; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272; WR pt 2, pp. 991-992.

K 648 16. A. G. Walling says that Lindsay Applegate was an interpreter at the Klamath-Modoc treaty (History of Oregon, p. 523); Huntington states that "Dr. W. C. McKay and Captain Lindsay Applegate...acted as counsellors and interpreters to the Indians" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272). No Klamath and Modoc witnesses in the Court of Claims and Boundary Commission hearings mentioned Applegate or McKay when asked who interpreted at the treaty-signing. Witnesses spoke of

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Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12.

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17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says:

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"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827).

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19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged.

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N 648 21. The treaty is officially dated October 14, 1864, and will be referred to hereafter under that date. Actually however it seems to have been signed October 15; Kelly and Huntington both agree on this latter date (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 270, 651).

22. Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 386.

23. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8-9.

N [131] 24. WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 911. The "main traveled road" Drew mentions ran from Red Bluff, Calif., to Ft. Crook, Calif., thence along the eastern shore of Goose Lake to the head of the lake. From there it turned northeast "via the Malheur" to Ft. Boise, Idaho. See RCIA (CDS #1157) p. 412; Bancroft, Map of Oregon; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; WR vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 1226.

000 25. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

26. Drew, ibid., p. 7.

27. Drew, ibid., p. 28.

28. California Indians, p. 539; Tribes of California, p. 352.

29. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8, 1.

30. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-272; NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

31. Drew, Official Report, p. 8.

32. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

33. Treaty of October 14, 1864 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383); RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-270.

34. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 99.

35. Ibid., pt. 2, p. 71.

36. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23.

K 101 114 37. An example of such metathesis is Power's transcription of aukckni and plaikni, Klamath names for two Klamath groups; Powers transcribes these as Eocskinnes and Blyskinnes (California Indians, p. 539).

N 131 133 38. The Great Basin, habitat of nearly all the Northern Paiute-speaking people, lies directly to the east of Klamath Lakes Basin. At its western edge the Great Basin is some thousand feet lower than the eastern edge of Klamath Lakes Basin.

K 101 39. Spier says: "All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat [by the Klamath]; no distinctions are made" (Klamath Ethnography, p. 4). A Klamath witness in Court of Claims E-344 said much the same thing (p. 232).

40. Army officials of this period were generally critical of the many unprovoked attacks on Indians by White settlers and miners. Such attacks too often precipitated needless Indian "Wars." Thus Dew, in narrating the clash between the White prospectors and Indians near the head of Goose Lake during his Owyhee Reconnaissance expedition, begins: "During our stay in the [Goose Lake] valley there occurred one of those incidents, that are unfortunately too common on our frontier, and often end in the injury or murder of innocent and unoffending citizens" (Drew, Official Report, pp. 7-8). 648 ●

41. The Northern Paiute respected Army officers, who had a reputation of making few promises, but keeping their word. Col. Elmer Otis underscored the necessity for this sort of behaviour, in a letter written in the 1870's to Special Commissioner I. D. Applegate: "All promises to Indians must be kept faithfully, or they soon lose confidence and when once lost it is hard to regain" (NA. WDC. DC. 0-31-Encl. 4-1870). [609]

42. Thus Frank Lynch, a Sprague River Valley Klamath testifying in Court of Claims E-344 in 1931 on how he happened to attend the treaty council of 1864, said: "The eastern part of the Indians was requested to come to that council and they arrived at the place they called — below the place where they now call Chiloquin; and from that point we moved to this place of council. And I went there because I wanted to learn something and we had been promised to get some stuff from the Government, was word sent out. That is how I come to be there" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 827).

43. Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, p. 135; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, pp. 16-18.

44. In fact, Drew indicates in a letter dated July 12, 1864 that he considered the Silver-Summer lakes region as being occupied at that time "by Indians of Ou-a-luck's band who are giving so much trouble near Canyon City" (Drew to Assistant Adjutant General, WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 877, 900). In his official report Drew blames another "Snake chief," Pauline, for an attack on a wagon train near Silver Lake on June 6, 1864 (Official Report, pp. 5). Information about Ou-a-luck or Howlark is fragmentary; after 1865 nothing is certainly known about him (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 89). 131 648

45. Kelly, ibid., p. 67; Omer C. Stewart, idem; Whiting, idem. 000

46. Kelly, ibid., p. 69.

47. Kelly, ibid., p. 70.

48. Frank John, a Surprise Valley Paiute witness at the Reno hearings, who was born in Warner Valley near Adel, Lake Co., Ore., ca. 1885, 115 131

115 and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that
131 the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes
of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west,
in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did
222 not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the
224 Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions,
131 ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the
Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan
[223] in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and
field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he
said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the
range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner
114 valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 11, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p.
212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol.
1, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of
Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew,
Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's
detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks
on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs
on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of
Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered
there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15,
24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt.,
1, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on
Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute
from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation
see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley
Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the
105 Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F.
114 Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical
648 scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant
423 attention...They are a roving, nomadic race... a tribe hard to tame, not
accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country;
cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed
to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing,
114 immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the
423 Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land
embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah,
648 and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made
by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go
far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342). N 114 423 648

51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129). K N 161

52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew. N M K 114 131 648

53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381. K 648 487

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431). K 551

Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen- K [14]

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60. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 268; Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23. K 133 103

Upper Klamath Lake has an elevation of 4,000 feet; the upper Sprague River Valley around Bly, Ore., is 350-400 feet higher, and according to one Klamath witness, is called in Klamath "The Country From Where the Water Flows" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 114). The name for the present town of Bly is an Anglicization of Klamath p'lai (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 50); the Klamath name for Sprague River was plai or plaikni koke, literally, upland people river (ibid., p. 486).

61. The term used in 1896 by Motcunka'sket, or his interpreter (Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 16).

62. The English name used in 1926 by Dick Brown, Motcunka'skEt's son (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129). 000

63. See fn. 51 above.

64. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651.

65. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 646, 650.

66. McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566.

67. Official Report, p. 5; see also fn. 7, above.

68. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

69. Extended search has been made for the minutes in the National Archives. N 127

70. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651. Despite Huntington's assertion, legally this was an entirely separate treaty. N 648

71. Huntington's party camped "just east of the canyon or narrows" of Sprague River; "the narrows are about eight to ten miles northwest of Bly" (testimony of O. C. Stearns, Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 19). The present town of Beatty, Ore., is at the west end of the narrows, within the Reservation line; Bly is just outside the Reservation. K 131 648

72. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655.

73. Official Report, p. 5.

74. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H," pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865: "You acted as interpreter at the Council of Aug. 12, held in Sprague River Valley, and are fully informed of the results of that Council, and the stipulations entered into by the Snakes of the Woll-pah-pe tribe." N 648

75. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89.

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K N 10/ 648 76. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89, Lindsay Applegate's first annual report to Huntington, dated Aug. 6, 1866. Applegate's reference to the "deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" may be the first instance of confusion of the Sprague River Klamath with the treaty-signing Yahuskin group. It will be recalled that the garrison at Ft. Klamath, in 1865, regarded "Moghenkaskit and his band ...as a sort of guardian of the border" and "depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes" (see fn. 55, above).

In attempting to make a treaty with Howlark, Applegate was acting on Huntington's orders (NA. BIA. OS. FP. Letter Book "H" pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865).

N 648 77. RCIA (CDS #1284) p. 89. Howlark declared himself for a continuation of the war and attempted to persuade Panaina to leave the Reservation and join him.

000 78. *Idem.*

79. *Idem.*

80. *Idem.*

81. *Idem.* See also fn. 84, below.

82. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Sept. 30, 1866.

N K 648 83. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Oct. 31, 1866. By the fall of 1866, Klamath Reservation and Agency was becoming an established fact, although the Reservation had not as yet been surveyed (RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 24).

84. In his October 31, 1866 monthly report Lindsay Applegate informed Huntington: "There are no Snakes proper, on the reservation, but an attack by them or a raid by them for the purpose of stealing and plundering is daily and nightly expected by the Klamaths and Ya-hoos-kins...Fearing the Snakes the Yahooskins have moved down within a short distance of the Agency where most of the Indians have collected" (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D").

85. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Jan. 31, 1867; see also RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92.

N K 222 648 86. "Fearing the Snakes the Ya-hoos-kins until very lately refrained from going into their own country (Sprague River Valley) [parentheses Applegate's] to collect roots which are now found there in great quantities, but I have lately organized a force of Klamaths and Yahooskins consisting of about fifty men armed and about as many women. This

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force is now in the lower part of Sprague River Valley digging roots..." (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, May 31, 1867).

87. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 395; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 812. 000

88. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-652.

89. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868. "The chief object of the expedition was to visit the Snake Indian tribes, ascertain by personal inspection their precise condition, and take such measures as were in my power to secure a continuance of the peace recently inaugurated." N 648

90. See 2. 3.

91. RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) p. 516.

92. Idem; also RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) p. 715.

93. Idem.

94. "Ocheo's band" (now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute) was brought to Yainax from Camp Warner late in 1869, as the result of a council at Camp Harney in November, 1869 (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 531-532; Meacham, Wigwam, pp. 226ff.; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, Nov. 22, 1869). Part of Ocheo's group wintered on Klamath Reservation at Yainax until 1876-1877 (RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 612; Brimlowe, Bannock Indian War, p. 52), but after 1877 none of the group remained on the Reservation, as census figures for 1878 show.

95. See 2. 3.

96. NA. RCIA. OSFP. Letters Received 915, I. D. Applegate to Odeneal, April 30, 1872.

97. Ocheo's group; see fn. 94, above.

98. RCIA 1875 (CDS #1680) p. 618.

99. RCIA 1876 (CDS #1749) p. 218.

100. RCIA 1877 (CDS #1800) p. 300. This is from the Statistical Tables. The Agent's report of Aug. 22, 1877 reads, "Klamath Indians, 667, Modocs included in treaty, 93; Snakes included in Walpalla, or Yahooskin, 137" (ibid., p. 567). N K 161

101. RCIA 1878 (CDS #1850) p. 788.

102. RCIA 1880 (CDS #1859) p. 202; RCIA 1881 (CDS #2018) pp. 202-203, 343.

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000 129. RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412; RCIA 1863 (CDS #1182) p. 177; Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 24, 30.

K 130. Huntington, Diagram of the Reservations.

N 648 131. The earliest operation was a preliminary scout in March and April through the Crooked River-Harney Lake-Steens Mountain area by Lt. Waymire (WR, pt. 1, pp. 309-311, 320; pt. 2, pp. 808, 810-811, 826, 830; Miller, Unwritten History, p. 342; Oregon Statesman, May 2, 1864, p. 3, col. 2; Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 62). The three major expeditions which set out in May and June were commanded by Capt. John M. Drake, Capt. George B. Currey, and Lt. Col. C. S. Drew. Drake's and Currey's forces spent the summer and fall pursuing and fighting Indians in central and eastern Oregon; Drew's expedition served as an escort for several large wagon trains and was mainly a reconnaissance. For notices and reports of all three expeditions see WR, pt. 1, pp. 309-353; pt. 2, pp. 804-805; Oregon Statesman, Feb. 22, 1864, p. 1, col. 4; RCIA 1864 (CDS #1220) p. 258; WR, pt. 2, pp. 900-901, 911; Drew, Official Report, pp. 1-29; Report of the Adjutant-General, pp. 11-78.

132. See 2.1.

K 114 648 133. RSW 1866 (CDS #1285) p. 51; RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100. For a Klamath scout's account of this expedition see Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-32.

N K 648 134. Morning Oregonian, Nov. 4, 1867, p. 1, col. 5; Oregon Sentinel, Sept. 28, 1867; Daily Alta Californian, Sept. 28, 1867; Yreka Union, Oct. 5, 1867; NA. Records, Oregon Superintendency Indian Affairs. Letters Received. Unregistered diary, 1867, anonymous. Crook also reports Small's scout in the "Silver Lake country," and says 24 Indians were killed, 19 women and children captured, and two camps destroyed (RSW 1868, pt. 1 [CDS #1367] p. 69; see also Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign).

000 135. Morning Oregonian, Nov. 4, 1867, p. 1, col. 5.

136. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Unregistered letter, Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

137. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Vol. E, no. 169, Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Klamath Agency, Oct. 1, 1867.

138. See 3.2.

139. Idem.

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably 648 referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty—that of August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, [622] Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-zhe, Che- [551] em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142]

The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, [621] Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that [131] were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties—the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145]

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648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[146] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panaiʼna (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151] [166] [101]

648 [illegible] We hear of Panaiʼna earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panaiʼna's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panaiʼna engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

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until early in the spring of 1864, when he and his forces burned a ranch house east of Warm Springs on John Day River, about a mile below the mouth of Bridge Creek. White settlers and prospectors pursued the raiders, and on the west branch of Trout Creek a mile or so above the forks met some Wasco Indians from Warm Springs Reservation.[156] These Indians had suffered a galling humiliation from Panaiʼna the day before,[157] and therefore joined the party of Whites in pursuit of Panaiʼna. Near the head of McKay Creek, a tributary of Crooked River, the party found and attacked Panaiʼna's camp, but did not kill Panaiʼna.[158]

By May 17, Capt. John M. Drake's command[159] discovered another of Panaiʼna's camps "at one of the crossings of Crooked River four or five miles below the forks of the river and 12-14 miles northeast of Camp Maury," where Drake then had his field headquarters.[160] Drake thought at first that this camp of Panaiʼna's was temporary and consisted of a small group, so he attacked it the next day, but was repulsed. Three of his men, including 2nd Lt. Stephen Watson, were killed, and five wounded. After being reinforced Drake again attacked and Panaiʼna and his people fled eastward into the mountains between Crooked River and the Canyon City Road. After Panaiʼna decamped a small group of Snake "night prowlers" hovered around Camp Maury for twenty days, before they could be driven across the Blue Mountains.[161]

Aside from the small group of night prowlers, Drake reports that "the only other Indians around the headwaters of Crooked River [were] Polini's band." The size of Panaiʼna's forces astonished him, and led him to believe that he had underrated the number of Snakes living in the Crooked River region. According to Drake's own Indians Panaiʼna had occupied the fortified camp for three or four years; Drake himself thought that "the camp bears every evidence of this fact." Elsewhere he remarks that the upper part of Crooked River Valley had been the home of Panaiʼna's group "for many years."[162]

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726 Panai'na's band, Drake concluded at the end of his campaign, 648 probably numbered "fifty or sixty fighting men and some women [701] and children—it would be impossible to say how many—and is [161] composed in part of Snake Indians proper, who have united themselves under able leadership[163] for the purposes of plunder, and in part of renegades from other tribes actuated by a like motive" (underlining ours).[164]

In June, 1864, Panai'na's group committed several robberies on the northern section of the Canyon City Road;[165] by June 24 Panai'na was farther south on the same road, attacking Richardson's train near Silver Lake.[166] From Silver Lake he visited Sprague River Valley, in an attempt to persuade Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath "and the Klamaths generally" to join him in a war against the Whites.[167]

Two and a half weeks later Panai'na was back in the Crooked River country where, on July 12, 1864, he encountered Capt. George Currey's command. Currey forced Panai'na to flee southeast, to the south side of the desert region of central Oregon.[168] Six days later Capt. Currey's expressman from Camp Alvord[169] saw and was chased by five or six Indians of "Po-li-ni's band" in the mountains twenty miles south of Lake Harney.[170] A little later in July Panai'na was again heading west; Capt. Currey was told that the Snake leader "had joined 23 wickiups at a small lake 30 miles west of Camp Alvord."[171]

Still later in July, 1864, Panai'na moved north again to the ever-lucrative Canyon City road. In the High Desert region some distance north of Goose Lake he attacked Tower and Company's train, killing two men and taking 350 head of cattle, which he drove to Warner Mountain, "the Sebastapol of the Snake Indians." On Warner Mountain Panai'na and his group feasted on the cattle and kept a watch on Drew's expedition for twelve days in early August, as Drew moved east of the Warners. Twice Panai'na prepared to attack the expedition, but decided it would not be safe to do so. When Drew explored Warner Mountain on August 8-12 he found

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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Panai'na's camp "of about sixty new and deserted lodges, evidently left not more than three days before, and in and around them fragments of beeves that their occupants had feasted upon. The tracks of American horses, ponies, mules and cattle, all coming in from the northward, were numerous and but recently made."[172]

In September, 1864, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the military to locate Panai'na before he went into winter quarters.[173]

Panai'na did not attend either the pre-treaty conference Huntington held at Ft. Klamath late in August, 1864, or the treaty proceedings of October 9-15,[174] although apparently he had been invited to do so.[175] Immediately after the 1864 treaty-signing, however, Huntington sent LaLakes, so-called Klamath "high chief," to Panai'na with a peace message. LaLakes delivered the message, obtained a reply from Panai'na, and left him to return to Ft. Klamath. That same day Huntington and his party, consisting of Indian Agent William Logan, a military escort, and several Warm Springs Indian scouts, while on the trail north from Ft. Klamath to Dalles, Ore., captured one or two Snakes belonging to Panai'na's band, at the mouth of Mill-ke-ke Creek at the Crossing of the Deschutes River. A search was made for the Snakes' camp, and it was found, about fifteen miles east of the mouth of the creek. At the camp, which was a small one, three Snake men, three women and one or two children were captured. One of the captured women was Panai'na's wife, and one of the children his child. Four of the captured men were killed, but one managed to flee to Panai'na. Three of the women and the two children, including Panai'na's wife and child, were taken north by Huntington and put in the custody of Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord at Ft. Vancouver, W. T., for the winter.[176]

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Panai'na protested this killing and capturing of his people, through a messenger, "Sky-ti-at-titk, a Snake Indian,"[177] whom he sent to Ft. Klamath on Nov. 1, 1864.[178] Ten days later Panai'na himself came to the Fort to tell Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, that he was tired of war with the Whites, that he

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728 wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

[161] From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads [131] to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was [622] the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

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ly with the whites" and to make arrangements with Huntington for peace, as soon as the snow was off the ground. He also sent word that he himself would come to Ft. Klamath after the snow was off the mountains, and would wait at the Fort until his wife was returned to him. Motcunka'skEt informed Kelly that "the Snakes were suffering from Starvation."[186]

Huntington planned to meet Panai'na in the spring when the trail from the Dalles to Ft. Klamath would be open.[187] By July, consequently, Huntington was at Warm Springs Agency, having with him under guard "two of the women and one of the children captured in [October, 1864]...the other woman and child being left, too sick to travel, at Warm Springs." Later, at Klamath, through the two captive women and "the partially friendly Klamaths"[188] Huntington "got into communication with Pau-li-ne or Pah-ni-nes, chief of the Woll-pah-pe Snakes" and on Aug. 12, 1865 Panai'na and ten other Northern Paiute signed a treaty at Council Bluffs in Sprague River Valley.[189]

3.2. The Post-Treaty Walpapi. Two months after the treaty-signing Panai'na reported to Capt. W. V. Rinehart at Ft. Klamath that "all the Indians of his tribe who stipulated to come in" were in "MoshenKosk-ka's Country"[190] and that he wished to talk either to Huntington or to Lindsay Applegate, newly appointed Klamath Indian Sub-agent.[191] When Applegate came from Ashland Mills to Klamath as a result of this request, he first of all tried, during the middle of October, 1865, and using LaLakes, Motcunka'skEt and Panai'na as intermediaries, to persuade the hostile Snake chief Howlark, then reported to be in "Blie" or "Moshenkosket's country,"[192] to come in and make peace. This attempt failed. Toward the end of October Panai'na and "two other principal men of his tribe, 'Enkaltoik' and 'Chat-chat-chuck'[193] returned to the Fort with 'LaLakes'" and Applegate had a talk with the Snakes, explaining to them the boundaries of the Reservation and telling Panai'na that he and his people must stay within these boundaries. At that time Panai'na was located in Sprague River Valley; "His

648 people," he told Applegate, "were not all upon the reservation,
728 but he would bring them within its limits immediately."[194]

Two months later, at the end of December, 1865, Lindsay Applegate met Panai'na again at Ft. Klamath. This time Panai'na had with him four men, and eighteen women and children, all of whom had been wintering in "Moshenkosket's Country." The Snake leader told Applegate that this group comprised all of his people who "were with him on the Reservation....the greater part of his people in opposition to his wishes had gone to pass the winter in that part of the country where his wife was taken prisoner in 1864, and that they had promised to join him on the Reservation early in the spring."[195]

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166 After Applegate left Ft. Klamath Panai'na and his group returned to upper Sprague River Valley, where they stayed until April 22, 1866. On that date Panai'na, Tchatchaktchaksh, and the other Walpapi suddenly ran off without telling either Motcunka'skEt[196] or LaLakes that they intended to leave the Reservation. A messenger from Motcunka'skEt to Maj. Rinehart reported, a few days after the fact, that the Snakes had left as the result of a summons to war from the Snake chief Howlark. Two Indians were sent out by Motcunka'skEt to find where Panai'na had gone. Rinehart later reported to Huntington that these scouts "went to Summer Lake then to Silver Lake and found no Indians but saw one fire far northward towards Dechutes river. They seem to think from tracks and signs that he has gone to the vicinity on Dechutes where you captured his family and killed those Indians. The Klamath chiefs agree unanimously that he has broken the treaty and deceived them and that he has gone not to return."[197]

At first Huntington was inclined to be hopeful that Panai'na had merely returned to spend the summer "in the region between Crooked River on the north, Harney Lake on the east, Summer and Upper Klamath Lakes [Klamath Marsh] on the south, and Mt. [137] Paulinee and Queah Valley on the west. This tract of country included in these bounds... affords fine grass. This band of Indians

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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have inhabited it heretofore and, in my opinion, have done so this past summer."[198] This however was a vain hope. Panai'na never returned to Klamath Reservation although, as we shall see, various other Northern Paiute associated with him did return.

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While he was on the Reservation Panai'na and his people did not receive any benefits under the 1865 Walpapi treaty.[199] On July 5, 1866, the Walpapi treaty was ratified, and proclaimed July 10; therefore benefits under it were scheduled to begin in the fiscal year 1867-1868. At the time of ratification the only Walpapi Snakes on the Reservation were two captives the Klamath had taken, who claimed to have signed the Walpapi treaty, and whom the Klamath had turned over to Maj. Rinehart. Rinehart states: "One of the prisoners is named 'Gil-te-wa'[200] and is blind in one eye. The name of the other is unknown to me–but he says he signed the treaty." With the Walpapi treaty ratified, Rinehart was anxious to capture as many Snakes as possible, and states that all of the Klamath chiefs had promised him aid in doing so except Motcunka'skEt, who would therefore be closely watched.[201]

The Klamath brought several other Snake prisoners to Ft. Klamath during the summer of 1866. On July 8 they captured "another Snake named 'La-pa-k-u-git' and reported that three other Snakes were lurking in Sprague River Valley." Maj. Rinehart sent ten soldiers, ten Indians under Blow, a Klamath treaty signer, and the Snake Indian Giltewa as a guide, to capture these Snakes.[202] This party succeeded in taking four Snake men, two women and five children. The men were taken to Ft. Klamath, the women and children being left "at Moshenkaskit's on Sprague River."[203]

Near the end of July, 1866, Lindsay Applegate was able to report to Huntington that

> Major W. V. Rinehart... has captured altogether and brought to Fort Klamath...up to the 20th Inst. about 16 Snake prisoners. They have been captured usually on the headwaters of Sprague River. Two have escaped from custody and one was killed attempting to escape. Thirteen women and Thirty children are on the Reser-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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> vation with Moshunkosket's people having been left there by the capturing parties of soldiers and Klamath Indians. These women and children are those who belong to the prisoners at the Fort.

Applegate attributed the Army's success to "the war [against the Snakes] farther North," which probably drove them to take refuge in the Summer-Silver lakes-upper Sprague River country.[204]

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In the meantime, little is heard of Panai'na after he left the Reservation. On Aug. 10, 1866 Capt. Walker[205] with a party of infantry pursued Panai'na "and a large band of warriors. They attacked them, but were driven back, Captain Walker having had a horse killed under him in the fight."[206] Some time in October, as we have already noted, Lts. Oatman and Small, of Ft. Klamath, engaged Indians near Lake Abert; possibly Panai'na was among them.[207]

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By October, 1866, sixty "Snakes proper–16 men and 44 women and children" had been captured and brought onto Klamath Reservation. Among these were Shas'-took, We-ah'-shau, Ske'-zhe, Sah-too-too'-we and Now-weep-a-cow'-ich, all signers of the 1865 Walpapi treaty, as well as Enkail'toak and Wail-a'-cho-ak. These two last-named, with Shastook, met Indian Sub-agent Lindsay Applegate at Klamath Agency for a talk on Oct. 3, and promised that all sixty Snakes would immediately move down from Sprague River Valley to Council Grove, near the Agency, where Applegate and the Army could keep watch on them. Applegate assured them that if they did as told, and remained faithful "they might yet receive the benefits of the [1865] treaty now ratified and made good." Although he does not specifically refer at this time to these captives as "Walpapi Snakes" he clearly (and with reason) accepted them as such.

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True to form, the Walpapi quickly did the unexpected. The night of their talk with Applegate,

> the head men eluding the vigilance of Moshunkosket and his men[208] escaped to Sprague River Valley, and in the absence of that chief and his men, took two of his

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-ni-ne's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panai'na and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panai'na was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

After Panai'na's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

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The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

N 648 which these Snakes were present.[215] From them he learned "that En-kal'to-ak a Snake Chief[216] is disposed to be friendly, that he has been so disposed ever since the Snake Treaty, but has been kept away by hostile parties. A plan has been laid to have word sent to him to come in and also to insure protection to him while coming."[217]

Three days later Applegate requested a Snake interpreter, "in accordance with Article 8 of the Snake Treaty," because, as he said, a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe was then on the Reservation.[218] In none of his previous correspondence for 1867, nor in the Army's, is there any intimation that any Snakes had been captured near the Reservation that summer, prior to Lt. Small's much-noticed scout in the Silver-Chewaucan Marsh region in September. After that, there were Snakes on the Klamath Reservation who could legitimately be designated as Walpapi, and for whom an interpreter could be requested from a $2,000 a year annuity fund which had already been appropriated.[219]

K M [648] In November, 1867, the first annuity goods to be distributed under the Klamath-Modoc treaty of October, 1864, were brought down to Klamath Agency by Huntington and Applegate,[220] and nothing seems to have been done immediately about bringing Enkaltoak and his group onto the Reservation. In his third Annual Report, dated July 31, 1868, Applegate again refers to "a part of the Wolt-pah-pe [sic] Snakes treated with on August 12, 1865" as being on the Reservation.[221] No population figures for Klamath Reservation are given for 1868, either in Huntington's or Applegate's Annual Reports or in the Statistical Tables for that year,[222] but there is nothing to indicate that the Walpapi Applegate refers to, are any other Indians than the ones Lt. Small brought in as captives in September, 1867.

After despatching his Annual Report for 1867-1868 Lindsay Applegate, with an escort of several Agency employees "and fifteen Yahooskin and Wollpahpe Snakes," set out from Klamath Agency on Aug. 1, 1868, for Council Bluffs, in Sprague River Valley, "where the treaty with Wollpahpe Snakes was made on August 12, 1865." Applegate's purpose in making this trip was two-fold; to commence farming operations in that section of the Reservation and "to attempt to Secure an interview with the wild Snakes."[223] In both operations he was successful; he started what was soon to become Yainax Station,[224] and several of his Indians met ten Snake Indians on Silver Lake, and persuaded two of the latter to come to Applegate's camp at Council Bluffs. These two Snakes promised Applegate they would collect their people at Silver Lake and immediately come onto the Reservation.[225] By August 28 Applegate was able to report to Huntington that in pursuance of their promise the Snakes had come onto the Reservation, and that "Their chiefs Chock-toot and Enkaltoick, the former of whom was reported killed by troops from Fort Klamath last Summer,[226] are with them.... They say they have long had a desire to get onto the Reservation, but fear of the troops prevented them..."[227]

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A letter from Capt. Thomas McGregor gives additional details on how the Walpapi, or as they are often referred to, "Chocktote's Band from Silver Lake" settled on Klamath:

> I have the honor to report..., that about two weeks ago, during my absence on scout, the small band of Snake Indians infesting the Country about Summer and Silver Lake came on to the Klamath reservation, and are now camped on Sprague River, with part of the Klamath Indians,[228] gathering food for Winter. — Two of these Indians were first brought in by some of the Klamaths, when William McKay (Physician at the Agency) started out and had an interview with the band, and brought them all in peaceabley. Mr. Wm. McKay informs me that there are no other Indians in the vicinity of either Summer or Silver Lakes. These Indians have had an interview with the Indian Agent, who made arrangements with them to remain on the reservation. One of the Chiefs who came in reported that he had lately been to Camp Harney.[229]

648 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under 131 Tchâktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted [161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as re- [511] gards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... [262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them....."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser- [161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when [166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

648 For several years after they settled on the Reservation, 726 hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

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In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tchʹaktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

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In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

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Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panaiʹna still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

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141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received). N 648 N [511] [291]

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868). N 648 726

143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5. K N 101 222

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102).

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon 1,"). N 648

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

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648 622 148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

104 103 551 150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panaiʼna's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

131 101 151. Prior to Panaiʼna's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very
[231] numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither
[501] Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habita-
tions, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr.
[361] McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and o-
bliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes
were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but Mc-
[114] Kenzie was a reliable reporter.

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131 also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden 101 came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Corres- [231] pondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411] ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had [648] ● been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist princi- [262] pally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, [291] the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses [231] or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411] bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648 in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721 being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181] friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Hunting- [177] ton states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

648 721 N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes [726] with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid., Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid "retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

579 726 648 Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 648 177 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington, states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

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154. Warm Springs Agent John Smith notes Snake raids on the Agency from 1859 through 1863; in 1859 the Snakes ran off 700 head of horses and took over the Agency buildings for a time; in 1863 they stole 200 horses. No raids are noted for 1864-1866, but in the latter year Weawewa wintered on the Deschutes River and raided Scott's ranch on Trout Creek, twelve miles east of the Warm Springs Agency (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. John Smith to J. W. Perit Huntington, Warm Springs Agency, Ore., April 11, 1866; NA. WDC. DC. R-35-1866, clipping from Daily Mountaineer, April 19, 1866 enclosed with Smith's letter). The next year (1867) Weawewa raided Warm Springs and killed Past-am-ine, "one of the most intelligents Indians" (RCIA 1868 [CDS #1399] p. 579). In 1868, before Gen. George Crook's peace at Camp Harney was concluded on June 30, 1868 (see fn. 223), there were minor raids on Warm Springs, with a total of thirty to forty horses stolen (idem).

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155. In 1862 and 1863, according to Capt. John M. Drake, Panai'na raided Warm Springs and also extended his activities eastward to the Canyon City road (WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 334). This road from Silver Lake to Canyon City, Ore., was then being used by heavily loaded supply trains and drovers, and was a new and lucrative field of operation for Panai'na. Gold had been discovered at Canyon City in 1862, and "work commenced in 1863 ... although the miners often suffered severely from the depredations of the Snakes." Canyon City was then "considered as good a mining camp as any in Oregon or Northern California" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Ore., Dec. 22, 1868).

Fear of attack from Panai'na and his warriors in the Warm Springs region persisted until 1867; in October of that year Huntington, apparently still skeptical of reports that Panai'na had been killed (see below), requested a military escort for the first annuity goods he was taking from Dalles, Ore., to Klamath Agency. He specifically asked for this escort "after leaving Trout Creek (which is about twenty miles North East of Warm Springs Agency and forty miles North of Crooked River)" because "Beyond Trout Creek is the country of Pauline and his band, the most dangerous of any on the route. I shall be very reluctant to go into it without escort" (NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73).

156. For location of Trout Creek see fn. 155. The Trout Creek region at this time was supposedly "neutral ground" between the Snakes and the Warm Springs Indians, and was used by the latter for hunting (Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 53).

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157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

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158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party N of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his [776] Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N [171] [174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

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161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the N summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, [712] and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

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163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p, 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

167. Drew, ibid., p. 5. 133

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord. 103

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. 1, p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ni-ne, war chief of a band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864). 648 728

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panaiʼna's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144. [114]

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panaiʼna very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panaiʼna.

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N 131 179. This is about where Panai'na's people were found by Huntington. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

180. Idem.

181. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to Mr. Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

182. Idem. The reference is to Drew's Owyhee expedition. Roughly, Panai'na's "country" included almost the entire eastern half of Oregon, according to Panai'na's own statement. If he had any home base, however, the 1864 material seems to indicate that it was in the Deschutes-Crooked River region.

183. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

184. WR, pt. 2, p. 1072.

185. Ibid., pp. 1114-1115.

N 648 186. Nurse also sent Huntington much the same information in a letter written about the same time. Nurse says Panai'na intended to "fetch as many off his Indians as posible in this somer if ther was any way to treet with him and make a permanent Treaty" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

187. WR, pt. 2, pp. 1114-1115.

K 101 728 648 188. Undoubtedly Motcunka'skEt and his people; for once Huntington refers to them correctly as Klamath, not Yahuskins. Motchunka'skEt often served as a go-between for Snake hostiles and Huntington, Lindsay Applegate, and the military at Ft. Klamath (see fn. 55, and fn. 186 and text) but his loyalty to the Whites was at this period somewhat questionable (fn. 201 and text. Cp. pp. 106-107).

189. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-651; Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

K 131 423 101 621 190. I. e., in Sprague River Valley, probably in the upper part. This valley is often referred to, both by the military and Indian Office personnel of this period as "Moshenkoskut's country," "the Yahooskins' own country," "Blie or Moshenkoshut's country," and "Blie or Sprague River Valley." See fn. 86; also NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore , Oct. 31, 1865.

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191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatcháktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'na's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'na] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). ● N K 648 ●

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'na in 1865. N 361/131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

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N 551 200. "Giltewa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a N [224] Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baer" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

K 648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'skEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. N K [101] OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'skEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable.

202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

N 648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N K 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

649 208. Motcunka'akEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

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209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above. 800

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to McKay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account). [114]

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatchâktchaksh; see fn. 193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tchâktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatchâktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties. 114 648

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tchâktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below). 551 622 621

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

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218. P. 115, fn. 137.

649 219. Indian Bureau records show that the first of the five annual $2,000 payments provided for in the Walpapi treaty was appropriated for the fiscal year 1867-1868, and for each fiscal year thereafter, through 1871-1872 (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1320] p. 376; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 810 RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] p. 973; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] p. 823; RCIA 1871 [CDS #1505] p. 1067. After 1872 ten annual payments of $1,200 were still due (idem). These were earmarked at Klamath Agency for "the Wal-pah-pe" or "Chocktote's band of Snakes" (Record, pp. 130-133, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 21, 1873; Record, pp. 220-222, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Klamath Agency, Ore., Sept. 5, 1874).

000 220. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 3, 1867; NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 18, 1867; ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 30, 1867; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

221. RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

222. Ibid., p. 812. Perhaps purposely?

648 [201] 223. Applegate was led to make this attempt because, after many of the Oregon Snakes surrendered to Gen. Crook at Camp Harney on June 30, 1868, "signal fires had been seen on the mountains surrounding Silver Lake, conveying an idea that the Snakes inhabiting that part of the country desired a conference with the Snakes on the Reservation." For Crook's peace council see, among other references, NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC 30-C-1868, George Crook to A. A. General DC, Camp Warner, Ore., July 6, 1868; NA. WDC. DC. 1868-1869. General Orders No. 24, Hdqtrs. DC, July 11, 1868; Crook, Autobiography, p. 159.

224. Applegate broke ground for farming and began building two log houses at his campsite, which was probably near the site where the Indians were used to gather each autumn. Later that same year his son, Ivan D. Applegate, was appointed by Huntington as Commissary for Subsistence for the Snake Indians and, since some of the Walpapi Snakes were in Sprague River Valley

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above.

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225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's avoidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group.

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229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had probably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223.

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230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19.

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At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was considered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had

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N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishwea- [103] wax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and K Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, with- [166] in the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L.S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

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plegate to A. B. Meacham, Klamath Agency, Oct. 18, 1870). In 1871 Tchaktot was sent with Dr. William C. McKay, Klamath Agency physician, by Meacham's order, "to collect Snake Captives now with Indian tribes in Eastern Oregon;" about twenty miles from the Umatilla Council Ground, so McKay wrote to Ivan D. Applegate, "Old Choctoot, Skaidot and the Young Man gave me the slip ... they must have taken a straight shoot across the Blue Mountains and into the Silver Lake Region... Little Bob told Donald McKay, that... he herd Choctoot telling the other two that he was not going to attend the Umatilla Council, as he was afraid to meet old We-Yawewa and his band: also many other Indian's bands who are to assemble there... they went off well rigged each on a Govt. mule saddle, blankets bridles, and well cloathed." Evidently the deserters returned to Sprague River Valley, because at the end of October Ivan D. Applegate reported to Meacham that "Chock-toosh," and "Skidat" were at Yainax, "doing all they can in forwarding operations" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yainax, Ore., July 31, 1871; Official Letters Received, W. C. McKay to I. D. Applegate, Salem, Ore., Aug. 28, 1871; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871. In April, 1872, Ivan Applegate notes the presence of "Chief Chock-toot and Kilo-to-ik at Yainax (see fn. 239). In 1873, as already mentioned, three men of Tcháktot's band were killed at Summer Lake, and Tcháktot went with Dyar to Summer Lake to investigate. On July 25 six of his Indians visited Camp Warner (see fn. 235a; WD. DC. 1726-DC-1873. A. Josslyn to A.A. General, DC. Camp Warner, Ore., July 25, 1873).

238. Possibly synonymous with Lindsay Applegate's "En-kal'to-ak" or "En-kal'to-ik"? Ivan Applegate's "Kilo-to-ik" is not noted as being the "Kile-to-ak" who in 1864 signed the Klamath treaty as a Yahooskin Snake; it seems dubious that he was. [551]

239. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to T. B. Odeneal, Yainax, Ore., April 30, 1872.

240. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC. 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A.G., DC, Camp Warner, Ore., Nov. 23, 1869.

241. RCIA 1872 (CDS #1560) pp. 781-782.

242. NA. Record Group No. 98. U. S. Army Commands. DP. Elmer Otis to A.A.G., Camp Harney, Ore., April 15, 1872.

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had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the 177 [114]
peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, [121]
for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and
other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work [648]
their farms, and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes 177 167
in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our 114
example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, 115
in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to 121
those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in 114
our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 177
many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
177 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun-
[648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burn-
ing their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them cap-
tive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the
direct influences operating on their mode of living and political
organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching
influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the
emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley,
beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make
114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of
121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal
culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could
ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been
quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that
North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in gen-
eral to a period coincident with the early years of the informants
who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based.
Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example,
we note that the field work which this study is based on was done
in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants
used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's
material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in
parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley
Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a
predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were
on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr
was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the
Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political
organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictu
of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th
Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [648
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adolescents 574]
often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [883]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wada-
dika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the
Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who
centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were
already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reser-
vations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move
on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the
records for the 57th Congress,[1] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe
tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed
to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the
habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk
Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands
did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any
of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and
Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this
reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government
in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty
they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of
moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[1] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

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657 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of
648 the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and
the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which
the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action
were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan,
Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and
[756] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them
bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8]
Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose
parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt),
and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be
actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the
area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes
used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In
1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult
time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement
was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military
camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants.
In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual
nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons
moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm
Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the
648 Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing
[579] cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas,
made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was
constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes
in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably
took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of
the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the
valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and
648 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different
657 groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members
of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648

Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled
and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three
hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south
into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca.
Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721]
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympathizers
when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers
kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Hunibui
Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined
in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reservation 727
in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were transferred 648
to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around
McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reservation
but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat
on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there
were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups
moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near
Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look
into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the
Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of
them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped
from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it
was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all
the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so
poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group
of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and [425]
bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those
who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

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[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.

[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups." [186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They [464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some 273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[18] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to [511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong [162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

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[18] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can
work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the
category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have
jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons.
In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The
younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning
for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has
changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions,
drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty,
and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire
family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently [165]
many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison
with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell
boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools
are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little
changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days.
Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad
supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people
still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work
for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some
women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the
garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger
people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning
to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have
become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of
the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

177 ● [648-657] There is still no efficient government, and the conflict between the native methods of social control and the white laws and court system is confusing to the people. The attempt to put Indian policemen in charge of the camp under the agent has not worked efficiently. The local Burns police force attempts to keep order, but in general, through lack of understanding and because of a strong contempt for the Indians, their actions are considered unfair and illogical by the Paiutes.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

INTRODUCTION

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section 121
was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations 114
carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before
the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid 131
country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California.
In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of
this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of
Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did
the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there [161]
are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living
on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and
in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington,
and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Ne- 101
vada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speak-
ing peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close
to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands [197]
form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives
in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and 648
intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens [197]
valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

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[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

648 Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

105 The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent intro-
[77] duction of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

[182] A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

115 A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, 159
"shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower."

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort 159
of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type characteristic 291
of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress
as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is [177]
apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and
heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in
red leather leggings and a pair of mocassins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side
was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was [302]
brushed smoothly back from her forehead."

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the 159
outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco 648
on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accomplish much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West.

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be determined 159
if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement.

PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

PLATE 9

342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought [415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Paviotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there [177] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622 648 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

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[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

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[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

Caucasions. This stage of interracial contact which created the milieu of Indian groups under pressure and who needed a strong leader, and of Caucasians who had to handle the "Indian problem" by negotiation rather than by force if possible, is what may have led to the emergence of Old Winnemucca as a strong chief. The record is clear that he had much more prestige, support, and authority among the Paviotso in the 1860–1870 decade than in the 1880's when the Paviotso tribe no longer could be considered a "problem" (i.e., after the Indians had been "reduced" in the Pyramid Lake war). 622 648

After Winnemucca, although his name is today remembered and honored among the Paviotso, his son and successor, Natches, was much less important as a chief *because a strong chief was no longer required by the whites.*

The lineal descent of the chief's position survives today, but a man whose father and grandfather were chiefs, and who today claims that title, may be laughed at for his pretensions by most of the Indians he claims to represent. That this is true of the Washoe tribe is probable, and in my own experience of thirty years ago, I recall that Skinny Dave at the Lovelock Indian Colony was the self-styled chief who was laughed at for this by most of his fellow tribesmen. His claim to the office was correct since his grandfather was Captain Dave, who was married to a daughter of Old Winnemucca—what made it different was that in 1930 Indian chiefs were no longer either needed or in vogue. Sarah Winnemucca (1882) says of this: "I will now speak of the chief. His rank is inherited from father to son, the oldest being the chief by law. If he is dead, the one next to him became chief, or, if there are no sons, the next male relative; but never a woman." 622 [423]

For some reason which I do not understand, this subject has been practically ignored by ethnologists. Before Indian memories become too dim to provide accurate testimony, some student should make detailed inquiries into the matter of Paviotso chieftainship and combine these data with the rich documentary record to produce what is a much-needed study.

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In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to 186
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i,
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason 829
for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exter- 829
minated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid
lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the [727]
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or
throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern [648] ●
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute 114
implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that
they must have been made by the Pit River Indians

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tobateka.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [361]
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge
[103]

N

W does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the
177 aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other
*795 distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster.
His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction
and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

N

W REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

182 Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[illegible] its effect on the
571 group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh
of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions,
578 accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent
*795 opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his
son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John
a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with
their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her
disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members
N remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition
W to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[illegible]
● [648] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much
longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for
peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out."
Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all
meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the
summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most
communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with
N community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[illegible]

W An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in
182 witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of
754 the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or
*795 removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing
trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

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[illegible] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[illegible] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[illegible] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

N W

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness 182
sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their 795*
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, N
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing W
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing
that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote
religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists,
attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct W
specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas. A danger in such [683]
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety. N

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise
several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely N W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact,
peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and 571
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment 795*
of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new
settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows
would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not
friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing
the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—
acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious
meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by
peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time. N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [1917]
prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult. This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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W
182 even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and
571 nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street.[illegible]

*795 The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this
● [648] acculturation study.[illegible] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also
N aided the diffusion.

W
182 As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have
755 to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty
*795 cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward re-
N covery.

W
[648] Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[illegible] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much
[756] as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[illegible] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is
N more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is
W better than Protestantism, although similar.[illegible]

761 Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that
*795 peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told
828 me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

N
W
158 When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-
*795

[illegible] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[illegible] See Appendix III for statistics.

[illegible] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[illegible] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[illegible] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[48]

[761 Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the [745 chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. ● [648 Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. [826 Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote. N W

771 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members 771 said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at 787 least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[49] Peyote visions of *795 dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[50] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[51] N W

171 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function 276 also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero *795 as peyote's principal virtue.[52] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[53]

N W Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, 178 peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, re- 771 sisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral *795 speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[54] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal N W guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meet- [797] ing he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[48] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[49] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[50] Petrullo writes, "... a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[51] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[52] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[53] La Barre, 72.

[54] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propegandist function in that direction."

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

THE WADÁTKUHT

The Honey Lake Paiute, or Wadátkuht ("Wada eaters", 101 after the seed of Suaeda depressa), as they call themselves, are an independent band of Northern Paiute living entirely in California. This band had its own chiefs; the last two 622 were Kukwhi (Dick Wright) and Numunana ("Indian man"), also known as Joaquin. These men were contemporaries and apparently served jointly as headmen. Several earlier chiefs are listed by Stewart (1939, p. 138) and include No-jo-mud, Hozi-a and Adavugaya. Stewart equates Hozi-a with Ochio, the Kidütoka chief of Surprise Valley to the north of the Wadátkuht territory. Captain Dick, according to Stewart (ibid.), might be a Kamö man whose group immediately joins the Wadátkuht to the north and east. This Captain Dick is probably not to be confused with Dick Wright the Wadátkuht headman.

The Wadátkuht actually are composed of two groups of 101 closely related people. The main group lived in Honey Lake Valley and the secondary group lived in Secret Valley just north of Honey Lake. Those living in Secret Valley additionally utilized the eastern half of Madeline Plains north of Secret Valley. Apparently they shared it with the Kamötkuht ("Jackrabbit eaters") with whom they were closely related and affiliated. A more detailed discussion of this joint use is presented in a section on "Boundaries and Population".

Not only were the Wadátkuht closely related to the Kamötkuht, but they were close relatives of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Except for living in different areas and having their own headmen the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht might well be considered a single group. Genetic relationship to the Northeastern Maidu, Washo, Atsugewi, and Achomawi people also was considerable due to the fact that men often stole women (for wives) from, or lost women to these neighbor- [583] ing groups. Social intercourse between the Maidu and the Washo on the one hand, and the Wadátkuht on the other seems to have been of a much more friendly and cooperative nature than be- [648] tween the Wadátkuht and the Pit River people. Despite the apparently considerable foreign genetic inheritance of the Wadátkuht, not to mention certain cultural additions, the Wadátkuht strictly considered themselves as Paiute and maintained their strongest affiliations with their Paiute relatives. Linguistically there seems to be little difference between the [197] Wadátkuht and the Kuyuitkuht, except possibly for the preferential use of occasional words.

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175 Arrows discharged at him and a friend from a distance of about 100 yards stuck the ground a few feet from them. Read and Gaines suggest that the volcanic cone was McDonald Peak, but the evidence is not entirely convincing. It can be assumed, however, that from about the time the party left this camp near the volcanic peak on September 30, 1850, they were in territory claimed by the Wadátkuht Paiute, having just left Achomawi territory. On October 2, 1850, the party camped on the north side of Shaffer Peak (Atsá kaduhk^w, "Red Mountain"), which has an elevation of 5,864 feet above sea level. They remained at this camp through the 3rd of October and on the following day went around the east side of the peak to descend into Honey Lake Valley. On the night of the 4th they camped on one of the branches of the Susan River (apparently in the vicinity of where the town of Standish is now located), and on the following day went a few miles to the northwest end of the lake where they stopped for lunch and rest. That morning before they left camp they were visited by an old man and a young man who were armed with bows and arrows. Bruff made a sketch of the old man as he sat near the fire (Read and Gaines, 1949, p. 553).

At their lunch stop at the northwest end of the lake, Bruff made a sketch of Honey Lake and the Hot Springs Mountains (ibid., pp. 545-555). In the afternoon the party left the Honey Lake Valley and entered the Sierra Nevada on their return to the Sacramento Valley.

In 1853, Isaac Roop came to Honey Lake Valley to establish himself as the valley's first permanent white resident. The present town of Susanville, where Roop claimed land, was eventually named after his daughter Susan (Fairfield, 1916). As Lassen's Trail fell into disrepute, emigrant movement slackened, but with the establishment of Noble's Road the movement of settlers into northern California again began to increase. The Noble Road, established in 1852, branched off the Lassen-Applegate Trail where the latter turned north in the Nevada desert. The Noble Road crossed the Smoke Creek Desert and passed through Honey Lake Valley. It reached the Sacramento River in the vicinity of the present city of Redding after passing by the north side of Lassen Peak.

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648 The whites of Honey Lake Valley are reported to have made a treaty with the Paiutes (not just the local band but those of Pyramid Lake) (ibid., p. 82). Both sides observed the truce for several years and there was a friendly social

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and economic intercourse between both peoples in which the Indians traded furs and game for clothing and other desirable objects. The Pit River Indians, however, were early recognized by the whites as being dangerous and provocative and the settlers were always on guard against their depredations. In fact, the whites went into the Pit River territory on a number of occasions in force to carry the fight to these Indians in retaliation for both real and imaginary abuses. It was inevitable, however, that the Paiutes, too, would become alienated from the settlers and launch a campaign of resistance to last for several decades. Warfare between the whites and the Paiutes consisted of intermittent raids on one another's holdings and establishments. The Indians were primarily interested in driving off or killing the settler's livestock to get food and riding horses. The whites, interested in maintaining their holdings, would raid Indian camps and villages (often at dawn) and kill as many men as they could and destroy all the provisions the Indians had. Probably one of the greatest threats to the peace of mind of the Honey Lake Valley settlers was the gathering together of the Paiutes at Pyramid Lake upon the reservation. Both in theory and in actuality this banding together of Paiutes provided the Indians with a relatively strong force of mounted warriors which, if not controlled, possibly could have wiped out the young settlement. For many years the white settlers of Honey Lake Valley lived in apprehension of Indian attacks.

> "In Honey Lake Valley the military defense was never permanent. When trouble with the Indians arose, troops were dispatched from the neighboring military posts of Fort Crook, Fort Bidwell, and Fort Churchill, Nevada. Sometimes military posts were established and patrols maintained over a period of several months, but Honey Lake Valley was always considered 'as in the field', its defenses operating only on an emergency basis. The protection of the area rested chiefly upon the settlers themselves" (Davis, n.d., p. 66).
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> "As Indian hostility lessened in the vicinity of Honey Lake, military activity diminished. Patrols and scouts, however, were continued for many years" (ibid., p. 75).
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> "But by 1880 the work of the military post was behind it. Cooperation and assimilation had replaced conflict and isolation. The struggle between native and new comer was over" (ibid., p. 80).

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175 648 [464] From about 1880 on the Honey Lake Paiute began increasingly to work as agricultural and domestic laborers for the white settlers, but pursued their old way of life in a modified form. The hunting and gathering cycles of pre-contact times was modified to include seasonal work on the ranches, primarily centered about haying. Many traditional camps and villages were abandoned due to a decrease in population and in order to take advantage of closer contact with particular ranchers from whom the Indians could receive certain benefits. A glimpse of this post-contact type of settlement pattern is given in a following section.

According to Kitty Joaquin the Maidu people were anxious to have peaceful relations with the white people and urged the Paiutes to follow the same policy. The Paiute people, however, distrusted and feared the white people (tai'bo'^{o}) who were coming into their country. They wanted to be rid of these strangers. The first (sic) group of white men were soldiers who camped in a draw low on the mountain slope between Litchfield and the Gibson ranch which is located [312] several miles east of Litchfield. As there is a spring in that locality it was a good place to camp.

[177] Kitty stated that the soldiers gave the Indians soap, flour, canned milk, tomato sauce, clothes and shoes. The Indians used the soap to make soup and put the muskmelons into the earth oven to cook. Kitty could not help but laugh as she told of the unsatisfactory results of both these experiments.

A short time after the white people came to Honey Lake Valley a band of Wadátkuht people, including Joaquin (Kitty's father), was on a hunting trip to Eagle Lake (Kitty stated on another occasion that they had gone to the lake to escape the soldiers). A group of soldiers, augmented by a number of Maidu men, were also in the vicinity. Hog-die Jim (Kwiduha muhtsuad^{a}..."Feces to wipe"), Joaquin's uncle, was afraid that the soldiers and the Maidu would attack the Wadátkuht camp so advised Joaquin and the others to move their camp. Joaquin, however, felt that there was no real danger so was not willing to move camp. Hog-die Jim then took the dried meat, a rabbit skin blanket and all the horses and left.

The soldiers and the Maidu attacked Joaquin's camp and killed everyone except a baby in a cradle board, two women who jumped into the lake and swam to safety, a half-grown girl, and Joaquin. Joaquin, too, jumped into the lake to

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648.

escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was Joaquin's brother. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the Maidu.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

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The boundaries between native groups, both in California and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get precise boundary locations from informants of one group he will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate

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24. Nadu' pikwa ("Rocky"). Shinn Peaks at the north end of Secret Valley are given this name. 103 133

25. Ṣawa nöna ("Brush Set"). Secret Valley is given this name. Susy Buster stated that both the Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht used this area. It is true that the villages in Secret Valley had some Kamötkuht people in them, but the villages were Wadátkuht. It must be kept in mind that the Secret Valley Wadátkuht and the Kamötkuht were apparently quite neighborly. [648]

26. Sawá kudak^w ("Sagebrush Mountain"). This mountain, Snowstorm Mountain, is located about five miles north of Karlo in T32N/R14E.

27. Hudzí kudak^w ("Sagehen Mountain"). This low sage-covered hill is about four miles east of Karlo and one mile east of Highway 395 in T31N/R15E.

28. Suhngavi ("Cottonwood"). Stoney Creek, a tributary of Secret Creek, has this name. Stoney Creek is about five miles east of Karlo.

29. Masaida patsóna ("Watercress(?) Spring"). This spring is about one and a half miles north of Karlo and a short distance north of the archaeological site Las-7, also known as the Karlo site. This particular spring was not visited with my informant but is probably located in Section 5 or 6 of T31N/R15E.

30. Saga' patsóna ("Willow Spring"). This is a spring at the Shinn ranch (in T33N/R16E) where hunting parties went for deer and groundhogs (marmots) in the spring. This feature was not visited with my informant so the exact location was not recorded. [224]

31. Atsa' tukatud ("Red Dome"). This is the name for Red Rock (a mountain or hill) near (in T35N/R15E) the Red Rock post office on the northeastern side of Madeline Valley. A more exact location for this feature was not obtained since it was not visited with my informant.

32. Saib ("Tule"). Cold Springs, located about three miles north of Red Rock in T36N/R15E, bears this name because of the tules growing there. Both this feature and the previous one might properly be said to be in Kamotkuht territory, however, the Wadátkuht had access to them as if their own. My [137]

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo
[136] trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south
through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals
into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to
Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of
Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway
crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
● [148] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured
two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the
relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its
name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that
place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

50. Ak' wuhg° ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[226] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which
[251] were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the
Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu.
Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[182] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly
aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by
[177] a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following
section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to
conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their
locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon
174 an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture
even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching 361
for the native houses constructed at this village. Except [824]
for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about
one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the [342]
Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other
winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be
assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not.

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as 22
might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin [171]
pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their
territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that
presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed
to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed [423]
producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It
seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family
getting there first expecting to have no competition unless
they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often in- 22
vited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn- 648
rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also,
when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were
allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families.
Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the
Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with
their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the
Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made
hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both
the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also
the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while
at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey
Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not
enter another group's territory without an invitation or
permission unless they were prepared for hostility.

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only 22
among those families too improvident to secure and store an 185
adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households 735
that worked diligently collecting food during the other three

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

[237] Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí böbö' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 [439] Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

● [648] [492] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] [291] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

Wadátkuht

622 [177] historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7).

421 Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. [648] ● Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given.

428 [764] Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed.

[756] Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor.

762 Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method.

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

[757] One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink.

Wadátkuht

762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her.
As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip
to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she
[557] had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to
drink some cream and saved her life.

Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded:
561 baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi;
192 young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman,
biawuhb.

838 Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work
were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's
clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised
by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment,
[177] however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white
standards.

● 648 Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River
people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly
maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but
she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred
long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River
[754] people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes
asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made
with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute
people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however,
and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit
River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that
he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge
party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill
more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River
people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to
be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all
the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean".
Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one)
in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit
River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

WadátKuht

Kitty said the Paiutes never fought the Maidu, but they did fight the Pit River people who were called Sai'^{t} numusl hu uhd, "People's insides hung up". They got this name because they killed and eviscerated some Paiute people at the Paiute village of ^{t}'Pog on Pyramid Lake. This village was at a spring on a hillside on the Simon ranch. The Pit River people wound the intestines of the slain Paiutes on the sagebrush. This fight took place about 1851 when the whites first began to come into this area. 648

The Pit River people also killed some Paiutes near Likely, Modoc County, at about the same time as the fight at Pyramid Lake. During various other fights, however the Paiutes were able to kill some Pit River people.

Kitty had never heard of fights between the Washo and the Paiutes. However, the Washo and the Maidu never could get along together, and often fought.

The informants gave several accounts of stealing women by the different groups. Pit River men returning from fishing trips, and on their way back to their own country would capture Maidu women. Dick Wright, a Wadátkuht, captured a Maidu woman, Ginny, and kept her for his wife. Joaquin's father's brother, Baba Kuhku^{a}, captured a Maidu woman for his wife. A small Paiute man named Wihibigo'gai^{yuh} had two wives. One of them was a Pit River woman he captured during a fight with the Pit River people at Likely around 1850.

Ike told a story about the capture of a Paiute woman (from a band he did not identify) by the Bannock. The man who stole her already had a Bannock wife and the Bannock treated the captured woman badly. The Paiute woman had a son by the Bannock man. 648 539

The Bannock man's mother took pity upon the Paiute woman and made her several pairs of moccasins and told her to steal away and return to her own people. One day when everyone else was away hunting, the mother-in-law gave the Paiute woman a big dog upon which she had tied packs of food for the trip of the woman and her boy back to her own home. The two were able to make good their escape. When the boy grew up he went back to the Bannock to steal horses and on one trip was captured; at that time he discovered his father. [492]

Ike also gave information concerning horse stealing by the Paiutes. The only Paiutes who had horses in the early 648 425

Wadatkuht

648 425 days were those individuals who walked north to the Bannock country and stole horses from them. One such man was Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Köpadkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiute man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] [492] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse stealing was one such element. The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

727 535 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'öpökama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaka', "that"; ö, "your"; pö, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

Washo NT20

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off. W 103

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road. W

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake. 103 124 W N

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region. 114 131 W [124] N [423] W N [648]

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

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Contact and Occupation

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; N
Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evi- 175
dence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to as- 177
sociate with the travelers. 648 ●

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that 175
of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish 177
posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. 648
Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This
he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853
another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again
apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of
their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile
intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner
that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed W
the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source [183]
to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a dis- [476]
tinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a com- [574]
mon characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation
to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation [735]
of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, es- 175
tablished an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this 177
period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, uti- 361
lizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiv-
ing handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is 648
whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that
although the settlements remained at approximately the same population
level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families go- W
ing to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo [161]
population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

[2] I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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177 number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925).
648 It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other
361 areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

[161] The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dra-
N matic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The
W primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier
175 pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold.
Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation.
177 The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities
● 648 of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study
at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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[137] The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

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as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

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The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

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The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

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In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

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The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

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175 648 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. [621] [178] [423] The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 114 231 178 621 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

History and Ecology

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It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white 648 ●
man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids N
were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The [563]
reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, N
particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared W
by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic [182]
ties.

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much N W
of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at 136
one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such 182
distribution.

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to N
their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of W
bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah 114
(Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. 136
However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems 174
to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the 182
first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A.D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

N W 136 174 182 114 Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N 224 182 If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The N W ●[618] Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N 231 177 The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

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northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

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This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

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they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, W
without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to 175
demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not consid- 648
ered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land
allotments were made for them.

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The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the 175
Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the
differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were 177
contained on reservations. 648 ●

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

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The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo terri- W
tory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was 177
one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of
contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They 182
did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly dif- 22
ferent ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one
way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and
east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering
may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but es-
sentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo.
Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They
continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when pos-
sible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally
reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many
Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only
within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed
neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached
to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal
husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N

In the years subsequent to 1870 the Paiute response pattern continued 175
to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first 177
Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early 648
movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was 668
adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this
development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A
second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

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1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

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This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] W [181] [623]

Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648

The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

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The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

Northern Paiute NR13

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105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together
of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

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106 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two
groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the
177 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and
territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This
178 hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and
contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute,
● 648 on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since
that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies,
many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white
man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute
is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected,by the
whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal
political organization over the entire period of contact.

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105 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response
pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic in-
177 volvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relation-
178 ship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued
648 and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have
been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the
white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the
Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the
Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned
scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain
ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of
W suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up
[106] over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal
council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to
hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo
to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed
hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

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105 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man.
177 Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.
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Northern Paiute NR13 ●

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obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

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What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

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Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

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1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

DDD

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [889]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of [648
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles-
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other 577]
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [583]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[7] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[7] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

177 657 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of
648 the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and
the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which
the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action
were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan,
Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and
[756] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them
bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8]
Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose
parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt),
and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In 1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants. In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the
648 Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing
[579] cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas,
made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was
constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes
in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably
took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of
the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the
valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and
648 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different
657 groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members
of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

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[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648

Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled
and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three
hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south
into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca.
Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721]
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympathizers
when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers
kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Hunibui
Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined
in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reservation 727
in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were transferred 648
to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around
McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reservation
but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat
on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there
were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups
moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near
Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look
into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the
Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of
them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped
from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it
was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all
the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so
poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group
of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and [425]
bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those
who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

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[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.

[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups."
[186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most
of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They
[464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some
273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing
industry of the town[18] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as
they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying
and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In
1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to
[511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased.
As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up
to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built
and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an
attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white
residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma,
tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest
against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school
was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[797] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per
house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct
descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong
[162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters.
Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at
Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm
Springs.

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[18] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons. In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511
of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores.
A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273
entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently [165]
many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871
Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177
seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

177 [648 657] There is still no efficient government, and the conflict between the native methods of social control and the white laws and court system is confusing to the people. The attempt to put Indian policemen in charge of the camp under the agent has not worked efficiently. The local Burns police force attempts to keep order, but in general, through lack of understanding and because of a strong contempt for the Indians, their actions are considered unfair and illogical by the Paiutes.

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, 754 in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his 578 arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As [657 the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. 177] Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral 754 of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had [657 felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in 693] the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

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[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [758]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men. Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey. Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpeted her husband's dream and expressed her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M. girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [657]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754 was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795 were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756 Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T. tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way, but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his person- [754] ality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to, but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155 been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157 It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing [762] any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158] married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588] with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622] from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation center- [157] ing around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754] and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter, Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762] not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka se gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

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band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. 164]
The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [754]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 593
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is 476
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggrega- 221
tions of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites 177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders 657
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or 622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692 681

The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that 756
he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his 224
songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought 756
to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this 789
power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired [792
strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when 768]
fired upon with a gun.

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another 756
shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father 754
went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was 789
asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to 787
prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other 756
important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

Weather shamans and specialists have been described above for the 756
Nevada Paviotso but they were unknown among the Owens Valley Paiute,
while little specialization was recognized in Surprise valley.[13]

The Paviotso shaman's invulnerability against bullets and arrows was [789]
practised among the Owens Valley Paiute, as among the Nevada Paiute,
to demonstrate the "doctor's" powers.[14] This practice may be connected [768]
with the Ghost dance movements.

University of California
Berkeley, California

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[13] Steward, 311; Kelly, 189.

[14] Steward, 310.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTR0
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Ta	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
															N W A 535
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N
2687. Barefoot	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[301]
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	N
2692. Body	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[302]
2693. Musicians: 2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2693a. 3 or 4	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2693b. 5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	N
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[534]
2699. Dancing: individuals perform severately	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2701a. 4 or 6	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2702. Dancers: men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2703. Women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2704. Visitors	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2709a. Several nights	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2710a. Several days	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
*2711. Crazy Dance (tosoemgava)	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2711b. Special singers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	N
2712. Musical instruments	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	[534]
2712a. 2 sticks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
*2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2713a. Men dressed as women	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2715. Ghost Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	N
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	A
2717. Shaman at center post	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	535
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	668
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
2719a. 5 nights	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	
2719b. Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	
MISCELLANEOUS															
Calendar															N W A
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	805
2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
2721a. 4 season names	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
Astronomy															N W A
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	821
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2725. Sky path	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2726a. Menstruating women cover selves	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

[P. 417]

Ghost Dance

535 668 775 2715. K2: Jack Wilson revived and stimulated the old dance but did not teach any new ones. At: The last Ghost dance at McDermitt was about 1893. The shaman prophesied a hard winter which would kill all the horses so that the dead would have them on which to ride back after the resurrection, to occur the following 4th of July. The people danced, the hard winter came, the horses died, and so the Indians congregated at McDermitt for the arrival of the dead. The old people did not return and so there has been little mention of the Ghost dance since. However, this is not strange because they were told to discuss the secrets and promises of the movements only while still on the dance ground following a dance. Ki: Kelly, 179, after saying "evidence on Ghost Dance is both meager and garbled," gives quotations which indicate that the Kidü were exposed to it, but never adopted the dance seriously.

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

805 832 2720. At: August, "rye-grass-ripe month" (yaia mŏhū); September, "piñon-nut month" (tuva mŏhū); October, "jack-rabbit-digging-roots-month" (tuhiwi măhū); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na mŏhū); December, "buck-deer-stands-for-week-on-south-side-of-canyon-month" (roa mŏhū); January, "tracks-threw-out-on-one-side-month" (tamünida`a mŏhū); February, "earliest-plants-push-aside-last-year's-stalks-month" (tokwinai mŏhū); March, "green-grass-growing-fast-month" (puiwaya mŏhū). The other 4 months' names could not be remembered. Seasonal names used for one or two. Sa: January, "jack-rabbit-urine-on-snow-month" (roa mŏha); February, "first-young-jack-rabbit-month" (sŏtwa'a mŏha); March, "everything-green-month" (puimŏha); April, "buck-berry-leaves-out-month" (kwasinŏ mŏha); May, "flower-month" (tötsi mŏha); June, "Indian-potato-month" (yaba mŏha); July, "summer-month" (tatsa mŏha); August, "rye-grass-month" (yaia mŏha); September, "piñon-nut-month" (töva mŏha); October, "autumn-month" (uva mŏha); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na moha); December, "winter-month" (tomomŏha). (SL.) Wd: "First-green-shoots-through-snow-month" (poimaya mŭha); "grass-

stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the 756
past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also 622
possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, [668]
was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was re- 756
sponsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence 622
of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with 178
the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of 756
Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and 554
accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, [428]
the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

Largely because of this popu-
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [457]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear, the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668 ●
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

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792 preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e.,
[787] they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals. Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because
[756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for their curative abilities.

668 The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to recon-
792 struct on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests,
756 however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in
[622] fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an impor-
[242] tant and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief
[556] and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

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differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult 157
with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar back- 177
grounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors. 795*

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but
tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in- N
law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."[illegible] W

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support 177
from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we 795*
must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant. N

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial W
datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth 171
while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of re- 177
ligions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals 668
in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among
tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. 795*
He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[illegible] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

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[illegible] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.

[illegible] 1925:868–873.

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W of a new type of living."[illegible] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffu-
~171 sion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) con-
177 cerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists
● 668 at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of
*795 Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho
agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."[illegible]

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

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W What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the in-
dividual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first
177 contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established
*795 by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other
797 was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently
or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader
instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives.
With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for be-
N havior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions
W toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

[171 The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the
668] cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

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[illegible] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[illegible] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

Yurok NS31
Comanche NO6

N

W
Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who con- 171
ducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at 177
Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid
shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not 668 ●
doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported 795*
by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The 797
appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Chetco Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." Y
A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his [668]
character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted [797]
to join."[35] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[36] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege. N

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one W
of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[37] The Arapaho Sitting 171
Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

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[35] Du Bois, 23, 27.

[36] Tom Garth, field notes.

C
[37] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost [177]
Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its [668]
spread among his tribe."

Northern Paiute NR13

W 175 648

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

N 175 177 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

N W 177 182 22

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

N 175 177 648 668 ●

In the years subsequent to 1870 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

Northern Paiute NR13

N
175
177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination
648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to
● 668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items
of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However,
W they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once
[668] again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W
177 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian
182 tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This
648 adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W
[622] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to
[666] represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on
W another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be
[181] singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion
[623] and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W
177 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo
648 as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N
177 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A
178 greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which
619 encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This
621 increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

[For sanctions against shamans who fail in curing see also category 756 - Psychotherapists.]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N W A 755

N W A 756 789

N W A 754

N [787]

N W A 756 681 755

N W A 776 782

	Ts	Ki	K2	Kh	Yo	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Ki	Ak
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2540. Sleight-of-hand	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2550. By sucking out snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
2557a. Female	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2559. Transforms self into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2560. Power of rapid travel	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2561. Invulnerable	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2564. Power from various animals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2565. Power to foretell future	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2568. Killed for declining	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumaiypa)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2577. Offerings to "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2578. To ghost (tsaavä)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p. 414]

Of these six types of social control all but the last may be said to have functioned among the Paiute. 121 Within the family the conscience, developed by direct [681 punishment, identification and the fear of loss of support and help, was the 754] strongest force for social control. The fear of being accused of sorcery and punished accordingly maintained the strength of the conscience. Within the band, the most important mechanisms of social control were retaliation and the fear of sorcery and accusations of sorcery. In analysis, these fears represent a combination of public opinion and supernatural sanction with an implied threat of retaliation and mob action. The concept of reciprocity was found to be basic to all the types of social control in so far as the need for support and help from others motivated individuals to maintain peaceful relations with their neighbors.

The literature on social control in primitive societies is not extensive. Ethnographers are apt merely to describe the political organization of a tribe. The political organization, however, may or may not include agencies for social control. The function of the governmental bodies may be executive, advisory, administrative, fiscal, military, or religious as well as legislative and judicial. The danger of this confusion of social control and political organization may be seen particularly in societies such as those found in the Great Basin, which have no formalized government, lacking even chiefs and rudimentary councils.

Failure to recognize the functioning of social control in primitive communities is also due in part to the fact that anthropologists have looked for legal systems similar to those found in Western civilization. Finding neither legal codes nor court systems, they have assumed that there is no social control at all. It is stated that the members of the community are so bound by tradition and custom that laws are not necessary. Malinowski has pointed out the fallacies of these assumptions,[15] and in his studies has defined primitive law as any rule which is sanctioned by a duly constituted authority. From this point of view, law exists in all societies whether or not they have a legal system similar to that found in our own society.

Social control in the broadest sense is any pressure exerted upon an individual which makes him behave in relation to other individuals in a socially approved way. In this paper, however, it is used particularly to cover the control of any offense which causes friction in the community. Consequently, simple breaches of manners or etiquette are ignored, unless such breaches carry further and more serious connotations. If, for example, failure to speak politely to people is interpreted as an indication of sorcery power, the custom is considered as being more than etiquette. In this work I have stressed the conformity to customs which are considered essential to the welfare of the group. The method of teaching and maintaining economic techniques and minor rules and regulations has not been considered.

The most common sources of friction in primitive tribes stem from aggression and from competition in attempting to satisfy basic needs. Offenses against swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758 the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157 that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754] that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

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[15] B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755 first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756] symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments, and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power, some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775] and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [684] more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755 determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681 draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

755 (68) power, the censure is on the patient's own action; in ghost sickness, the blame may be laid on the deceased's relatives or on the patient for thinking of them. In the case of sorcery, the blame is placed on someone else. These facts begin to shed light on the importance of the concept of power and the theory of disease and therapy and suggest how these beliefs function in social control.

754
close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on 155
family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying 828
degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more [578]
remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost [674]
all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has [756
been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person 691]
by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts 754
the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and 681
either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community, he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover. The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays, when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

754 681 would appear that in the old days in many cases the accused was killed by the community before he could flee.

Lastly, once a person has a reputation for sorcery he becomes a scapegoat and
626 is likely to be blamed for offenses when no one knows who committed them.

681 578 In broad outline, then, we can see how the concept of sorcery works in social control. The important threat is that of ostracism or mob action. This punishment comes when the majority of the community and a doctor agree that a person is guilty of sorcery. The majority of the community will only agree to this if the individual has frequently behaved in such a way as to antagonize them. The behavior which annoys them may range from minor aggressive acts, such as speaking impolitely, to more serious offenses such as threatening others, adultery, destroying property, etc. Thus the fear of being accused of sorcery acts as a check on a great variety of anti-social behavior.

762 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive 154 act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been 578 caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women. 578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

593 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 593
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within
the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476]
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It
was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by
themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggrega- [221]
tions of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders 657]
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692
681]

individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626
to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
crimes.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. [681
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by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye.
If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's [682]
brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family.
Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead,
the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no
revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money
is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case
of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of
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a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to
give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different
cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his
own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over
a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his
own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

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no possibility of financial settlement.[3] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not 627
only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim,
especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

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with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the
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laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw
Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the
eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at
Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their
horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

To kill a rival for adultery, however, is considered too severe, and when this

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[3] The murder of a sorcerer is now prohibited by the government. Ostracism has replaced it as a method of retaliation.

684 627 occurs blood money is paid to the family of the murdered man. One woman shot her rival with her father's gun, and the girl's father paid two horses to the parents of the murdered girl.

627 685 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked. A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions. Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical [858] violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said that a child does not lie about such things.

686 627 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation. It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses. Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 627 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
● [681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681 ●
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act [152]
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the
593 extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and
627 order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person
681 wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the
practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of
being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by-
208 standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up
their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive
violence.

121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

154 The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

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[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

and none could recall the name of the leader prior to Chocktoot, who 622
lived at the time of the white influx and during early reservation days. 173

The chiefly office was loosely inherited, but if a person were thought not capable, someone from another family was chosen by general consent. 622 As one informant put it, "Dick Ochiho is Ochiho's son, but he isn't chief; he wasn't just the man for the place." None of a number of informants could formulate his ideas as to the essential qualities for chieftainship.

TORTS

If a person's goods were stolen he accosted the thief, asking him 685 to return the articles. Sometimes a fight would ensue; sometimes the goods were returned promptly or a buckskin or the like given as indemnity. The chief sometimes directed the offender to restore a person's property.

There was no distinction in penalty between accidental and 682 ● deliberate homicide. 627

> If someone killed a person, the families would fight all the time. Perhaps the deceased's family would wait, and the murderer would think they had forgotten. They did not have to kill the murderer himself but tried to kill the best one in his family, the best hunter or the best woman. Then they were satisfied.

And again:

> In the old days when a man was killed, his family might wait a year. Then his brother would try to kill the murderer. They did not have meetings over it as now. The murderer's family would say, "Why did you kill him? You had better settle it; give a skin blanket, a gun, a horse—the best you have. Then you will live a little longer."

A murder was not always avenged. One committed by an Acho- [628] mawi, for example, was unavenged, probably through expedience rather than sentiment.

> When an Achomawi killed a Paiute, we felt sorry, but did not kill back. The chief told us, "Don't get angry and kill someone. You only make it worse."

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gam- ● [682] bling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have [751] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights 837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels [157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception [423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They [422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief [579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. [525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

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to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
crimes.

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philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and [685]
their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

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Wadátkuht

854 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so
826 used to being in it.

861 Punishing Children. If a child pretended to cry he was apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her.

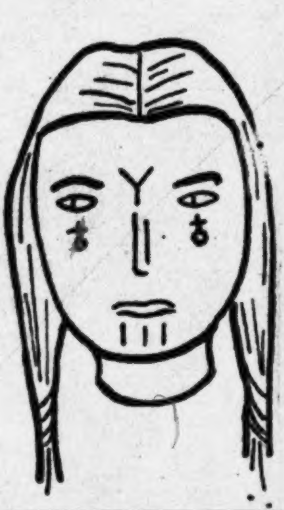
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

593 Sibling Rivalry. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

[682] One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

304 Tattoos. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks.
[531] A tattoo was called naboidz.

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "lll" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



000 At Navaho Springs rabbit's feet with beads are said to be worn as charms, but the trader thought the idea had been stimulated by whites.

According to Annie Lowry, the Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son, as in the case of Coffee Charlie. The medicineman's soul leaves him when he doctors and goes into a trance, but the patient's soul remains in his body. The shaman's soul goes to the place of the spirits in order to get their aid. A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision. The paraphernalia of shamans differ,—some have an eagle tail, others a magpie tail, etc. The shamans also use a rattle.

Coffee Charlie was once doctoring his own boy, four years old, who was very sick and had been given up. The boy suddenly said, "Do you see a little bird on my head?" Coffee Charlie told him there was nothing there, but the boy insisted that a bird was there, chirping, and the bird was saying to him, "Little boy, you won't die, you will live." Coffee Charlie doctored him, and he lived. On another occasion Coffee Charlie doctored Annie Lowry's son, who had been given up by the white physician. Coffee Charlie used a stick about four feet long, carefully smoothed, and sprinkled with white clay, and with an eagle (?) feather at one end. This was set at the patient's head; the idea of the clay was that it would cause moisture all over the patient's body. The shaman went into a trance, then the boy was placed on him so that the pits of their stomachs were together, then the boy was taken away by his mother. Before this he shook his rattle; at first the sound seemed far away, but gradually it got closer and closer. The boy at first did not recognize his mother, but did a little later. He recovered.

755 756 • (683) Mack Winnemucca said that the Paviotso killed sorcerers (*stai*^{vu} *puháγa*^{ivu}) who caused people's death. When a person "died," i.e., was very sick, the shaman would lie beside him and also "die" for several hours in order to bring him back. On the return trip, they heard talking about mountains. When the patient came to, his parents talked to him, asking whether he was well now, whether he wished for a drink of water, etc. They would give him water. The other Indians sat around both the patient and the doctor. At times it was necessary to keep up the treatment for three or four nights. Sometimes the doctor's spirit coming back unsuccessful was heard crying. During the doctoring the shaman did not move but lay stiff as a board till his return. This procedure is called *mugwămandq'*, a word doubtless connected with *nǒ'mǒ mūgua*, human soul or spirit.

775 A person who dies goes across a big body of water

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A [756 787]
2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789
2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756]
2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N
2554. To: See note 2549.

754
2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

756 683
2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [177]
2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755]
2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776
2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782
2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765
2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

W
2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

[782]
2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

787
756 night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[208] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

756
754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power [825] from the bear.

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and [755] then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient gets well.

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

754
755
683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755

There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had 683
made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feathers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part 764
of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the
family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next
chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the
family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of
bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions
husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently
or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate
physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect
check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation
for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give
rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because
she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another
informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother,
however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community.
Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were
deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink
and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members
of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

754
> **After a shaman poisons one person, he cannot stop. When the first victim is dead, he tries to poison others. Then he always wants to make people sick and kill them. (Joe Green)**

If he has sufficient power, a shaman who has been the victim of a sorcerer may extract the cause of disease and without the aid of another practitioner cast off the ill effects of his enemy's magic.

As sorcerers are believed to cause so much of the illness afflicting the Paviotso, they are greatly feared. Anyone suspected of sorcery is treated with every respect and consideration in order not to arouse his wrath and ill-will. It is said that any request or demand made by a known sorcerer is never refused out of fear of the revenge that might be taken through witchcraft. Those who fear a particular shaman will, if possible, avoid accepting anything from him or touching his person.

754 683 In aboriginal times, sorcerers were put to death when detected in frequent killings. Their guilt was established then as now, by shamans who determined not only the nature of sickness but also the person responsible. An accusation of this sort by a shaman of standing was probably tantamount to conviction. When a sorcerer claimed several victims, the entire group became concerned and demanded the death of the guilty person. The execution was carried out by several men appointed for the task, or a large number of people fell upon the sorcerer and killed him. The usual practice [766] was to burn the house over the murdered sorcerer; otherwise the body was buried in the usual manner.

If a sorcerer had not become notorious, members of a victim's family might take it upon themselves to avenge the death of a relative. The sorcerer, known to them from the shaman's diagnosis, was stabbed, clubbed, or shot. As in the communal execution, the house was burned with the corpse inside. As far as can be learned, the sorcerer's family rarely attempted retaliation for these murders. In so far as pre-Caucasian conditions can be determined from the memories of living people, it can safely be said that the fear of sorcery was easily the chief source of intra-tribal strife and violence; that the charge of witchcraft more frequently [578] than anything else led to the killing of one Paviotso by another. Suspicion of sorcery is in itself sufficient to endanger social relations and even life.

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not
given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip,
which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a
tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting,
with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very
highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to
take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for
stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into
hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who
was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is
said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The
other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^a. A
[752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in
a powdered form to the wounds.
[232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be
obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because
[182] the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because
of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part
[124] of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have
been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after
death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place.
Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to
death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two
● [683] other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the
head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

Wadatkuht

754 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two
of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors,
755 and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at
home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed
Gladys got well.

754 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as
follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was
[841] detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not
[262] accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was
due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed
[787] with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to
make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on
754 the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the
woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a
783 curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might
die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip, hakí^{nukpa}, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'^{yu} Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

754 The following account describes what might happen to a
sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two
683 children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai,
Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai' house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

583 Bride purchase was not practiced; "the Warm Springs do that. Sometimes they even give as much as a horse for a wife." Presents were frequently exchanged, but even that seems not to have been general. "If a woman wanted her girl to marry a good boy she might give a present to the boy's mother. Then she would give back a present. Sometimes a boy might give a deer skin, meat, or seeds to the girl's parents."

/ 591 583 Initial matrilocal residence was the rule. "A woman has to stay home with her mother. The couple always stays with her until they have things for their own use." And also, "A man has to hunt for his father-in-law." Independent residence seems to have been established after the birth of one or two children. Patrilocal residence occasionally obtained if the youth were an only child.

587 The levirate and both forms of the sororate were practiced. A widow returned to her mother or to other relatives, but if her husband had a brother, either younger or older, she usually married him. This practice seems to have been more of an obligation than a privilege on the part of the brother; "maybe there were children and someone had to take care of them." The marriage of a man to several sisters has already been noted. A widower was usually given another sister to wife; this was not obligatory, but "most of them wanted to do that. They usually gave him the woman's sister right away."

606 There was no parent-in-law taboo; "a boy talked to his mother-in-law because he liked the girl." A woman did not use personal names in addressing her parents-in-law; she called them ya'hi. A man did the same.

586 Divorce took place at the will of either party. If a man abused his wife her relatives might tell him to leave her. A divorced woman returned to her mother or to some other relative. When the man left, the children stayed with the mother, but "when they grew up they knew their father." Women frequently deserted their families, and in this case the children remained with the father. Children were never divided between estranged parents.

● 684 An adulterous wife was beaten and warned to desist; sometimes her husband left her. He might kill her lover's horse or break his gun. Sometimes, however, the husband "just let her go." A woman seldom left a good hunter, even though he were unfaithful. A man might or might not leave a barren wife; if he wanted children he would leave her for another woman.

163 It is a little difficult to estimate the size of a family in the old days. Joshua Brown could recall two families with nine children

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, 587
tönónatʻ" qumádu, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, 684•
her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks (593)
I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that 582
a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nubility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young 584
suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

> but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to "be himself," and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.
>
> At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits 585
> by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes 000
here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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[1] Hopkins, 48-49, 50.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2045. Paramour's horse killed	–	+	+	–	+	+	[illegible]	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
•2050. Prostitution	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+

N
W
A
591

N
W
A
684

586

N
548

N
A
836

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Te	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
•2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2054. Speech taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2056. "Respect" required	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2058. Avoidance continues for life	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2060. Brother sister	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+

N
606

N
A
602

Joking Relations

	Te	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
605
607

Adoption

	Te	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
597

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Te	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Ki	AE
•2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
•2091. Wears woman's dress	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+
•2092. Does woman's work	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Marriage to man	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2096. Lives with man	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2102. Does man's work	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2103. Has male organs	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2104. Marriage to woman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2106. Is shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N
W
A
838

N
W
A
[842]

N
[787]

[p. 405]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [539] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).
2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).
2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N ● [684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N 591 2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).
2045, 2046. To: - (LP).
N 586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).
548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439]b

Achomawi NS5

N
844
846

2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A
[846]

2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N
845

2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DW). Pakwi did not do this.

N
[774
761]

2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N
847

N
[842]

2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be deformed. A deformed child called nayla dököpö ("gopher ate some off").

N
856
847
684

2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N
881

A
[881
535
533]

2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). AE: At first menses girl dances 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard

[p.442(A)]

578 758 157 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated [758] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

[574] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[8]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and was seldom seen about the camp. 758 157

[754] During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen, Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

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[8] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing
her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that
she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal
motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power
which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments, and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power, some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that
it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [674]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

754 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died.
761 The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen
[753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the
● 684 death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual
761 advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were
761 accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion.
208] It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754
in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578
It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in
their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They
explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed
this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689]
around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had
they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents
not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used
sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his
relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the
fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power
like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children
all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she
thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828]
the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably
why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not
take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because
of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other
people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's
behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important
information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very
likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579]
drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended
up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one
of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684
population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to
restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with
other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or
where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with
any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own
brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making
overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276]
was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of
them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

754 578 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many [684] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 828] Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 754 578 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she [164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied [832 833] and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 183 155 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the
family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next
chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the
family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of
bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions
husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently
or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate
physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect
check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation
for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give
rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because
she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another
informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother,
however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community.
Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were
deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink
and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members
of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath
the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite
mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling
debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed,
although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of
sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This
seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably
displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part
to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that
aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers
and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the
Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that
if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their
trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
[422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of
friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from
the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and
had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them.
However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
[231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but
gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The
Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive
games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights
arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626
to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
crimes.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. [681
Any offense against a member of a family by a nonrelative is liable to be revenged 627]
by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye.
If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's [682]
brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family. Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead, the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of
retaliation. In one case a man left the community to avoid revenge. He had paid for [686]
a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

Murder by sorcery is also punished by retaliation but differs in that there is 754
no possibility of financial settlement.[2] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not 627
only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim, especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

Adultery and theft are also liable to kin retaliation. A man is liable to be 684
physically attacked and even killed by the husband of the woman with whom he 627
philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and [685]
their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

To kill a rival for adultery, however, is considered too severe, and when this

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[2] The murder of a sorcerer is now prohibited by the government. Ostracism has replaced it as a method of retaliation.

684 occurs blood money is paid to the family of the murdered man. One woman shot
627 her rival with her father's gun, and the girl's father paid two horses to the parents
of the murdered girl.

627 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another
685 person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the
owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked. A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions. Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could
find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical
[858] violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations
from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said that a child does not lie about such things.

686 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation.
627 It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping
his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all
offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses. Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and
627 kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as
to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584
parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man, and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well, usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered con- [585]
sumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431]
food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends, wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534]
flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men [308]
and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [585]
mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848]
refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586
the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684]
person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives, or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

and none could recall the name of the leader prior to Chocktoot, who 622
lived at the time of the white influx and during early reservation days. 173

The chiefly office was loosely inherited, but if a person were 622
thought not capable, someone from another family was chosen by general consent. As one informant put it, "Dick Ochiho is Ochiho's son, but he isn't chief; he wasn't just the man for the place." None of a number of informants could formulate his ideas as to the essential qualities for chieftainship.

TORTS

If a person's goods were stolen he accosted the thief, asking him 685 ●
to return the articles. Sometimes a fight would ensue; sometimes the goods were returned promptly or a buckskin or the like given as indemnity. The chief sometimes directed the offender to restore a person's property.

There was no distinction in penalty between accidental and 682
deliberate homicide.

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> If someone killed a person, the families would fight all the time. Perhaps the deceased's family would wait, and the murderer would think they had forgotten. They did not have to kill the murderer himself but tried to kill the best one in his family, the best hunter or the best woman. Then they were satisfied.

And again:

> In the old days when a man was killed, his family might wait a year. Then his brother would try to kill the murderer. They did not have meetings over it as now. The murderer's family would say, "Why did you kill him? You had better settle it; give a skin blanket, a gun, a horse—the best you have. Then you will live a little longer."

A murder was not always avenged. One committed by an Acho- [628]
mawi, for example, was unavenged, probably through expedience rather than sentiment.

> When an Achomawi killed a Paiute, we felt sorry, but did not kill back. The chief told us, "Don't get angry and kill someone. You only make it worse."

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

756 **There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile.** [685] [578] **They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying.** [755] **He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.**

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

[784] [841] [843] The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

756 824 787 [533] The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 578 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in interfamily relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have [754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 837] Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels [157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

● [685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception [423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They [422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief [579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. [525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626
to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
crimes.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. [681
Any offense against a member of a family by a nonrelative is liable to be revenged 627]
by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye.
If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's [682]
brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family. Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead, the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of
retaliation. In one case a man left the community to avoid revenge. He had paid for [686]
a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

Murder by sorcery is also punished by retaliation but differs in that there is 754
no possibility of financial settlement.[2] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not 627
only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim, especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

Adultery and theft are also liable to kin retaliation. A man is liable to be 684
physically attacked and even killed by the husband of the woman with whom he 627
philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and [685]
their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

To kill a rival for adultery, however, is considered too severe, and when this

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[2] The murder of a sorcerer is now prohibited by the government. Ostracism has replaced it as a method of retaliation.

684 occurs blood money is paid to the family of the murdered man. One woman shot
627 her rival with her father's gun, and the girl's father paid two horses to the parents
of the murdered girl.

627 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another
685 person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the
owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked. A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions. Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical
[858] violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations
from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said that a child does not lie about such things.

686 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation.
627 It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping
his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses. Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and
627 kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as
to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then the patient is all right. 752 755

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. 756 [965] [753] [688]

About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to give back the fee. [579]

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power. 755 753

Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once. [841]

A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows. 756

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

753 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts.
775 In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards
with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became
stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her
breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
[761] was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A
woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse.
While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his
mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts
of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died.
He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had
looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he
was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came
to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
[755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie
Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased
and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt
the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden
bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an
attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will
not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attrib-
[761] uted many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

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[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.

[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

> to tie them inside with buckskin. The feathers lay flat on the fur side of 756
> the skin. The otter told me to keep the skin and the eagle-feathers. He 787
> told me to use the skin and feathers when sickness is bad and hard to 159
> cure. He said, "When there is very bad sickness and no doctor can cure it, take the skin out of your sack and put it in front of you. Then you are going to try to cure." I was ready to doctor then. When I doctored, the otter gave me my songs.

This account then goes on to relate how a mistake was made in 756
the care of the paraphernalia and, as a result, the informant lost 787
his power. This illustrates the belief that if the exact details of the 159
instructions given by the supernatural spirit are not followed, the 688
offending shaman will suffer illness and loss of power.

> After I got my power, I tried doctoring a few times. Then one night the otter came to me again in a dream. He told me that I should get another tail-feather of the eagle. He said, "Take a round piece of abalone shell about the size of a quarter and fasten it to the feather." It was then that I spoiled my power. I had been thinking for some time that the otter-skin was too long. It was about four feet from the head to the tip of the tail. So I cut the head off. After I had done this I got sick. The last time I dreamed about the otter was when I was sick. I felt dizzy. I did not feel very good. I saw the otter jump into the upper end of Pyramid Lake. Then I saw him running on the desert. That was the last time I saw the otter. I had to call in a powerful shaman [Tom Mitchell] to cure me. He came and doctored me. He said to me, "I found out that you cut off the otter's head. That is what made you sick. When you did that the otter went away. You will never see him again. You cut the head off and now you are just like the otter. He does not know anything, and you are the same way." I never dreamed again of the otter when I got well. If I had not cut that piece from the skin I would now be a doctor. (Joe Green)

Very often dream-experience, if not understood, will result in 756
sickness. In this event it may be necessary to have a shaman inter- 787
pret dreams and restore the dreamer to health.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man, who is still living here [Reno], was sick about a year. He almost died. When he was sick he went into trances and his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the land of the dead. He dreamed that way all the time when he was sick. He said that ghosts of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman. The man almost died, but his father finally cured him. (Harry Sampson)

756 The first few dreams in which supernatural spirits appear can be
787 safely disregarded. But shortly, if the instructions received in the
dream are not followed, it is necessary to call a shaman to doctor
the patient. In the course of curing, the shaman tells the patient to
do as he had been told in his dreams. Then, if the summons is
obeyed, recovery is assured. Usually a person is reluctant to become
a shaman, and assumes his powers and follows the spirit's
bidding only when he is told by other shamans that otherwise
death will result. Likewise throughout the rest of the shaman's
life he must follow carefully all the instructions given him by his
supernatural power. If any part of shamanistic paraphernalia
● 688 which has been collected at the behest of the shaman's spirit is lost
or destroyed, the shaman not only loses his power, but, as has been
noted, sickness also results. Death may also follow any other very
serious breaches of the injunctions placed on the shaman by the
spirits.

In addition to those who receive shamanistic power from involuntary dreams, there are individuals whose desire for power is sufficiently strong to cause them to undertake a voluntary quest. There are certain places, such as caves in the mountains, where power can be acquired.[8] Eight or ten such places are known today, and perhaps formerly there were still others which are now forgotten.

In some of these places, only power for certain undertakings can be sought; in others several kinds of spirit aid can be gained. The tests that are imposed upon the seeker differ also according to the place where the power is sought.

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> Power is sought on a mountain near Wabusca. This power protects a man against bullets. It makes him a great warrior. When a man gets power at this place he must run down the side of the mountain without breathing. If he does not do this the power will not help him. This place is not like the other places where power is acquired. Here the noises of all the animals are not heard the way they are in the caves. Only power to be a warrior comes from this mountain. This place is called tágwan'. A long time ago men got power there. No one goes there nowadays.
>
> There is another place near Fallon where power is sought. The power

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[8] Lowie recorded that, "... in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision." *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294.

756 fashion appears to happen frequently, for it was described by a number of informants who knew of several shamans who had acquired power from a parent during the lifetime of that individual. On the other hand, sharing power with any person not so disposed is not a common practice. Only one incident of transferring power in return for property or other considerations was recorded.

There are, then, three general ways in which the Paviotso may acquire power, but all depend fundamentally upon the same type of experience. In spite of the many opportunities thus afforded for acquiring power, it is evident that relatively few people actually become shamans. The explanation doubtless is to be found in the danger involved in both the acquisition and the use of supernatural power.

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171 Another point that emerges from these accounts is the extreme simplicity of the voluntary power-quest. Essentially, it is little more than the deliberate seeking for the usual dream-experiences accompanied by rather simple tests of the candidate's courage. The long and arduous physical exertions that characterize the Plateau quest and the fasting and self-torture of the search for power on the western Plains are totally unknown to the Paviotso. It is as though the deliberate quest for power here were lightly superimposed upon an older basic pattern in which shamanistic power was derived from dream-experiences alone.

LOSS OF POWER

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688 A shaman is never secure at any time in the possession of his power. Careless treatment of paraphernalia or the flouting of instructions given by the spirits may deprive the shaman of his ability to cure disease. Moreover, careless or malicious acts of others may endanger the shaman's power. If a spectator at a curing ceremony does not carry out the precise requests of the practitioner in handling food, painting the face or body, maintaining silence at specified times during the performance, or other special forms of behavior demanded of those present, harm in the form of failure to effect a cure as well as sickness for the shaman is likely to follow. Frequent instances of illness and loss of power among shamans were attributed by informants to these or similar missteps or to abuses in utilizing the special powers conferred upon these people.

Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman 756
suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not 688
only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

PARAPHERNALIA

The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indi- 756
cation of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip 778
himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird; stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[10]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámakʒ[illegible]odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another.
The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it [178]
is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer 756
hooflet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The 778
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[10] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753 ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757] The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164] that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774] may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [698] their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787 dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755] intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754] sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754 in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578 It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114] cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689] around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828] the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579] drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684 population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276] was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained 573
within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order 626
among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is [476]
not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggregations of people could live together all year round. [221] Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. 622
Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites [177
drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders 657]
came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes 626
have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or [622
other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice 623
could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and 692
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quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [754]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this
report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

Wadatkuht

539 776 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon. It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai, "magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy, had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an [756] [881] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains" and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the same time and seem to have had an equal status within the group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times", ● and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They [692] [177] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within the band. The situation of having other people work for them as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, 754
in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his 578
arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As [657
the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. 177]
Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral 754
of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had [657
felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in 693]
the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

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[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

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close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on 155
family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying 828
degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more [578]
remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance
against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of
malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns
by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those
who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost [684] ●
all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with
disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were
supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has [756
been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person 682]
by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a
large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an
official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and
accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction
to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts 754
the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and 681
either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community,
he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man
has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action
is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed
power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is
just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover.
The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that
retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays,
when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight
often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness 182
sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed 795*
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches,
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's N
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing W
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing
that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote
religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists,
attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct W
specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas. A danger in such [683]
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety.

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A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise
several accuse Sam Dick.

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In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, 571
peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment 795*
of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new
settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows
would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not
friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing
the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—
acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious
meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by
peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time. N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [191]
prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult. This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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726 648 [701] [161] Panaiʼna's band, Drake concluded at the end of his campaign, probably numbered "fifty or sixty fighting men and some women and children—it would be impossible to say how many—and is composed in part of Snake Indians proper, who have united themselves under able leadership[163] for the purposes of plunder, and in part of renegades from other tribes actuated by a like motive" (underlining ours).[164]

In June, 1864, Panaiʼna's group committed several robberies on the northern section of the Canyon City Road;[165] by June 24 Panaiʼna was farther south on the same road, attacking Richardson's train near Silver Lake.[166] From Silver Lake he visited Sprague River Valley, in an attempt to persuade Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath "and the Klamaths generally" to join him in a war against the Whites.[167]

Two and a half weeks later Panaiʼna was back in the Crooked River country where, on July 12, 1864, he encountered Capt. George Currey's command. Currey forced Panaiʼna to flee southeast, to the south side of the desert region of central Oregon.[168] Six days later Capt. Currey's expressman from Camp Alvord[169] saw and was chased by five or six Indians of "Po-li-ni's band" in the mountains twenty miles south of Lake Harney.[170] A little later in July Panaiʼna was again heading west; Capt. Currey was told that the Snake leader "had joined 23 wickiups at a small lake 30 miles west of Camp Alvord."[171]

Still later in July, 1864, Panaiʼna moved north again to the ever-lucrative Canyon City road. In the High Desert region some distance north of Goose Lake he attacked Tower and Company's train, killing two men and taking 350 head of cattle, which he drove to Warner Mountain, "the Sebastapol of the Snake Indians." On Warner Mountain Panaiʼna and his group feasted on the cattle and kept a watch on Drew's expedition for twelve days in early August, as Drew moved east of the Warners. Twice Panaiʼna prepared to attack the expedition, but decided it would not be safe to do so. When Drew explored Warner Mountain on August 8-12 he found

N 648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the
Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na —
namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For
the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-
1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner,
N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced to-
day that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or in-
jure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party
N of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his
[776] Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all
bullets fired at him.

N [171] [174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N 648 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's
726 report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath
that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the
N summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed,
[712] and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

● N 701 159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

714 tion of arrow or bullet proof shirts, but "in the old days bullets were soft, and the Indians had tough skins. The bullets did not hurt them; they just burned a little, the same as when a horse is hit." Warriors [302] sometimes painted the face red and put feathers in their hair. For the most part, facial paint seems to have been used on festive rather than martial occasions.

●712 Rock walls erected for protection against the enemy were called na'a'kwi-nobi (na'a'kwi, shooting; nobi, house, camp). They were of sufficient height to allow a seated person to shoot over the top. These are doubtless the "fences" to which Sapir's Wishram informant has reference.[268]

Scalping

727 As regards scalping, opinions are divided. All agree that the Klamath, Warm Springs, and Achomawi scalped readily. Minnie Anderson said that her uncle was scalped by the Warm Springs Indians, but that the Paiute did not scalp. Nevertheless, Joshua's statement is convincing:

> I have never seen a scalp, but when a Paiute killed an Achomawi, he cut around the forehead and the back of the head and pulled off the hair. In those days they wore long hair. I don't know where they learned to scalp. They took full-sized ones, cutting back of the ears and around the edge of the hair.

And upon another occasion:

> Some wore scalps (tüwo'ks) If we found Warm Springs, or Achomawi, or Klamath Indians on our land, we watched them and told everybody. Someone said, "Shoot them; shoot them and scalp them." Maybe we killed one or two.

In this connection Joshua also reported the scalp dance. Dr. Sam was not certain that his Paiute band used to take scalps, but he was inclined to think so. On the other hand, Piudy affirmed:

> Other Indians scalped but not our Paiute. They took them on a line with the eyebrows and pulled them off. We just killed an enemy; we did not cut off his hands or feet.

It may be significant that the Wishram do not mention scalping by the Paiute. Tom Anderson denied both scalping and mutilation of the dead; "but when the Shoshone killed the Paiute they cut them all to pieces."

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[268] Wishram Texts, 217.

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until early in the spring of 1864, when he and his forces burned a ranch house east of Warm Springs on John Day River, about a mile below the mouth of Bridge Creek. White settlers and prospectors pursued the raiders, and on the west branch of Trout Creek a mile or so above the forks met some Wasco Indians from Warm Springs Reservation.[156] These Indians had suffered a galling humiliation from Panaiʼna the day before,[157] and therefore joined the party of Whites in pursuit of Panaiʼna. Near the head of McKay Creek, a tributary of Crooked River, the party found and attacked Panaiʼna's camp, but did not kill Panaiʼna.[158]

By May 17, Capt. John M. Drake's command[159] discovered another of Panaiʼna's camps "at one of the crossings of Crooked River four or five miles below the forks of the river and 12-14 miles northeast of Camp Maury," where Drake then had his field headquarters.[160] Drake thought at first that this camp of Panaiʼna's was temporary and consisted of a small group, so he attacked it the next day, but was repulsed. Three of his men, including 2nd Lt. Stephen Watson, were killed, and five wounded. After being reinforced Drake again attacked and Panaiʼna and his people fled eastward into the mountains between Crooked River and the Canyon City Road. After Panaiʼna decamped a small group of Snake "night prowlers" hovered around Camp Maury for twenty days, before they could be driven across the Blue Mountains.[161]

Aside from the small group of night prowlers, Drake reports that "the only other Indians around the headwaters of Crooked River [were] Polini's band." The size of Panaiʼna's forces astonished him, and led him to believe that he had underrated the number of Snakes living in the Crooked River region. According to Drake's own Indians Panaiʼna had occupied the fortified camp for three or four years; Drake himself thought that "the camp bears every evidence of this fact." Elsewhere he remarks that the upper part of Crooked River Valley had been the home of Panaiʼna's group "for many years."[162] [712] ●

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-nine's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panaiʼna and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panaiʼna was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

After Panaiʼna's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

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The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

N 648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party N [776] of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N [171] [174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N 648 726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the N [712] summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N 701 159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

Weapons

A warrior's equipment consisted of bow and arrows, and, according to Joshua, one or two spears (tützi'hinᵃ) four or five feet long. The latter, tipped with 4½ inch obsidian blades, were used for close combat. Other informants thought the spear was not old;[241] "Why should we want to use a spear?" War arrows were frequently dipped in poison.[242] There was no war club. The poggamoggan[243] was known to informants, but was explicitly attributed to other tribes. Thus, "That's not Paiute; that's from a different people." Piudy gave its name as tikwi'tᵉ-ponoa (ponoa, rock) and correctly attributed it to the Shoshone.[244] It was not used by the Bannock. 411

The Gidü'tikadᵃ deny the use of body armor but claim that the Paiute around Yainax and Burns used to wear elk-hide armor. Dr. Sam's brief description follows: 713

> I once saw a war dress. It was a hide protector, tied together on the back, with wings along the side of the head to keep off arrows. They tried to shoot the person who wore it under the arm where there was no protection.

Joshua had heard of such armor but had not seen any. He called it topü'ᵏʷᵉˢᵘ (topü', shield; kwa'sü, shirt).

The shield was generally described as circular and "almost the width of the body." Dr. Sam reported a fan-shaped affair. The shield was made from the neck part of elk or deer hide, usually the former. The skin was dehaired, soaked, stretched,[245] and set by the fire to harden. The shield was not made on a wooden frame, but the Klamath are said to have used willows covered with hide. A warrior carried the shield in his hand or attached it to his left forearm by means of loops on its back. 714

Warriors probably fought naked, although Piudy thought that they removed their clothing only when fighting the whites. The Wishram speak of naked Paiute[246] and of capturing an Oregon Paiute who "had no shirt on, he was naked."[247] There seems to be no tradi-

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[241] Although the Wishram are said to obtain lances from the Paiute via the Wasco. Spier and Sapir, 231.

[242] P. 145.

[243] Which de Angulo incorrectly attributes to these Paiute, 320.

[244] Lowie, NS, 191.

[245] Joshua said that the hide was stretched by skewers thrust through marginal holes. Other informants could not give details of manufacture, but when discussing skin-working in general, none was familiar with the skewer technique.

[246] Spier and Sapir, 232, 233.

[247] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 211.

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[246] Spier and Sapir, 232, 233.

[247] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 211.

●714 tion of arrow or bullet proof shirts, but "in the old days bullets were soft, and the Indians had tough skins. The bullets did not hurt them; they just burned a little, the same as when a horse is hit." Warriors [302] sometimes painted the face red and put feathers in their hair. For the most part, facial paint seems to have been used on festive rather than martial occasions.

712 Rock walls erected for protection against the enemy were called na'a'kwi-nobi (na'a'kwi, shooting; nobi, house, camp). They were of sufficient height to allow a seated person to shoot over the top. These are doubtless the "fences" to which Sapir's Wishram informant has reference.[246]

Scalping

727 As regards scalping, opinions are divided. All agree that the Klamath, Warm Springs, and Achomawi scalped readily. Minnie Anderson said that her uncle was scalped by the Warm Springs Indians, but that the Paiute did not scalp. Nevertheless, Joshua's statement is convincing:

> I have never seen a scalp, but when a Paiute killed an Achomawi, he cut around the forehead and the back of the head and pulled off the hair. In those days they wore long hair. I don't know where they learned to scalp. They took full-sized ones, cutting back of the ears and around the edge of the hair.

And upon another occasion:

> Some were scalps (tüwo'ks) If we found Warm Springs, or Achomawi, or Klamath Indians on our land, we watched them and told everybody. Someone said, "Shoot them; shoot them and scalp them." Maybe we killed one or two.

In this connection Joshua also reported the scalp dance. Dr. Sam was not certain that his Paiute band used to take scalps, but he was inclined to think so. On the other hand, Piudy affirmed:

> Other Indians scalped but not our Paiute. They took them on a line with the eyebrows and pulled them off. We just killed an enemy; we did not cut off his hands or feet.

It may be significant that the Wishram do not mention scalping by the Paiute. Tom Anderson denied both scalping and mutilation of the dead; "but when the Shoshone killed the Paiute they cut them all to pieces."

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[246] Wishram Texts, 217.

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of
237 stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it
.714 first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The
whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was
killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

411 Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ârō*) by the Paviotso,—
[824] *tsïeaBi*, *po[illegible]nöB'*, and *ugwo'qou*^{e}, the last-mentioned being used for
arrows (*poñoss*^{e}) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso
[463] made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war.
[237] The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the
kuyúi fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamüBi*) twisted on
the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were
[237] barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip
of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point.
[237] Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one
or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper
[824] wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs
[531] traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirüpi'*). The arrow-head was
sometimes smeared with poison (*nötúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the
mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows
were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized
with the thumb and index in shooting.

[illegible]ns, 54.

[1] Reed, [illegible] 79, 83.

[3] Powell, [illegible]

411 arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i. e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

224 [411] For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

411 Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

● [714] They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

AGRICULTURE.

241 222 [412] They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

FOODS.

262 Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region [1]. But

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[136] [312] [1] Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

DANCING

535 The common Round dance of the Basin is fundamental here. In the evening, participants joined hands in a ring, men and women alternating, and circled about the fire with a shuffling, sidewise step. Women chose partners by asking, not by tapping them with a wand. Those not wishing to dance with men could get on one side of the circle. Ill consequences did not result from a refusal to dance. Young people who were attracted to one another danced together all evening without changing partners. Some couples withdrew, at which time marriage was consummated. Joshua said that they must first ask permission of the "dance boss," but Minnie thought otherwise.

533 The dance "boss" was a man who knew songs. These he himself
535 composed. Others joined in the singing if they knew the tunes. There
was no other musical accompaniment; for the drum is recent and
534 informants denied the rasp although they knew it from other groups.

535 A dance (nugüb) normally lasted two or three hours; persons never danced until they dropped from exhaustion. A dance might be held at any time of year, but especially in the fall when people congregated for communal drives. A dance which took place while on a rabbit hunt was called kamü'nik (kamü', jackrabbit).

The Bear dance is definitely lacking among these Paiute. Joshua knew it from the Shoshone and accurately described the essentials, including the notched stick which sounded "like a washboard"; a woman's tapping her partner with a small willow; dancing in lines, then breaking, and circling. He had seen it performed "up north" by visiting Shoshone four or five years ago. Piudy said that the Warm Springs Indians danced in columns, but that the Gidü'tikad^{a} never did so. He thought that the "Yainax people" (Paiute, Klamath?) and people around Susanville (Paiute, Maidu?) had a Bear dance.

● [721] There seems to have been a War incitement dance but no details were available. Minine said that "some stout men danced before they went to war." According to Piudy, the Round dance was the only one known; there were no masked or scalp dances. On the last score Joshua gave conflicting evidence, saying:

> A scalp was put on a tall pole and everybody said, "Let's have a dance." They danced and sang all kinds of songs. Women danced too. They always kept the scalps but I never did know what became of them. The Scalp dance was called tüya'nagü.

72/ ●

War

With unrelated neighbors there was a certain amount of strife. War, consisting of raids and reprisals, was caused chiefly by theft of women or by trespass and consequent infringement of hunting rights.

> In the early days other Indians were never friendly with us. We didn't like them. They used to come here, on our land (JB).

Also:

> We used to quarrel over hunting rights. When Achomawi came this side of the mountain (Warners), we wanted to fight. If you killed one Achomawi, his people would miss him and start a war with us. If you and I crossed the Warners to Willow ranch[236] some Pit River people would come there and kill me and take you (JB).

The Achomawi (Izi'sa·wi) are the traditional enemies par excellence. Piudy alone was firm in denying warfare with them, saying, "We never fought with the Achomawi. They and the Klamath were enemies all the time." Upon another occasion he said, "We never fought with the Pit River people; we never captured their women." Other informants gravely asserted that the Achomawi "were bad" and "my father told me that we used to fight them." Only one concrete instance was cited; strangely enough it concerns a conflict between the Achomawi and the Honey Lake Paiute (who are not Gidü'tikad^{a}.[237] Joshua thought that the quarrel had started in spring over fishing rights; he had been told that "the men lined up in long strings and shot at each other."

Joshua pictured the Achomawi as an aggressive lot, fighting with the Kuyui'tikad^{a}, coming into Warner valley, against the Gidü'tikad^{a}, and traversing immense distances to engage in battle with the Wada'tikad^{a} of Burns and the Kwi'nadüv^{a} of McDermitt. Achomawi raids in the Burns and McDermitt districts are unlikely because of the sheer distance involved, not to mention the hostile Klamath on the Burns route and the scattering Paiute on the McDermitt route. In addition, the whole business contrasts oddly with reports concerning the passiveness with which the Achomawi accepted Klamath incursions.[238] It is probable that there was no war as such with the Achomawi, but that relations were frequently disrupted by skirmishes

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[236] Near Lassen creek; virtually on the Paiute-Achomawi boundary.

[237] Lowie, SE, 194, reports this same conflict.

[238] Spier, Klamath, 24; Kniffen, 309, although this passiveness refers to the Achomawi subtribe, Hewisedawi, and it seems to have been the Hammawi with whom the Paiute fought.

72/

between a few individuals over hunting rights or over women. In contradiction to Piudy's above statement but in agreement with that of Dr. de Angulo,[239] Joshua said:

> Women and children prisoners belong to the man who caught them. The Pit River people used to come here after their women. The children were allowed to go back when grown.

Piudy stated, in reference to tribes other than the Achomawi, with whom he steadfastly denied conflict, "The Paiute used to capture women and marry them, but they did not take children. Why would they want them?"

The Klamath are said to have held Warner and Surprise valleys prior to the occupancy by the Gidü'tikadᵃ. At that time the latter were living the other side of Steens mountain, southeast of Burns, Oregon. Although outnumbered, the Paiute "got the best of them all the time" and finally drove them out and took possession. According to Piudy, "That was long before my time; the old people told me about it. I have seen the rocks[240] the Klamath put up for protection. They are just high enough so a person can sit behind them and shoot over the top. The rocks are east of Adel."

My notes have little mention of specific Klamath hostilities, which were probably no more than the usual random skirmishes. In the early historic period the Klamath are said to have stolen horses from the Gidü'tikadᵃ. The latter tracked them and fought. Dr. Sam of Beatty said, "I heard of a tribe of Paiute whose head chief was Winnemucca. They had a war with the Klamath this side of Chiloquin. I heard of another war with the Klamath. I saw the bones; they are right on the Sycan river near Sycan marsh."

The Warm Springs Indians were called A'ga'itsi (a'gai, fish, salmon) and are said to have been aggressive and warlike. Probably the Oregon bands suffered most from contact with them; Gidü'tikadᵃ relations seem to have been largely commercial. According to Dr. Sam, "The Warm Springs Indians used to try and make trouble, but the Paiute were pretty peaceful." The latter statement is typical of the way the Paiute pleases to paint his people's character.

The Washo (Washiu) were known chiefly by name.

Dr. Sam once participated in a battle with some whites near Paisley, but aside from this incident, none of my informants had ever seen a war, much less been in one.

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[239] P. 315.

[240] Said to be wall-like structures.

648 tain any friendly relations with them. Their principal enemies were the Pitt River Indians, who used to live about Stillwater, but were driven out to California by the Paviotso. There is a tradition of the Paviotso [173] killing the Pitt River near Honey Lake. Sometimes they would come, [721] however, to attack the Paviotso. Horses and guns were first obtained by the Paviotso from the 'Forty-niners emigrating to California.

000 The Ignacio Ute gave the following as the names of their old bands:—

1. Mōwátsi; about Cimarron, Colorado.
2. Kapûta+u; the people near the present Ignacio Agency.
3. Wímnenụtci; the Navajo Springs Indians.
4. Paiyútsi; the "Paiute" near Navajo Springs, but on the Utah side.
5. Töwútsi Paiyûtsi; genuine Paiute in Nevada.
6. Yapárka+u; Wild-carrot Eaters, the Uintah Ute.
7. Mōwátawiwàdziu; Ouray Ute.
8. Tāví-wàdziu; those formerly west of Denver.
9. Pagûwadziu; west of the Uintah.

Of these the Mōwátsi correspond to the Moache of the *Handbook*; the Kapûta+u to the Capote; the Wímenụtci to the Wiminuche, the Yapárka+u to the Yampa; the Tāvíwàdziu presumably to the Tabeguache. The inclusion of the Paiute is intelligible on linguistic grounds.

The Ute were a warlike people and fought various neighboring tribes, including the Navajo, Kiowa, Arapaho, Comanche and Shoshoni.[1]

The Wind River Shoshoni spoke of having once been together with the Comanche. They also traveled and intermarried with the Bannock. When my informant was a small boy his people were in the Fort Bridger country and then the Shoshoni split up into the Idaho and Wyoming branches. (Of course Shoshoni groups had been in Idaho long before this, as proved by Lewis and Clark's narrative.) The fact that Washakie is regarded as half Flathead indicates that the Wind River no less than the Lemhi came into contact with Salish tribes. The Arapaho were considered the principal enemies; in lesser degree the Crow, Dakota, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre. The French (Yúhundaibo) were the first whites encountered; the Shoshoni obtained a few colts from them in exchange for buffalo hides and also got flintlocks from them. The Spaniards (Tóyaraibo) came later when the Shoshoni already had possession of firearms. The subdivisions of the Shoshoni have been given in a previous publication.[2]

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[1] Cf. Stansbury, 232; Kroeber, (a), 8; Reed, 83 et passim.
[2] Lowie, 206.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Chiefs (vuhenavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2152. Chief's assistant	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinanunō)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamuvoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2160. For hunting generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2161. For pine-nut trip	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2162. Village chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2167. Band owned fishing streams	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2169. Family owned seed plots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2177. Captives	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	–	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180. Domed willow house	–	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	·	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	+	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181a. 30 ("month")	·	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2182. Ground warmed	–	–	·	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
571

N
W
A
622
W
N
A
[624]

N
W
A
621
423

N
W
A
721
W
A
727

N
A
778
832
N
W
A
844

[p. 407]

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu'i^1-nö^{e}ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." W [226] Wa: – (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

● N 721 W [721] 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. N [423] K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. N 721 173 Kü: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

[p.440(B)]

● N
721 173 raided them and drove them out of the country (GN). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave (LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley. This explains why so many arrow and spear points have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The war against Sai is only one about which DV knew. "The Sai were from around Klamath River and raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands aided in battle. This happened three generations ago." W [721] Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger" was remembered by LR. One person was killed. Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe) only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War. The Indians showed generals how it could be done. They formed a circle around German trenches (JM). Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The Tagŏ had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Paiute are recounted by Pit River Indians. A [721 173] One was generations ago, the other was in historic time and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and killed all the girls who had been taken captive to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble at home. There were many people killed, "maybe 4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N
778
832
753 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered, mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin, the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm. It is dangerous to possess such a charm because it might enter one's body through a sore or something and kill owner. It causes sickness like blood poisoning. Tŏ: A mole charm is dangerous medicine. N [755] One made an Indian boy sick a little while ago, and he would have died if the Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was painted and father was forced to throw away his mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to be very dangerous.

N
844
[115] 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement 5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

[p. 441 (A)]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR 10

K N 648

mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[80]

K N 101 131 648 721

That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K N 648 166

By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

N 648 166

Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, 131
also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden
came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty 101
huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that
"Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the
Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were
used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott,
Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer
from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians
around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January,
1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback;
no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, [231]
p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met
"Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and [411]
ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid.,
p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging
species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them
fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes
River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had [648]
been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course
of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living
opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison
notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency
frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco
on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally [262]
on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, [291]
the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses [231]
or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the [411]
bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859,
Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison 648
in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as 721
being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were [181]
friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, [177]
thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington
states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and
Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only
after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS
#1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

648 721 [726] N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid., Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid "retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

579 726 648 Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 648 177 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington, states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles- [648
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other 577]
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [883]
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[7] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[7] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648
Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled
and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three
hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south
into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca.
Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721] ●
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympa-
thizers when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers
kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Huni-
bui Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined
in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reserva- 727
tion in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were trans- 648
ferred to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around
McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reser-
vation but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat
on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there
were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups
moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near
Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look
into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the
Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of
them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped
from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it
was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all
the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so
poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group
of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and [425]
bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those
who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

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[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.

[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds
of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a
tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of
237 stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it
714 first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The
whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was
killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

411 Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ärō*) by the Paviotso,—
[824] *tsïsaßi*, *poγo'nōß'*, and *ugwo'qow*ᵉ, the last-mentioned being used for
arrows (*poñossᵉ*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso
[463] made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war.
[237] The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the
kuyúi fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamüßi*) twisted on
the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were
[237] barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip
of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point.
[237] Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one
or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper
[824] wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs
[531] traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirüpi'*). The arrow-head was
sometimes smeared with poison (*nötúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the
mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows
were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized
with the thumb and index in shooting.

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[1] [illegible]kins, 34.

[2] Reed, 26, 70, 83.

[3] Powell, [illegible]

648 and Warner valleys. From Warner Valley Walker marched his men across the Warner Range westward, to attack an Indian encampment on the west side of the Warners near the head of Goose Lake Valley. The volunteers "killed two Indians and took another prisoner" at the Indian camp; the company then returned to Warner Valley.[120]

From Ogden's time on, west-east travelers across central Oregon had used the Crooked River route north of Silver and Summer Lakes; in 1846 a more southerly road was laid out.[121] Neither of these "great thoroughfares leading to the States"[122] passed through, or even very near the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, however. Hence this latter region, bounded on the west by the 1,000-foot high Winter Ridge,[123] on the north by a wide expanse of barren high desert,[124] on the east by Abert Rim and the Warner Range, and on the south by mountains and Goose Lake Valley, remained until a relatively late date an isolated, unexplored pocket. By 1859, however, there was a north-south road leading from Yreka in northern California to northeastern Oregon and Washington Territory, which passed through the Sprague River Valley-Silver Lake country.[125] After the gold strikes around Canyon City in the Blue Mountains, and also in the Nez Perce Mountains and around Oro Fino, Idaho during the early 1860's,[126] this north-south trail was well traveled, and was popularly referred to as the "Canyon City Road."[127] Indian depredations on supply trains and mining parties using the Canyon City Road were notable in the late 1850's and early 1860's;[128] some of these attacks, as we have already seen, occurred on the Sprague River-Silver Lake section of the road.[129] Such attacks, however, made by mounted Indians [726] under a leader like Panai'na, who in the early 1860's was operating throughout central Oregon, furnish practically no clues as to whether any Indians were actually living in the Summer-Silver-Abert lakes basin 131 at this time. A map dated January 1, 1864 and signed by Huntington, which shows the location of Oregon Indians, does not assign any Indians to the regions north of Summer and Abert lakes, nor to the region east of Abert Lake, between Abert and Harney lakes.[130]

648 In the spring and summer of 1864 one scouting party and three major military expeditions took the field against the Snakes of central and eastern Oregon,[131] but none of these expeditions operated in the

648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[146] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panai'na (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through
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101] references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151]

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726 We hear of Panai'na earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panai'na's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panai'na engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

until early in the spring of 1864, when he and his forces burned a ranch house east of Warm Springs on John Day River, about a mile below the mouth of Bridge Creek. White settlers and prospectors pursued the raiders, and on the west branch of Trout Creek a mile or so above the forks met some Wasco Indians from Warm Springs Reservation.[156] These Indians had suffered a galling humiliation from Panai'na the day before,[157] and therefore joined the party of Whites in pursuit of Panai'na. Near the head of McKay Creek, a tributary of Crooked River, the party found and attacked Panai'na's camp, but did not kill Panai'na.[158]

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By May 17, Capt. John M. Drake's command[159] discovered another of Panai'na's camps "at one of the crossings of Crooked River four or five miles below the forks of the river and 12-14 miles northeast of Camp Maury," where Drake then had his field headquarters.[160] Drake thought at first that this camp of Panai'na's was temporary and consisted of a small group, so he attacked it the next day, but was repulsed. Three of his men, including 2nd Lt. Stephen Watson, were killed, and five wounded. After being reinforced Drake again attacked and Panai'na and his people fled eastward into the mountains between Crooked River and the Canyon City Road. After Panai'na decamped a small group of Snake "night prowlers" hovered around Camp Maury for twenty days, before they could be driven across the Blue Mountains.[161]

Aside from the small group of night prowlers, Drake reports that "the only other Indians around the headwaters of Crooked River [were] Polini's band." The size of Panai'na's forces astonished him, and led him to believe that he had underrated the number of Snakes living in the Crooked River region. According to Drake's own Indians Panai'na had occupied the fortified camp for three or four years; Drake himself thought that "the camp bears every evidence of this fact." Elsewhere he remarks that the upper part of Crooked River Valley had been the home of Panai'na's group "for many years."[162]

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Panaiʼna's band, Drake concluded at the end of his campaign, probably numbered "fifty or sixty fighting men and some women and children—it would be impossible to say how many—and is composed in part of Snake Indians proper, who have united themselves under able leadership[163] for the purposes of plunder, and in part of renegades from other tribes actuated by a like motive" (underlining ours).[164]

In June, 1864, Panaiʼna's group committed several robberies on the northern section of the Canyon City Road;[165] by June 24 Panaiʼna was farther south on the same road, attacking Richardson's train near Silver Lake.[166] From Silver Lake he visited Sprague River Valley, in an attempt to persuade MotcunkaʼskEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath "and the Klamaths generally" to join him in a war against the Whites.[167]

Two and a half weeks later Panaiʼna was back in the Crooked River country where, on July 12, 1864, he encountered Capt. George Currey's command. Currey forced Panaiʼna to flee southeast, to the south side of the desert region of central Oregon.[168] Six days later Capt. Currey's expressman from Camp Alvord[169] saw and was chased by five or six Indians of "Po-li-ni's band" in the mountains twenty miles south of Lake Harney.[170] A little later in July Panaiʼna was again heading west; Capt. Currey was told that the Snake leader "had joined 23 wickiups at a small lake 30 miles west of Camp Alvord."[171]

Still later in July, 1864, Panaiʼna moved north again to the ever-lucrative Canyon City road. In the High Desert region some distance north of Goose Lake he attacked Tower and Company's train, killing two men and taking 350 head of cattle, which he drove to Warner Mountain, "the Sebastapol of the Snake Indians." On Warner Mountain Panaiʼna and his group feasted on the cattle and kept a watch on Drew's expedition for twelve days in early August, as Drew moved east of the Warners. Twice Panaiʼna prepared to attack the expedition, but decided it would not be safe to do so. When Drew explored Warner Mountain on August 8-12 he found

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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Panai'na's camp "of about sixty new and deserted lodges, evidently left not more than three days before, and in and around them fragments of beeves that their occupants had feasted upon. The tracks of American horses, ponies, mules and cattle, all coming in from the northward, were numerous and but recently made."[172]

In September, 1864, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the military to locate Panai'na before he went into winter quarters.[173]

Panai'na did not attend either the pre-treaty conference Huntington held at Ft. Klamath late in August, 1864, or the treaty proceedings of October 9-15,[174] although apparently he had been invited to do so.[175] Immediately after the 1864 treaty-signing, however, Huntington sent LaLakes, so-called Klamath "high chief," to Panai'na with a peace message. LaLakes delivered the message, obtained a reply from Panai'na, and left him to return to Ft. Klamath. That same day Huntington and his party, consisting of Indian Agent William Logan, a military escort, and several Warm Springs Indian scouts, while on the trail north from Ft. Klamath to Dalles, Ore., captured one or two Snakes belonging to Panai'na's band, at the mouth of Mill-ke-ke Creek at the Crossing of the Deschutes River. A search was made for the Snakes' camp, and it was found, about fifteen miles east of the mouth of the creek. At the camp, which was a small one, three Snake men, three women and one or two children were captured. One of the captured women was Panai'na's wife, and one of the children his child. Four of the captured men were killed, but one managed to flee to Panai'na. Three of the women and the two children, including Panai'na's wife and child, were taken north by Huntington and put in the custody of Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord at Ft. Vancouver, W. T., for the winter.[176]

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Panai'na protested this killing and capturing of his people, through a messenger, "Sky-ti-at-titk, a Snake Indian,"[177] whom he sent to Ft. Klamath on Nov. 1, 1864.[178] Ten days later Panai'na himself came to the Fort to tell Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, that he was tired of war with the Whites, that he

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6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N K 648

> vation with Moshunkosket's people having been left there by the capturing parties of soldiers and Klamath Indians. These women and children are those who belong to the prisoners at the Fort.

Applegate attributed the Army's success to "the war [against the Snakes] farther North," which probably drove them to take refuge in the Summer-Silver lakes-upper Sprague River country.[204]

N 648 726

In the meantime, little is heard of Panai'na after he left the Reservation. On Aug. 10, 1866 Capt. Walker[205] with a party of infantry pursued Panai'na "and a large band of warriors. They attacked them, but were driven back, Captain Walker having had a horse killed under him in the fight."[206] Some time in October, as we have already noted, Lts. Oatman and Small, of Ft. Klamath, engaged Indians near Lake Abert; possibly Panai'na was among them.[207]

N 648 166 [551]

By October, 1866, sixty "Snakes proper–16 men and 44 women and children" had been captured and brought onto Klamath Reservation. Among these were Shas'-took, We-ah'-shau, Ske'-zhe, Sah-too-too'-we and Now-weep-a-cow'-ich, all signers of the 1865 Walpapi treaty, as well as Enkaill'toak and Wail-a'-cho-ak. These two last-named, with Shastook, met Indian Sub-agent Lindsay Applegate at Klamath Agency for a talk on Oct. 3, and promised that all sixty Snakes would immediately move down from Sprague River Valley to Council Grove, near the Agency, where Applegate and the Army could keep watch on them. Applegate assured them that if they did as told, and remained faithful "they might yet receive the benefits of the [1865] treaty now ratified and made good." Although he does not specifically refer at this time to these captives as "Walpapi Snakes" he clearly (and with reason) accepted them as such.

N K 648 N 166

True to form, the Walpapi quickly did the unexpected. The night of their talk with Applegate,

> the head men eluding the vigilance of Moshunkosket and his men[208] escaped to Sprague River Valley, and in the absence of that chief and his men, took two of his

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-ni-ne's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panai'na and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panai'na was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

After Panai'na's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

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The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

648 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under
131 Tchaktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted
[161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as re-
[511] gards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing....
[262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser-
[161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when
[166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

648 For several years after they settled on the Reservation,
726 hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received). N 648 N [511] [291]

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868). N 649 726 ●

143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; *ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5. K N 101 222

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for *Suaeda depressa var. erecta* Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102).

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (*Lomatium macrocarpium* C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, *ibid.*, p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon 1,"). N 648

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

648 N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military
721 clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm
Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it
was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes
[726] with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into
the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such
conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid.,
Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver,
W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid
"retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T.,
Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison,
had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm
Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

579 Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes
changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for
726 that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had
648 "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake
Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly
opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des
Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time,
for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly
[Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been
fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed....
The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses
and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to
burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the
Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S.
Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property"
(RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report
on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously;
there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington,
648 states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive
177 at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and
some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

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154. Warm Springs Agent John Smith notes Snake raids on the Agency from 1859 through 1863; in 1859 the Snakes ran off 700 head of horses and took over the Agency buildings for a time; in 1863 they stole 200 horses. No raids are noted for 1864-1866, but in the latter year Weawewa wintered on the Deschutes River and raided Scott's ranch on Trout Creek, twelve miles east of the Warm Springs Agency (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. John Smith to J. W. Perit Huntington, Warm Springs Agency, Ore., April 11, 1866; NA. WDC. DC. R-35-1866, clipping from Daily Mountaineer, April 19, 1866 enclosed with Smith's letter). The next year (1867) Weawewa raided Warm Springs and killed Past-am-ine, "one of the most intelligents Indians" (RCIA 1868 [CDS #1399] p. 579). In 1868, before Gen. George Crook's peace at Camp Harney was concluded on June 30, 1868 (see fn. 223), there were minor raids on Warm Springs, with a total of thirty to forty horses stolen (idem).

155. In 1862 and 1863, according to Capt. John M. Drake, Panai'na raided Warm Springs and also extended his activities eastward to the Canyon City road (WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 334). This road from Silver Lake to Canyon City, Ore., was then being used by heavily loaded supply trains and drovers, and was a new and lucrative field of operation for Panai'na. Gold had been discovered at Canyon City in 1862, and "work commenced in 1863 ... although the miners often suffered severely from the depredations of the Snakes." Canyon City was then "considered as good a mining camp as any in Oregon or Northern California" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Ore., Dec. 22, 1868).

Fear of attack from Panai'na and his warriors in the Warm Springs region persisted until 1867; in October of that year Huntington, apparently still skeptical of reports that Panai'na had been killed (see below), requested a military escort for the first annuity goods he was taking from Dalles, Ore., to Klamath Agency. He specifically asked for this escort "after leaving Trout Creek (which is about twenty miles North East of Warm Springs Agency and forty miles North of Crooked River)" because "Beyond Trout Creek is the country of Pauline and his band, the most dangerous of any on the route. I shall be very reluctant to go into it without escort" (NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73).

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156. For location of Trout Creek see fn. 155. The Trout Creek region at this time was supposedly "neutral ground" between the Snakes and the Warm Springs Indians, and was used by the latter for hunting (Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 53).

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

N 648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the
Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na —
namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For
the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-
1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner,
N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced to-
day that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or in-
jure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party
N [776] of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his
Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all
bullets fired at him.

N [171] [174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N 648 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's
●726 report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath
that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the
N summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed,
[712] and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N 701 159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411 726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

[161 162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

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[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764
eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry.
The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites
show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other
than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The
body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horse-
back from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried
in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the
body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no
marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he
customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some
informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with
the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around
the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177]
try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a
house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some
informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768]
the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite
horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated
that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the
grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and
is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765
mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the
amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relation-
ship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair
for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut
only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are
cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that
the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and
slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch
themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but
there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to
get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726
Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766]
in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768
dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775
of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

In theory, female shamans may become as powerful as the male 756
doctors. In practice, however, it appears that all the outstanding 562
practitioners are, and have been, men. On the other hand, female shamans are highly respected and are on an equal footing with their male colleagues; some may even have stronger powers than the less prominent male shamans. Moreover, according to several informants, women can acquire powers which are used, as with men, for purposes other than curing.

> Women who have power are as strong as men shamans. One time there was a woman who had a power that protected her against bullets.
> When the Indians were fighting the soldiers, she rode out in front of [789
> them to attract their attention while the women and children got away. 726] ●
> The soldiers shot at her but their bullets did not hurt her. She had the same power as men shamans. (Joe Green)

Apparently berdaches never became shamans. The several 756
transvestites who are remembered by people living today were 838
certainly not shamans. Lowie recorded only one case of sex-reversal among the Pyramid Lake Paviotso. This occurred some twenty years before his visit, and apparently shamanistic powers were not ascribed to the individual.[5] Sarah Winnemucca mentions the case of one cowardly warrior who was forced to don women's clothing and perform tasks allotted to that sex, but there is no reference to the possession of power.[6] This as well as the evidence in my own notes suggests that berdaches were of relatively infrequent occurrence and of slight importance. Certainly, they became shamans rarely, if ever, and clearly never as the result of their condition.

Acquiring shamanistic power, and later the exercise of power, 756
is an individual affair. This is true both for the power derived from unsolicited dreams and from the voluntary quest. Power is never acquired by people in groups or at public performances, but is the result of private personal experiences.

The acquisition of power involves more than the development of a personal relationship with a particular spirit. When shamanistic power is conferred, the candidate not only secures a spirit helper but also acquires those special abilities or capacities neces-

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[5] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 283.

[6] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 70.

> away the dirt in the circles. In the dirt of the first two circles he found nothing. In the third he found a small hard object that looked like a piece of copper. It was about the size of a ten-cent piece and there was a hole in the center. Natches then said, "I think this woman will recover." He told them to tie the small object to the top of my mother's head with her hair. He said that she must keep it there for ten days. The next morning she felt better. In seven or eight days she was almost well. On the tenth day she got up and walked. (Joe Green) 755
>
> Captain Dave was almost dead. His mind was gone. Two shamans were doctoring him. They quit because they could do nothing for him. People brought Bull Tom to doctor Captain Dave. Bull Tom said, "I am going to lie down here. I am going to find him. His mind is already gone. Maybe I cannot find him. I do not know how long he has been gone. Maybe it is too long." Bull Tom was in a trance for a long time. Then he was heard talking softly. He was still a long way off. We heard him say, "Do not be afraid. We are going home. We are going back to your home. We will go from here over to that mountain. Your boy, your daughter, your wife are all there. We are going back and see all of them there. Do not look back. Bad animals are back there. Do not go back; we will be home soon." Then Bull Tom came out of his trance. He told Captain Dave's family to blow on the top of Captain Dave's head. Captain Dave woke up. He recognized all the people around him. Bull Tom turned the doctoring over to the other shamans then. Captain Dave recovered and lived for many years. (Joe Green)

Shamans cure wounds and injuries as well as illness. The treatment is substantially the same for all. Usually shamans suck out arrowheads and bullets. In case of internal injury they draw off the blood which is believed to prevent recovery. Certain shamans, such as Wovoka, are credited with unusually strong powers for curing the injured and the wounded. No particular source of power is associated with this form of practice; such shamans also cure disease. 756 752

War parties are often accompanied by at least one shaman. He takes part in the fighting, and only when hostilities are over does he treat the wounded. The shaman utilizes his power while on the war-path solely for purposes of doctoring. The only exception is the shaman whose power not only enables him to cure but also makes him invulnerable. Invulnerability is occasionally exhibited in peace-times simply to demonstrate the shaman's mastery of supernatural spirits. It is not probable that these public exhibitions were ever very common. 756 726 752

756 Fighting and treating the wounded are the shaman's only functions
●726 on the war-path. He does not invoke the aid of his powers
752 for the success of the party, nor does he prophesy the outcome of the venture.

WEATHER-CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

789 Although the shaman's function is chiefly to cure disease, control
756 of the elements, the ability to foretell future events, and the discovery of lost articles, are all within the ability of at least some shamans. Usually shamanistic manipulation of the weather serves no practical need.[18] Often it is simply a means of demonstrating the control of supernatural power. By waving a feather or by singing, shamans may cause the clear sky to become cloudy, the wind to blow, or rain to fall. They can also stop wind and rain or banish the clouds that they have brought. Although the predominant motive in weather-control is this exhibition of power, shamans have been known in the past to manipulate weather for the benefit of the community. This weather-control is chiefly concerned with causing changes in the elements in order to bring about a badly-needed run of fish in the rivers. It is said that fish may be induced to go up the river in the spring by causing the ice to melt or by bringing about a wind that will force them to the mouth of the river. When ice covers the rivers late in the spring, delaying the run of fish from the lakes, a shaman known to have control over the elements is asked to cause warm weather and rain to melt the ice. Only a few shamans, however, have this power.

> During the winter the river was frozen over. The men could not fish. In the spring the people were hungry. There were no fish in the river. There was too much ice. It was cold. The people talked about it. They were talking about asking a certain shaman here (Pyramid Lake) who could help them. He had the power to bring a warm wind that would melt the ice. They sent two or three men to the shaman. They asked him to make the wind blow. The shaman sang and the ice was made to melt. Then the fish started up the river. The people caught many of them. They paid the shaman with fish. Everyone gave him fish. If the

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[782] [18] A form of weather-control is practised at the social round dances. While the dancers are moving in a circle a headman, not necessarily one with supernatural power, walks around praying for rain in order to insure abundant wild products.

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> shaman asked for beads, skins, or flint when he brought the wind, he 756
> would spoil his power. He would lose his power if he did not obey his
> spirit. (Joe Green)

Some shamans, but not all, are able to foretell the future. Ap- 787
parently even among those who are supposed to have the ability 756
to predict future events the power is not frequently exercised.
One shaman is reported to have foreseen the coming of the whites,
and others have foreseen several serious epidemics.

Sarah Winnemucca mentions the shamans' gift of prophecy. She describes a dream of her father's in which the killing of the Indians by the whites was predicted.[19] Although Sarah does not specifically make a statement about her father's power, there is evidence both in her account and from my field notes that he was a shaman. On still another occasion, future events were revealed to Sarah's brother in a dream. When he awoke from the dream, the people were called together and the prophecy was related.[20]

All informants denied that shamans exercise their clairvoyant 726 ●
powers either on the warpath or on the eve of the departure of 787
the war-party. In fact, aside from their rôles in treating the 756
wounded and fighting shoulder to shoulder with other men,
shamans have no outstanding position in battle or the preparations
that precede it. On these occasions, the shaman's position is defi- [554]
nitely subordinate to that of the war-leader or chief. This official
may, however, owe his position to the possession of supernatural power which makes him invulnerable, hence a daring and fearless fighter, the qualifications for the leader of a war party. In Sarah Winnemucca's account there is a suggestion, not borne out by the above, that shamans previsioned the outcome of battles. At least her father on one occasion and her brother on another foretold from dream experiences the outcome of impending conflicts with the whites.[21]

In all these clairvoyant revelations, only harmful events such 787
as sickness, warfare, and death are predicted. There is no indica- 756
tion that successful undertakings or happy events are previsioned.
This characteristic of Paviotso clairvoyance may be related to

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[19] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 14–15.

[20] Ibid., 80.

[21] Ibid., 14, 80.

Wadátkuht

103 133 given this name. This feature is not in Paiute territory but is probably on the Mountain Maidu-Atsugewi boundary. Worley Mountain is plainly visible from Honey Lake Valley and was probably visited on occasional hunting trips, particularly since nearby Eagle Lake was visited for hunting and gathering purposes.

3. Guha kaive ("Guha Mountain"). Bald Mountain several miles west of Honey Lake has this name because of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) growing there. This small, treeless range of rounded hills has a growth of bitterbrush, grass and sage covering it. Its origin is documented by a Wadatkuht myth. [137]

4. T' kwanguhd ("Tower"). This name refers to Thompson Peak which has a tower-like rock formation in association.

5. Padotsa dawakuhd ("Bubbling Hole"). This spring is located on the hillside behind (south) of the Bird Flat schoolhouse. The school is approximately a mile west of Herlong Junction on Highway 395. [346]

6. Pasia novi ("Bald Eagle House"). An old pine tree beside Highway 395 a distance of 5.4 miles southeast of Milford was given this name because of a pair of bald eagles who made their nest in it many years ago. When Ike Northrup was a young man he went by this tree with Joaquin who told him about the nesting birds in the tree and the name for it. The eagles had long since ceased nesting there by that time so Ike never saw them. The tree is still standing but it was killed in the summer of 1950 by a brush fire.

7. Numu wunud^{a} ("Indian Stand Up"). This name was given to a conical rocky hill about four miles northwest of Doyle (T25N/R16E/Sec. 3). This hill received its name as a consequence of a fight between some Pit River and Paiute men. The fight started at Doyle with the Paiutes attempting to escape to this hill. The Paiutes, with the Pit River men in pursuit, gained the sanctuary of this hill and began to roll boulders down on the Pit River men. A Pit River man was killed during the fighting and was stood up by the Paiutes who did it "to be onery". The death of this one man was enough to stop the fighting; "Maybe the headman killed, rest run away". [726]

8. Mogúp^{a} kudak^{w} ("Sharp Mountain"). The range of mountains just east of Doyle is given this name because of its rather jagged appearance.

not even if the girl and her mother liked him." There seems, however, to have been a certain amount of individual choice, for "sometimes a girl liked a boy. They would tell her, 'That boy, he has nothing,' but she liked him, and she married him anyway." 584

A boy who wanted to marry sneaked into the girl's camp at night to lie beside her. The parents would say, "Somebody comes here," and the old woman would get up and make a fire to see who had come. They looked at the boy but said nothing. If the girl accepted him he stayed until morning; then he sneaked away, being ashamed to eat there. He came back again, and finally stayed. If the girl did not want him, he went off not to return. The old people had many wives like that—maybe one here, maybe one down toward Alturas, maybe one at Pyramid lake (JB). 583

Marriage was conducted on extremely informal lines, polygyny and brittle monogamy being the rule rather than the exception. Thus, "a good hunter had many wives; in the old days they used to marry until they were too old to walk." A man might have two or three wives at a time, usually, but not necessarily sisters. He had a right to the sisters of his wife, but he was not obligated to take them; "he could marry just one sister if he did not want the others." His wives lived in the same house, or at least in the same camp. I was gravely assured that "they never quarreled," but the picture of domestic bliss was shattered by Minnie who claimed that "often they fought." 595

Blood relationship was the only bar to marriage. Informants agreed that cousins were "brothers," and that children of half-brothers could not marry[219] because "we call them like full brothers." An individual usually married within his own band or a related Paviotso band. There was no feeling for local exogamy. Concerning foreign marriages, "they never married with the Klamath. Sometimes a man would go to the Pit River country and marry, but he did not bring his wife back here. That is why all the old Pit River people can understand Paiute. Pit River men did not come here and take wives." Women captured in war were taken as wives. There seems to be relatively little intermarriage even at present. I recall a few random cases: George Brown is married to an Achomawi woman and lives at Likely (Pit River territory). Nellie Townsend's father was a "Digger" (Maidu ?) from Susanville, her mother a Paviotso; Minnie Archie's father and his sister, Warm Springs Indians, both married Paiutes. There are doubtless other cases, especially of marriage with the Achomawi. 582 835 [727]

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[219] Cf. Kroeber, California Kinship Systems, 362.

714 tion of arrow or bullet proof shirts, but "in the old days bullets were soft, and the Indians had tough skins. The bullets did not hurt them; they just burned a little, the same as when a horse is hit." Warriors [302] sometimes painted the face red and put feathers in their hair. For the most part, facial paint seems to have been used on festive rather than martial occasions.

712 Rock walls erected for protection against the enemy were called na'a'kwi-nobi (na'a'kwi, shooting; nobi, house, camp). They were of sufficient height to allow a seated person to shoot over the top. These are doubtless the "fences" to which Sapir's Wishram informant has reference.[248]

Scalping

● 727 As regards scalping, opinions are divided. All agree that the Klamath, Warm Springs, and Achomawi scalped readily. Minnie Anderson said that her uncle was scalped by the Warm Springs Indians, but that the Paiute did not scalp. Nevertheless, Joshua's statement is convincing:

> I have never seen a scalp, but when a Paiute killed an Achomawi, he cut around the forehead and the back of the head and pulled off the hair. In those days they wore long hair. I don't know where they learned to scalp. They took full-sized ones, cutting back of the ears and around the edge of the hair.

And upon another occasion:

> Some wore scalps (tüwo'ks) If we found Warm Springs, or Achomawi, or Klamath Indians on our land, we watched them and told everybody. Someone said, "Shoot them; shoot them and scalp them." Maybe we killed one or two.

In this connection Joshua also reported the scalp dance. Dr. Sam was not certain that his Paiute band used to take scalps, but he was inclined to think so. On the other hand, Piudy affirmed:

> Other Indians scalped but not our Paiute. They took them on a line with the eyebrows and pulled them off. We just killed an enemy; we did not cut off his hands or feet.

It may be significant that the Wishram do not mention scalping by the Paiute. Tom Anderson denied both scalping and mutilation of the dead; "but when the Shoshone killed the Paiute they cut them all to pieces."

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[248] Wishram Texts, 217.

To the north and to the south the range gra-
dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. 101 133 It is probable that to the south they were separated from the [131] Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by 648 both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that intermarriage was frequent. [589] I have often been told by members of both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives [127] ● home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach 101 through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. 131 They do not seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the [361] eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its [316] "mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes, Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war. Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the 133 northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

report of 1876 it was stated that there were 762 Paiutes on the reservation.[11] 648

Major Sam Parish was the first agent and was extremely popular with the 657
Indians. He was replaced in 1876 by Rinehart, a political appointee[12] who swindled and maltreated the Indians. As a result, soon after he took over, more than three hundred people disappeared from the reservation. Some of them wandered south into northern Nevada and east to Duck Valley under the leadership of Winimucca. Members of the Wada Eater band took up residence on the eastern slopes of the [721]
Steenes Mountains. It was here that the Bannocks found large groups of sympathizers when they went on the war path in 1878. Winimucca and his followers kept out of the fight, but Egan and Oites, with a following of Wada Eaters, Hunibui Eaters, Salmon Eaters, and some Ground Hog Eaters from Fort Bidwell, joined in the uprising.

After the war was over, the Paiute rebels were taken to the Yakima Reserva- 727
tion in Washington. The ringleaders, especially Oites and his family, were trans- 648
ferred to the Warm Springs Reservation. The followers of Winimucca and some of 657
the other Paiutes who did not join in the war moved south and settled around McDermitt. The government tried to induce them to return to the Malheur Reservation but they refused; so in 1882 the land was given back to the state.

The Paiutes transferred to Yakima did not like their new home. They did 648
not get on with the Yakima Indians, whom they considered traditional enemies. 657
Gradually, in little groups, they stole off the reservation and returned to squat on land which was part of their old terrain. In 1895 it was reported that there were about 200 Indians around Surprise and Warner Valleys.[13] Some groups moved onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Other groups squatted on the land near Burns, Oregon. Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot land to some of the Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit.[14]

In 1910-1914 there was a land boom in Harney Valley, and a large group of settlers who thought they could make a success of dry farming moved in and [425]
bought land. Twenty-seven of the Indians sold their allotments at this time. Those who still owned land seemed to prefer to live with the other members of the band, [186]
and the entire group, which numbered about one hundred and thirty in all, squatted

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[11] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[12] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[13] G. F. Brimlow, *op. cit.*, page cited 196, from report of Forsyth to Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895, U. S. D. W., A. G. O., Exec. Div., old files.

[14] J. S. Donegan's report to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1931.

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older
[835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time.
581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to 186
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, 829
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason
for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist 829
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid
lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the [727] ●
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or
throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern [648]
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians 114
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute
implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that
they must have been made by the Pit River Indians

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tobatuka.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [361]
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge [103]

Wadatkuht

648 425 days were those individuals who walked north to the Bannock country and stole horses from them. One such man was Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Köpadkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiute man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] [492] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse stealing was one such element. The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

● 727 535 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'öpökama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaka', "that"; ö, "your"; pö, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

N 726 648

Panai'na's camp "of about sixty new and deserted lodges, evidently left not more than three days before, and in and around them fragments of beeves that their occupants had feasted upon. The tracks of American horses, ponies, mules and cattle, all coming in from the northward, were numerous and but recently made."[172]

In September, 1864, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the military to locate Panai'na before he went into winter quarters.[173]

Panai'na did not attend either the pre-treaty conference Huntington held at Ft. Klamath late in August, 1864, or the treaty proceedings of October 9-15,[174] although apparently he had been invited to do so.[175] Immediately after the 1864 treaty-signing, however, Huntington sent LaLakes, so-called Klamath "high chief," to Panai'na with a peace message. LaLakes delivered the message, obtained a reply from Panai'na, and left him to return to Ft. Klamath. That same day Huntington and his party, consisting of Indian Agent William Logan, a military escort, and several Warm Springs Indian scouts, while on the trail north from Ft. Klamath to Dalles, Ore., captured one or two Snakes belonging to Panai'na's band, at the mouth of Mill-ke-ke Creek at the Crossing of the Deschutes River. A search was made for the Snakes' camp, and it was found, about fifteen miles east of the mouth of the creek. At the camp, which was a small one, three Snake men, three women and one or two children were captured. One of the captured women was Panai'na's wife, and one of the children his child. Four of the captured men were killed, but one managed to flee to Panai'na. Three of the women and the two children, including Panai'na's wife and child, were taken north by Huntington and put in the custody of Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord at Ft. Vancouver, W. T., for the winter.[176]

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N 648 728

Panai'na protested this killing and capturing of his people, through a messenger, "Sky-ti-at-titk, a Snake Indian,"[177] whom he sent to Ft. Klamath on Nov. 1, 1864.[178] Ten days later Panai'na himself came to the Fort to tell Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, that he was tired of war with the Whites, that he

648 wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the
728 preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath]
[161] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads
[131] to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was
[622] the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

ly with the whites" and to make arrangements with Huntington for 648 peace, as soon as the snow was off the ground. He also sent word 728 that he himself would come to Ft. Klamath after the snow was off the mountains, and would wait at the Fort until his wife was returned to him. Motcunka'skEt informed Kelly that "the Snakes were [731] suffering from Starvation."[186]

Huntington planned to meet Panai'na in the spring when the trail from the Dalles to Ft. Klamath would be open.[187] By July, consequently, Huntington was at Warm Springs Agency, having with him under guard "two of the women and one of the children captured in [October, 1864]...the other woman and child being left, too sick to travel, at Warm Springs." Later, at Klamath, through the two captive women and "the partially friendly Klamaths"[188] Huntington "got into communication with Pau-li-ne or Pah-ni-nes, chief of the Woll-pah-pe Snakes" and on Aug. 12, 1865 Panai'na and ten other Northern Paiute signed a treaty at Council Bluffs in Sprague River Valley.[189]

3.2. The Post-Treaty Walpapi. Two months after the treaty-signing Panai'na reported to Capt. W. V. Rinehart at Ft. Klamath that "all the Indians of his tribe who stipulated to come in" were in "MoshenKosk-ka's Country"[190] and that he wished to talk either to Huntington or to Lindsay Applegate, newly appointed Klamath Indian Sub-agent.[191] When Applegate came from Ashland Mills to Klamath as a result of this request, he first of all tried, during the middle of October, 1865, and using LaLakes, Motcunka'skEt and Panai'na as intermediaries, to persuade the hostile Snake chief Howlark, then reported to be in "Blie" or "Moshenkosket's country,"[192] to come in and make peace. This attempt failed. Toward the end of October Panai'na and "two other principal men of his tribe, 'Enkaltoik' and 'Chat-chat-chuck'[193] returned to the Fort with 'LaLakes' " and Applegate had a talk with the Snakes, explaining to them the boundaries of the Reservation and telling Panai'na that he and his people must stay within these boundaries. At that time Panai'na was located in Sprague River Valley: "His

648 728 people," he told Applegate, "were not all upon the reservation, but he would bring them within its limits immediately."[194]

Two months later, at the end of December, 1865, Lindsay Applegate met Panai'na again at Ft. Klamath. This time Panai'na had with him four men, and eighteen women and children, all of whom had been wintering in "Moshenkosket's Country." The Snake leader told Applegate that this group comprised all of his people who "were with him on the Reservation....the greater part of his people in opposition to his wishes had gone to pass the winter in that part of the country where his wife was taken prisoner in 1864, and that they had promised to join him on the Reservation early in the spring."[195]

648 166 After Applegate left Ft. Klamath Panai'na and his group returned to upper Sprague River Valley, where they stayed until April 22, 1866. On that date Panai'na, Tchatchaktchaksh, and the other Walpapi suddenly ran off without telling either Motcunka'skEt[196] or LaLakes that they intended to leave the Reservation. A messenger from Motcunka'skEt to Maj. Rinehart reported, a few days after the fact, that the Snakes had left as the result of a summons to war from the Snake chief Howlark. Two Indians were sent out by Motcunka'skEt to find where Panai'na had gone. Rinehart later reported to Huntington that these scouts "went to Summer Lake then to Silver Lake and found no Indians but saw one fire far northward towards Dechutes river. They seem to think from tracks and signs that he has gone to the vicinity on Dechutes where you captured his family and killed those Indians. The Klamath chiefs agree unanimously that he has broken the treaty and deceived them and that he has gone not to return."[197]

At first Huntington was inclined to be hopeful that Panai'na had merely returned to spend the summer "in the region between Crooked River on the north, Harney Lake on the east, Summer and Upper Klamath Lakes [Klamath Marsh] on the south, and Mt. [137] Paulinee and Queah Valley on the west. This tract of country included in these bounds... affords fine grass. This band of Indians

167. Drew, ibid., p. 5.

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343. 133

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord. 103

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. 1, p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ni-ne, war chief of a band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864). 648 720

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panai'na's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144. [114]

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panai'na very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panai'na.

ly with the whites" and to make arrangements with Huntington for peace, as soon as the snow was off the ground. He also sent word that he himself would come to Ft. Klamath after the snow was off the mountains, and would wait at the Fort until his wife was returned to him. Motcunka'skEt informed Kelly that "the Snakes were suffering from Starvation."[186]

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361 holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The
621 head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of
592 these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up
[595] Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish
224 made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets
[476] were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared,
● [731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups
[221] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more
462 than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women
476 of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely
183] essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. [731] ● At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. 237 The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. 301 Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. [226] [262] [439] The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. [756] Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787] The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. [192] Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called potE.

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. 824 The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[44] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar.

pamahapo, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wip.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten. [262]

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip.

sawipi, sawapi, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[44] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [313]

Wadátkuht

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching 361
for the native houses constructed at this village. Except [824]
for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about
one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the [342]
Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other
winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be
assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not.

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as 22
might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin [171]
pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their
territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that
presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed
to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed [423]
producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It
seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family
getting there first expecting to have no competition unless
they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often in- 22
vited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn- 648
rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility.

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only 22
among those families too improvident to secure and store an 185
adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households 735
that worked diligently collecting food during the other three

Wadátkuht

22 seasons usually were prepared during the winter months to
185 feed themselves adequately. We thus have the real life
enactment of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, except
735 that in this case the grasshopper did not get taken in and
fed. Those households having an adequate winter supply of
22 food, when visited by their hungry fellow camp members, re-
476 marked to the hungry visitors how poor and hungry they, too,
735 were. They also told them that the prospects of getting any
fresh meat were dim because they had holes in their moccasins
and could not go hunting in the snow. When it became obvious
to the hungry visitors that they were not going to get any
[252] food they returned home as hungry as they came. However,
just as soon as the hungry people left and were out of hear-
[262] ing, the provident family prepared a meal by quietly grinding
acorns into flour which was ultimately mixed with sunflower
[264] seed flour and cooked as a mush. This was usually eaten with
dried deer meat. The preparation of the meal often occurred
very late at night, at a time when hungry neighbors were
asleep and could not hear the preparations for the meal.

735 Harsh treatment to hungry neighbors, such as has just
476 been related, apparently fell upon those individuals or
families too lazy to provide for themselves. Those who lost their food supply through no fault of their own, or those people dependent upon their relatives (e.g., old parents and children) were given more consideration than those whose hunger stemmed from laziness.

222 The following is a listing, by season, of the resources obtained from the Wadátkuht environment. This listing is not exhaustive but gives a reasonably complete account of the subsistence activities of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

[133] It should again be pointed out that the Wadátkuht were
exceptionally fortunate to have within their territory a
[262] portion of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It was from this
portion of their habitat that they obtained quantities of
acorns, a food item which tended to make their existence
more secure than that of their more desert oriented relatives.
[251] Acorns could be stored for two or even three years, thus
insuring against famine. There was, however, danger of the
acorn crop being frozen by an early frost before they had been
gathered, dried and stored. In addition to the all-important
acorn the Wadátkuht had numerous varieties of plants with
which they were familiar and from which they could gather
quantities of seeds, berries and roots. Unfortunately, it
was not always possible for the author to make a full

000 regarded more or less like one's own mother. One informant said that formerly a man spoke with neither his wife's parents nor with her brother except through his wife, but the very inclusion of the latter relative renders the statement of doubtful value (see below), and as explained, the consensus of native opinion was clearly in the opposite direction. It may be noted that on the same Reservation there are also Arapaho Indians, whose observance of the taboo is a well-known fact, and possibly my informant's remark was in part due to this circumstance. In the beginning of married life the Wind River husband was looked upon as more or less of a hired man who was expected to perform odd jobs. Similar conditions prevailed among the Shivwits.

From all the available data I conclude that the mother-in-law taboo was not a feature of the ancient Shoshonean culture and that its occurrence among the Lemhi is merely due to probably Crow and Blackfoot contact.

I obtained no evidence of a joking-relationship in any of the tribes here specially considered, but a usage recorded among the Comanche will be noted presently.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni brothers-in-law are especially friendly. This also applies to the Comanche, in which tribe the brothers-in-law play jokes on each other and have a peculiar privilege in cases of adultery, as illustrated by a personal experience of Mr. Hope M. Fullbright, who grew up among the Comanche. An Indian had been guilty of adultery and his brother-in-law confiscated his horse, one of his hogs and some other property (all comprised under the term *nánawðkip*), and gave all to the aggrieved husband. However, such property was regarded as undesirable and the new owner at once disposed of the horse and hog, selling the former to Mr. Fullbright for $5 and the latter for $2 (one-fifth of its real value). Mr. Fullbright saw no reason why he should not ride the newly bought horse, but found that all the Indians looked down upon him for doing so; accordingly he exchanged it for a horse belonging to another white man. Against this no objection was raised. The Comanche treated a brother's wife and a wife's sister with familiarity and called them by the same term as their real wives.

603 A Pyramid Lake Paviotso told me that in his tribe an orphaned
593 child was usually taken care of by the maternal grandmother. At Love-
locks I was informed that a Paviotso woman would never walk with any
.736 man but her husband.

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to
peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[78]
[761] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the
● [745] chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of black-
[648] ened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic break-
fast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood.
[826] Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital
treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure
N better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuc-
W cessfully using peyote.

• 771 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members
said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at
787 least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[79] Peyote visions of
*795 dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[80] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new
N peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious
W aspect of the cult.[81]

171 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function
276 also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero
*795 as peyote's principal virtue.[82] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as
fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[83]

N Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious
W grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First,
178 peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, re-
771 sisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral
*795 speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[84] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is
N implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal
W guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meet-
[797] ing he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[78] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[79] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[80] Petrullo writes, "... a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[81] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[82] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[83] La Barre, 72.

[84] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

was reported by Pindy, "Take the stem (wood) of sagebrush and twist it with bark. Then light the end and it will keep burning. Keep waving it." 372

The eyeshade was not used, but people traveling in the snow smeared charcoal under the eyes to prevent blindness. 293
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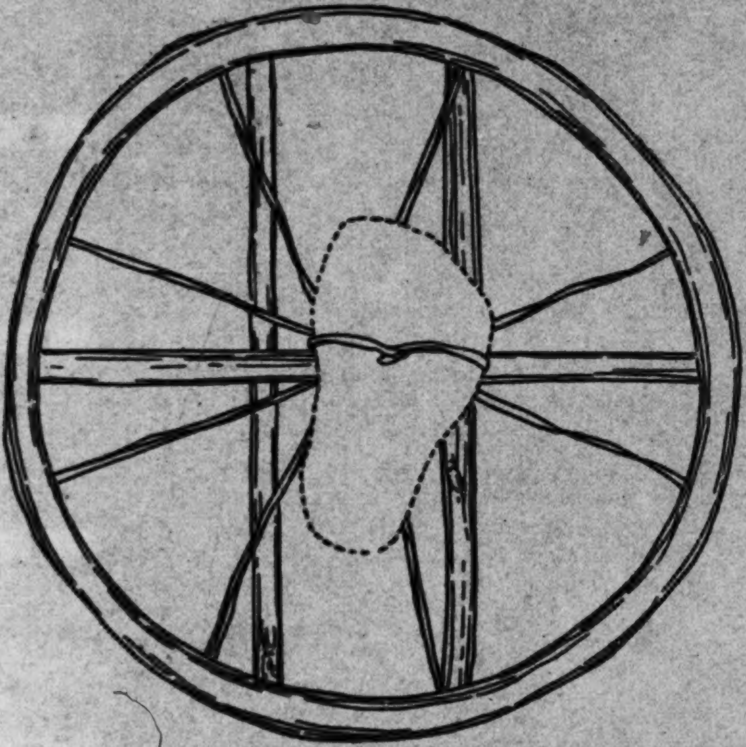

Fig. 10. Snowshoe. Redrawn from a sketch by Charlie Washo.

Snowshoes.—Snowshoes (sikū') were made by men "because they knew how." Women did not wear snowshoes. The frame was sometimes of willow, but usually of service, and was round. Small sticks of the same wood were used in lieu of netting. According to Daisy, two sticks were crossed at right angles and the ends lashed to the frame. The foot was placed over the center, and a thong passing across the instep was tied at either side to the stick. This could not have been very secure, but she denied the use of additional fasteners. Pindy said that the foot was tied three times from toe to instep and

SWEATING, AND SWEAT-HOUSES.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
751 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typi-
[171] cal Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of wil-
low wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found to-
[171] day in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
[177] from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many
people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the old men frown on it.

CLOTHING.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men
wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative. There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisi-
tion (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
[174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing
nothing but a kilt.

Washo NT20

N
805 grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-
month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha);
822 "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "ground-
hog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence,
nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining
names could be given.

W
2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

[805 2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc;
summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February),
822] tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N
2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by
821 throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was ques-
789 tioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the
first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N
● 751 2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N
787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N
522 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at
773 Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd:
Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p.445(B)]

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a deceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account. 776 [775] 787

When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt him. [751]

Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well. [755]

One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to. 755

Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time. 825

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way. 756 787 776

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865 when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should 861 love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867 with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867 which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754] and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152] afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756 people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 754] The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power, but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty. Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783 rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back." Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152 him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

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[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead. [751]

> above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran 756
> up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the 787
> other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the 159
> wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by
> the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came
> up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he
> had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told
> Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river
> and bathe and put i·bi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify [751]
> both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result
> from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy
> Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is
> now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee)

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other 756
relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of 787
property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like
other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably [768]
destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death.

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the [775]
first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power.

> Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

775
753 dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of
[774] the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his
mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing
stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for
the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts
(sa'ab') and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however,
may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the
camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family
of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the
dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who
were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These
ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and
in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore
evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes
of illness.

775 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate
756 with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity
753 from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appearance
of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause immediate
and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to counteract
their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirl-
[789] wind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction
and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You
are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other
way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in preventing
the sickness that frequently follows such an experience.
[782 The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be
751] forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the
morning.

775 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of
753 the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls
774 from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the
756 journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness resulting
from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering
from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but
by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his
powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover,
soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

> A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
> He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
> [presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787
> sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the 756
> poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had
> to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim
> would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

> Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753
not generally recognized:

> Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul 756
> is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to
> kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

> When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[354] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755
required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^a (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752 ●
once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Pindy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

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[354] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

●752 sucked a wound. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time. He did not have to cut or suck the wound. He told it not to swell. The rattlesnake was his friend; he dreamed about him; and he carried one around his neck all the time. He put Star chewing tobacco on the bite." Daisy also spoke of a "doctor who was like a snake charmer" and who was the only one able to cure snake bite.

755 No one but a shaman attempted to treat nosebleed. Daisy said, "They must have a special doctor for that, but there are none living now. A doctor used mostly horsehair; he told the patient to tie his head with it."

Headache resulted when blood in the head was "too thick," and for relief the forehead between the eyes was slashed and the blood let. This was performed by "somebody who knew how," presumably a shaman, although Nettie de Gamo, who gives this treatment nowadays, is not so regarded. For earache or for deafness, a shaman blew tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') smoke in the patient's ear to clear the passages.

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278 A broken bone was enclosed in two or three flat splints bound on with deer hide. The crushed leaves of kusi'agüp^{a} (said to be the same as a'gü', *Wyethia mollis* Gray) were applied as a poultice. The same medicine was used for sprains and to reduce swellings. As an alternative treatment for the latter, one might apply the mashed leaves of bawa'natizua (*Chaenactis douglasii* H. and A.) or of wada'^{a}-kwasi' (squirrel-tail; *Achillea millefolium* var. *lanulosa* Piper). The crushed root of do''sa^{aba} (*Leptotaenia multifida* Nutt.) was a remedy for both sores and swellings. For sores, one might use a poultice of mashed leaves of na'mogu'd (*Penstemon deustus* Dougl.) or a salve of the roots of dotsi'toniga (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.).

Deep cuts were washed with tea of sagebrush leaves. The blue-tailed skink (puhi'-kwida'mugus; green, blue-lizard) was dried, powdered, and sprinkled on deep cuts. Tüba'süp roots were dried, pounded, and spread over bruises. Blisters were opened but were given no other treatment. For burns, tüba'süp or a powder of burned cat-tail pods was helpful. Roots or leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} were chewed and applied to bee stings. Informants had not heard of skunk bite. Sometimes a coyote with rabies would bite a dog and it in turn would bite a person. There was no known cure for such cases; shamans and medicines were ineffectual.

There was no remedy for frost bite.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

755 he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

[774] When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

[264] About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

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755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

[775] Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

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755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then the patient is all right. 752 755

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. 756 [465] [753] [688]

About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to give back the fee. [577]

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power. 755 753

Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralysed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once. [841]

A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows. 756

THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS

As has been shown, there are four major causes of illness recognized by the 755
Paiutes and diagnosed by the doctors. It is formally stated that the doctor [753]
decides with the help of his power which type of disease is responsible for
the condition of a patient. When asked, informants said that there was no way of diagnosing from symptoms and that no layman could predict what a doctor's power would tell him. They refused to recognize the fact that often the relatives and the community as a whole have definite ideas as to the nature of the disease before they ever summon a doctor. They refused to recognize that doctors do not choose at random from the possible explanations, and that their choice is usually in accord with, and influenced by, public opinion.

I have attempted to discover the unformalized criteria which both the laymen [121]
and doctors use in diagnosing disease. Cases which were complete enough to give
an analyzable segment of the social events preceding the sickness were selected for study and it was found that there were similarities in the life events, in the ages, and in the circumstances surrounding the onset of sickness of people who were said to suffer from the same diseases.

A study of the cases where the patient's own power was given as the cause of 753
illness suggests that this diagnosis is given when some of the following conditions [755]
are present: when the patient is young; when one of the patient's parents or close
relatives has power; when the patient is known or rumored to have power or when he can remember recurrent dreams; when the patient has special talents which he does or does not use; or when some major affliction, such as blindness, occurs when the patient is still young.

Helen's illness at the time of the birth of her only son, Bill, is an example of a case of sickness caused by one's own power. Helen's father died when she was a year and a half old, and her mother was held responsible for his death by her in-
laws. According to Helen he fell from a wild horse which he attempted to ride [752]
when drunk. In any case, his family made it so unpleasant for Helen's mother that
she set out all alone on one of her husband's horses for Fort Bidwell. There she married J. Smith, a cousin of her deceased husband. The children were brought up by their grandparents and Helen did not see her mother until six years later when she and her two youngest brothers were sent to the Indian boarding school at Fort Bidwell.

Helen was the youngest child in school and does not seem to have been very happy except during vacations when she stayed with her mother. She was fond

> away the dirt in the circles. In the dirt of the first two circles he found 755
> nothing. In the third he found a small hard object that looked like a piece of copper. It was about the size of a ten-cent piece and there was a hole in the center. Natches then said, "I think this woman will recover." He told them to tie the small object to the top of my mother's head with her hair. He said that she must keep it there for ten days. The next morning she felt better. In seven or eight days she was almost well. On the tenth day she got up and walked. (Joe Green)
>
> Captain Dave was almost dead. His mind was gone. Two shamans were doctoring him. They quit because they could do nothing for him. People brought Bull Tom to doctor Captain Dave. Bull Tom said, "I am going to lie down here. I am going to find him. His mind is already gone. Maybe I cannot find him. I do not know how long he has been gone. Maybe it is too long." Bull Tom was in a trance for a long time. Then he was heard talking softly. He was still a long way off. We heard him say, "Do not be afraid. We are going home. We are going back to your home. We will go from here over to that mountain. Your boy, your daughter, your wife are all there. We are going back and see all of them there. Do not look back. Bad animals are back there. Do not go back; we will be home soon." Then Bull Tom came out of his trance. He told Captain Dave's family to blow on the top of Captain Dave's head. Captain Dave woke up. He recognized all the people around him. Bull Tom turned the doctoring over to the other shamans then. Captain Dave recovered and lived for many years. (Joe Green)

Shamans cure wounds and injuries as well as illness. The treat- 756
ment is substantially the same for all. Usually shamans suck out 752
arrowheads and bullets. In case of internal injury they draw off the blood which is believed to prevent recovery. Certain shamans, such as Wovoka, are credited with unusually strong powers for curing the injured and the wounded. No particular source of power is associated with this form of practice; such shamans also cure disease.

War parties are often accompanied by at least one shaman. He 756
takes part in the fighting, and only when hostilities are over does 726
he treat the wounded. The shaman utilizes his power while on 752
the war-path solely for purposes of doctoring. The only exception is the shaman whose power not only enables him to cure but also makes him invulnerable. Invulnerability is occasionally exhibited in peace-times simply to demonstrate the shaman's mastery of supernatural spirits. It is not probable that these public exhibitions were ever very common.

756 726 752 Fighting and treating the wounded are the shaman's only functions on the war-path. He does not invoke the aid of his powers for the success of the party, nor does he prophesy the outcome of the venture.

WEATHER-CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

789 756 Although the shaman's function is chiefly to cure disease, control of the elements, the ability to foretell future events, and the discovery of lost articles, are all within the ability of at least some shamans. Usually shamanistic manipulation of the weather serves no practical need.[18] Often it is simply a means of demonstrating the control of supernatural power. By waving a feather or by singing, shamans may cause the clear sky to become cloudy, the wind to blow, or rain to fall. They can also stop wind and rain or banish the clouds that they have brought. Although the predominant motive in weather-control is this exhibition of power, shamans have been known in the past to manipulate weather for the benefit of the community. This weather-control is chiefly concerned with causing changes in the elements in order to bring about a badly-needed run of fish in the rivers. It is said that fish may be induced to go up the river in the spring by causing the ice to melt or by bringing about a wind that will force them to the mouth of the river. When ice covers the rivers late in the spring, delaying the run of fish from the lakes, a shaman known to have control over the elements is asked to cause warm weather and rain to melt the ice. Only a few shamans, however, have this power.

> During the winter the river was frozen over. The men could not fish. In the spring the people were hungry. There were no fish in the river. There was too much ice. It was cold. The people talked about it. They were talking about asking a certain shaman here (Pyramid Lake) who could help them. He had the power to bring a warm wind that would melt the ice. They sent two or three men to the shaman. They asked him to make the wind blow. The shaman sang and the ice was made to melt. Then the fish started up the river. The people caught many of them. They paid the shaman with fish. Everyone gave him fish. If the

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[782] [18] A form of weather-control is practised at the social round dances. While the dancers are moving in a circle a headman, not necessarily one with supernatural power, walks around praying for rain in order to insure abundant wild products.

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A [752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds. [232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because [182] the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part [124] of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two [683] other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

Wadatkuht

"carry out his orders", while he nuhpu, "doctors". 755

The doctor sucked several times then hummed, tunikihm, while all the other people sang his song loudly. When he stopped his singing to hum, the other people sang on. The humming indicated the approach of the spirit, nosihp. His nosihp talked to him while he hummed. His helper interpreted while he hummed. Meanwhile, the people continued to sing. [776]

The doctor sang different songs, very pretty songs with pretty words. He sang of the mountains, the sun, the moon, and of the springtime. It was a good sign if the patient broke into the doctor's song. [533]

The doctor eventually got up and danced; the women (and sometimes the men) got up and followed behind him. As they went around in a circle the interpreter got up and danced with them. "The dance was like a conga line." Everyone kept in step with the doctor's song. They circled to the left about three times around the patient while singing the doctor's song. The doctor began to stagger and spin in a circle, but before he dropped several men grabbed him and laid him down. [787] At this time he was stiff and unconscious, and while in this condition he spoke. He remained in this state for about one-half hour during which time everyone continued to sing his song. When he came out of his sleep the interpreter helped him sit up. He now talked about his dreams and how he argued with the devils and spirits for the patient's life, and sometimes he told the people that the patient was going to die.

As soon as the doctor awakened the people asked him such questions: Will the patient get well? What is bothering the sick person? The doctor gave instructions to the child's parents (or in the case of an adult patient, to some close relative) on the care of the patient. Usually the close relatives were to go to a spring and wash themselves and pray.

While the doctor was unconscious and the patient lying ill, everyone watched the eagle feather in the can. If it fluttered the patient would get well, if it drooped he would probably die. The feather usually took either course on the fourth night. [787]

Doctoring for a Rattlesnake Bite. The woman who doctored Joaquin when he was bitten by a rattlesnake was Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl", Tsudi's mother. The name of the plant whose 752 [278]

WadatKuht

752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup^{a}. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^{a} to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, Kukwa^{p}ta, if one knew the correct words.

821 [789] [177] Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^{b} - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 513 825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
[presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787
sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the 756
poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had
to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim
would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753 ●
not generally recognized:

Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul 756
is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to
kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[254] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755
required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752
once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Piudy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

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[254] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N W A 824 776 759

N W A 787

N W A 784

N ● 753

N W 172

	Ts	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Whirlwind (pitcumava)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2732. You will carry a deer	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	·	·	·	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
2738. Crow call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2739. Dove call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740. Meadowlark call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2295a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
2741a. Finger rots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	·	·	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2743. Gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
2745. Informants had only heard of them	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2748. "Devil"	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

[p. 448]

N 721 173 raided them and drove them out of the country (GN). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave (LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley. This explains why so many arrow and spear points have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The war against Sai is only one about which DW knew. "The Sai were from around Klamath River and raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands aided in battle. This happened three generations W [721] ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger" was remembered by LR. One person was killed. Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe) only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War. The Indians showed generals how it could be done. They formed a circle around German trenches (JM). Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The Tagō had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Paiute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was A [721, 173] generations ago, the other was in historic time and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and killed all the girls who had been taken captive to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble at home. There were many people killed, "maybe 4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N 778 832 ● 753 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered, mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin, the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm. It is dangerous to possess such a charm because it might enter one's body through a sore or something and kill owner. It causes sickness like blood poisoning. Tö: A mole charm is dangerous medicine. N [755] One made an Indian boy sick a little while ago, and he would have died if the Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was painted and father was forced to throw away his mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to be very dangerous.

N 944 [115] 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement 5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

[p. 441 (A)]

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack 756
of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the 182
old confidence in their powers.

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person 756
of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman 787
may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves.

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

> A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the [778]
eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer, badger, or coyote skin.

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sick- [753] ●
ness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the dreams.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish 756
to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when 755
a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do 787
as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 778

756 parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured. 755 If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people, 787 but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a 776 person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses ● [752] his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

756 787 Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related the following dream.

> I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness. I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick [755] people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical [776] beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies." They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

[753] When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of sickness.

The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snakebite. [823]

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground
at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The
door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his
kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was
the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the
sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions
that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on
each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the
interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise.
"It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe
around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times
he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and
sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue
to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He
spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the
patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and
the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated
by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each
person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman
sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay
him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing,
and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They
should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle
feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour
to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is
very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter,
what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring
about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The
shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

> He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then 752 755
> the patient is all right.

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the 756
sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five
dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old [865]
days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman
asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs [753]
harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. [868]

> About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he
was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected
to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others [577]
stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to
give back the fee.

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a 755
sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the 753
relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of
his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition
the shaman will sicken and lose his power.

> Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If [841]
a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it
at once.

> A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any 756
kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756 dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787 Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521] gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. [554] Children, on the other hand, get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869 type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183] theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756 all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177] too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754 mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869 place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756 of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753] explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

THE Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who [754
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own [776]
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775]
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated
murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's [787]
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. [756]
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish [755]
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake [787]
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagno-
[755] sis. Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter
again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on
him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sick-
[776] ness one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have
seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to
Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she
worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a
result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times
because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were
forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a
result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and
when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of
the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to
Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[3] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It [761]
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally
broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[4] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made
Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by
sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well
which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to
capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the daytime
or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[3] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[4] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

753 775 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts. In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
[761] was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse. While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died. He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he was going one way." The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
[755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attrib-
[761] uted many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.

This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 753 775
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but some- 757]
times he calls in a doctor.[8]

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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[8] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases. Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists. In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending
[757] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological
treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied
externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may
782 pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he
776 splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the
sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting,
757 paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the
operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if
new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or
protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's
immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and,
if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected
and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after
sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on
which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or
with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The
relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor
756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to
work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of
[753] becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a
755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the
756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a
pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays,
when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

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[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

of diagnosis, sometimes part of the cure, and sometimes for both. In one instance, 755
Dr. Damin sucked at the top of Dick Jonas' head when he sought to discover his ailment. Dick was unconscious at the time and Dr. Damin diagnosed the case as "loss of breath." In another case, Dr. Thomas sucked a snake out of Ellen and stated that a ghost was responsible for the illness. On the other hand, in several cases when the patient had a localized pain, the doctor cured the illness by sucking out some foreign object.

Sometimes the "laying on of hands" or the touching of the patient's body with a feather seems to be directly related to diagnosis, at other times to curing. Although the singing and appeal to the power seem to be most often solely for diagnosis, in one case it was stated that the doctor's songs drew the bad power from the patient's body.

It is possible to deduce several generalizations concerning the method of curing certain diseases. When the doctor decides that an illness is caused by sorcery, [754]
he does one of three things. He may discover the identity of the sorcerer, and persuade him to repent and to call off his power by bathing and praying to the sun; or he may suck the diseased object sent by the sorcerer out of the patient's body and cure him without the aid of the sorcerer; or he may exorcise the bad power by song alone without sucking, or by both singing and sucking.

When the disease is found to be caused by the patient's own power several [753]
things may be done. The doctor may take the power away from the patient either by sucking it out or in some other way, thus permanently removing the power; or he may take the power out, "fix it up" and restore it to the patient. If the doctor finds that the patient has failed to obey the power, he determines the unheeded orders and instructs the patient to carry them out in the future. If it is found that the patient is suffering because of the loss of his power through theft, the doctor can discover the thief and see that the power is returned. Lastly, if the patient is suffering because he has lost part of his paraphernalia, the doctor can, with the aid of his own power, find the lost object, or he can make a copy of it for the patient.

When the diagnosis is ghost sickness, as a general rule the doctor does not [775
suck. He identifies the ghost who is trying to steal the patient's breath and attempts 753]
to drive it away with his power songs, or he prescribes rituals, such as sprinkling ashes around the house or putting bunches of wild rose by the door, to keep the ghost away in the future. If the ghost has already made off with the patient's breath, the doctor can cure him only by pursuing the breath. A doctor who special- [774]
izes in breath-catching has a formalized procedure. He dances until his breath begins to leave him, then he either falls or lies down beside the patient. Often he has his assistants cover both him and the patient with the same blanket. According to native theory, the doctor is like a dead man when his breath goes up the Milky Way after the patient's breath. His voice travels with his breath and reports

THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS

As has been shown, there are four major causes of illness recognized by the 755 Paiutes and diagnosed by the doctors. It is formally stated that the doctor [753] decides with the help of his power which type of disease is responsible for the condition of a patient. When asked, informants said that there was no way of diagnosing from symptoms and that no layman could predict what a doctor's power would tell him. They refused to recognize the fact that often the relatives and the community as a whole have definite ideas as to the nature of the disease before they ever summon a doctor. They refused to recognize that doctors do not choose at random from the possible explanations, and that their choice is usually in accord with, and influenced by, public opinion.

I have attempted to discover the unformalized criteria which both the laymen [121] and doctors use in diagnosing disease. Cases which were complete enough to give an analyzable segment of the social events preceding the sickness were selected for study and it was found that there were similarities in the life events, in the ages, and in the circumstances surrounding the onset of sickness of people who were said to suffer from the same diseases.

A study of the cases where the patient's own power was given as the cause of 753 illness suggests that this diagnosis is given when some of the following conditions [755] are present: when the patient is young; when one of the patient's parents or close relatives has power; when the patient is known or rumored to have power or when he can remember recurrent dreams; when the patient has special talents which he does or does not use; or when some major affliction, such as blindness, occurs when the patient is still young.

Helen's illness at the time of the birth of her only son, Bill, is an example of a case of sickness caused by one's own power. Helen's father died when she was a year and a half old, and her mother was held responsible for his death by her in-laws. According to Helen he fell from a wild horse which he attempted to ride [752] when drunk. In any case, his family made it so unpleasant for Helen's mother that she set out all alone on one of her husband's horses for Fort Bidwell. There she married J. Smith, a cousin of her deceased husband. The children were brought up by their grandparents and Helen did not see her mother until six years later when she and her two youngest brothers were sent to the Indian boarding school at Fort Bidwell.

Helen was the youngest child in school and does not seem to have been very happy except during vacations when she stayed with her mother. She was fond

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her
mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she
[584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood
playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on
[578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and
Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant
again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have
[754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many
enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's
mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly
torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the
birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa
755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had
[753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she
had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the
importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked
her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt
that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her.
Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets
and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The
matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting
doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take
Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she
had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even
hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor
578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself.
Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that
he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [784]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day,
two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out
with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

755 753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his [787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work. 781] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild [164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind and his daughter is blind.

753 755 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred [756] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry [777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some
sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have
been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experi- [754]
ence which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been
mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated
that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had
treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she
sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long
illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own
power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness.
Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it mani-
fests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is un- 753
conscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath.
This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged
patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their
company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think
of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the
doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly
if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were
never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation
was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased
wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my
stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her
daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273]
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity,
which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and
particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the
most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who
seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired
by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased
husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

155 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a
scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States
Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not
become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry
[622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor
of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by
the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many inform-
ants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

[787] Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her
former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed
755 her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she
753 diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the
ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person
578 who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one
of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone
or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly
indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved,
is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is
accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A
further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden
death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to
[753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger
on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in
old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was
diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This
time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not
name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was
obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter
family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the
sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the
family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to
get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They
said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to
each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and
Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [753]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her
by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according
to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated
by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters
felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better
educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men.
Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter
because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was
probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey.
Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed
her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused
of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the
family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M.
girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public
opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [657]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and
no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had
relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of
the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has
had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

754 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died.
761 The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen
[753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the
684 death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual
761 advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were
761 accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion.
208] It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[8] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which [574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly ● [753 761] soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case [755] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[8] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

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band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonor- 164]
rhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657]
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police [177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [754]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753
ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757]
The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and
is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman.
Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes
and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring
about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a
strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164]
that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were
not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains
which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural
causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive
world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness
results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again,
an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774]
may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of
breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [688]
their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are
somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish
among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787
dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755]
intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion
it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient.
Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754]
sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved.
Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native
belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease
would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa. [114]

753 sorcery, dreams, ghosts, and animals, as well as the illness of shamans resulting from mistakes or disobedience either of the practitioner or of others.

753 Dreams (nɔsi) are commonly the cause of sickness. That is, the
787 dream itself is directly responsible, not prophetic of, illness. The experiences in such dreams usually are connected with ghosts of the dead or visions of sickness and death. Often the dreamer will not suffer the ill effects of his dream, but a relative or a member of the household is the victim of the illness so caused. These disease-causing dreams seem to be entirely involuntary; one dreams—with no conscious desire to cause harm—that another is, or will be, ill; and shortly thereafter that individual becomes sick. Thus, illness among children is commonly believed to result from the dreams of parents. A father will dream that his child is ill; a few days later
[756] the child is stricken and a shaman must be called in. If the shaman is not called very soon after the first manifestation of the sickness, the child will die. Visitors, as well as the parents, may bring about the illness of children as the result of dreams. In the summer of
753 1934, one such incident caused some excitement on the Pyramid
787 Lake Reservation. As several informants reconstructed the affair,
578 the following incidents led to a threat of murder.

> Joe Overall was visiting Rawhide Henry. After they ate at noon, Joe fell asleep at the table. When he woke up he said that he had dreamed about Rawhide's grandchild. He said that in the dream the girl was sick and weak. She was very sick. She was almost dead. The girl's parents told Joe to do something to take away the dream. Otherwise it looked bad for the girl. The girl's mother asked Joe to wash the girl and pray so the dream would go away. He did not want to do it. He told them that she would be all right. In a few hours the girl was sick. They called in a shaman to doctor the girl. The next day Rawhide's family wanted to kill Joe. Joe was a shaman a long time ago, but he lost his power. They think that he may have a little power left and that he used it to make the girl sick.

753 The contents of the dreams which result in sickness are varied.
787 A relative may be seen to be ill or dying; voices may speak of sickness, or the dreamer may experience aches and pains. Apparently, in these dreams spirits or ghosts are not seen.

> Dreams about sickness just come natural. There do not seem to be any spirits that cause them. The dream just comes and then soon after you are sick. (Nick Downington)

> People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different 753
> ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person 787
> dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be
> heard telling the dreamer to do certain things. Other people dream that
> a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams
> are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'abᵊ), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the
bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady
has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782]
recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not
remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then over- 753
come the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755
The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787
on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775
cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753
Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774
in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ́yəp, or numəmugu'ᵃ.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

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[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

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753 dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of
[774] the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his
mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing
stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for
the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts
(sa'ab*) and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however,
may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the
camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family
of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the
dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who
were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These
ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and
in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore
evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes
of illness.

775 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate
756 with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity
753 from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appearance
of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause immediate
and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to counteract
their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirlwind
[789] in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction
and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You
are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other
way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in preventing
the sickness that frequently follows such an experience.
[782 The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be
751] forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the
morning.

775 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of
753 the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls
774 from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the
756 journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness resulting
from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering
from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but
by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his
powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover,
soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls re- 775
stored by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these 753
cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must 774
be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation fre- 756
quently given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point.

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. 753
When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is sud- 756
denly awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. 774
Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisi- 753
tion of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness 756
at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of 787
shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso.

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825 It is believed that animals as well as ghosts can bring sickness to man. Apparently, such sickness may result from a deliberate malicious effort as in the case of the coyote; with other animals it may be involuntary or the means of punishment.

> Once a man dreamed that three coyotes came to him. They said, "Tell us who is a good man. We will get him and eat him. If you do not tell us, we will come and eat you." The man believed them, so he told them about a woman. A few days after the man had this dream, the woman was sick. They got a shaman to doctor her. He sang for two nights before he knew what made her sick. Then he saw three coyotes in a cloud. Only the heads could be seen. He saw that they were coming to get the woman. He told the woman's family what the coyote had done. They were coming then. When they came close and saw the shaman, they were afraid. They went away and never bothered the woman again. The shaman told her to put red paint on all her joints. [755] She was to paint red and white bands around her joints. [Treatment in this fashion is customary in curing illness caused by dreams.] Coyote could see that paint when he was a long way off. He did not like it so he never came again. (Joe Green)

Other game animals, especially large game, such as antelope and mountain sheep, can also cause illness. The owl appears, prophetically perhaps, in dreams to bring sickness. Gophers, too are thought to be a sign of sickness and death, but it is doubtful that they cause either. When gophers are caught, they are skinned and the skin is spread over the belly of the carcass. Both are then hung up on the south side of a bush, tree, or house. Gophers may also be [782] burned until only ashes remain. In the course of either operation, a prayer in some such words as these is recited: "You tried to give me bad luck. Now you will be destroyed."

754 Sorcery is an extremely potent source of illness. The sorcerer secures his power from the same sources and in the same way as the shaman who practices for the general good. In fact, to the Paviotso a sorcerer is a shaman who utilizes his power not in the socially accepted way but in a dangerous and anti-social fashion; he has corrupted potentially beneficial power in such a way as to cause harm. The sorcerer is frequently designated by the term for shaman, puhágəm. There is, however, another word for the sorcerer, numɔ́tukɔ́d· (eater of people), but the former seems to be more commonly used.

The sorcerer recites no incantations, nor does he work spells, to overcome his victims. Cast-off clothing, nail-parings, hair-combings, and the images of intended victims, are not used by the sorcerer in causing sickness and death. In fact, none of the techniques usually associated with the practice of either sympathetic or contagious magic is to be found among the Paviotso. Frequently the sorcerer achieves his end simply by concentrating his thoughts on the desired end, the wish for the destruction of the victim by sickness. A sorcerer may also cause illness by touching a person, by handing him food, or giving him a pipe to smoke. The sorcerer does not allow even his victim to become aware of the effort being made to harm him. Discovery of the sorcerer's practices comes only when a shaman is successful in diagnosing the malady of the victim. It is said that sorcerers can cause people either to die suddenly or to suffer a lingering illness. 754

Often, when sickness results from sorcery, a tangible substance enters the victim's body. That is, in the current categories of such concepts, the sorcerer brings about "disease-object intrusion." These objects are variously described as a small stone, a little black lizard, a worm, insects, a sliver of obsidian, and miniature figures of men, animals, or birds. None of these is thought to have been "shot" into the victim; nor are such objects used in any way to bring about sickness. In the words of one informant, "The sorcerer thinks about a lizard and that is what causes sickness." The sorcerer then simply concentrates on something, and with the assistance of his power it, or its miniature, is injected by some supernatural process into the victim and sickness results. The disease-object must be sucked out in order to bring about the victim's recovery. 753 754

Sorcerers appear never to practice their art for material gain or at the request of another. Securing the services of a sorcerer by means of persuasion or bribery to wreak vengeance on an enemy is totally foreign to Paviotso thinking. The sorcerer works in secret entirely for his own ends. At least this is true when he first uses his power for evil purposes. Later, after he has caused the illness and death of a number of people, he is powerless to withstand the impulse to kill. Then his activities become completely involuntary and he is unable to restrain his lust for murder. 754

Wadátkuht

also quite likely that the individual did not realize that 821
he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to
become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends [626]
and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to
the sun at sunrise. To pray was nanishtuhai, and one had to [782]
pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the
evening.

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost 775
of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take
his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the [753]
story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht
camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking
sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid
that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp
had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could
still hear them if one was to go around that place.

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with 776
certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. [756]
Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary
babies except that they had long hair.

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north 756
of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there 778
was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain
was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was
a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father,
Nunu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in
order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to
keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter
of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was
Wadátkuht.

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

Wadatkuht

756 [755] The first type cured such minor things as headaches and used massage as a major means of making cures. The second type seemed to be closely related to the first since he also used massage, but in addition rubbed medicine into the patient. The third type had a more complex method of curing. To become a Numuhgunuhd (and presumably a Nutaígut) a person might dream for several years that it was necessary for him to become a doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as he did not want to become a shaman, for being a doctor entailed considerable responsibility and effort as in our own society, but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The Numuhgunuhd, however, did not have to go out alone to some wild and lonely spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the Nuhpud, did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he tried out being a Numuhgunuhd. If he was not too successful as this type of doctor he had to try to become a Nuhpud.

[755] Gladys was treated once by a relative, Tsudi ("Judy"), for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a Nuhpud and used an eighteen inch long arrowcane to suck a clot of blood from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's dreams. It is also said that the mother probably wished her [428] dreams to her daughter. This would suggest that doctors tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a shaman Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both a Numuhgunuhd and a Nuhpud.

753 [775] [754] 753 828 Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a sorcerer, who "poisons" (puha') people. It has also been shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a call to become a doctor. Unpleasant dreams made people sick; also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be applied to the Wadátkuht, these dreams could have crippling effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a cave in which she was trapped. To escape she had to walk over the

Wadátkuht

753 snakes, much to her horror. She could not escape from the dream
828 until she awoke in the morning, and at that time she found she
was paralyzed from the hips down. She was in this condition for
755 two months and was treated by white doctors who were unable to
828 help her. Finally her parents called in a Paiute doctor who
made her think back and discover the dream which had caused her crippled condition. She told him of the dream of the snakes in the cave which she had to walk over. When she told him the dream he had her bathe in a creek before sunrise one morning. Her family lifted her into the cold water while the doctor sang over her, a treatment sufficient to cure her. Gladys said that the woman should have told of her dream earlier and she would have gotten well sooner.

754 Sickness Caused by Sorcery. A malevolent doctor might put a curse on an individual, or his children, by making such a statement as: "May you get sick and die from a cough". If the individual being cursed had too much power for the sorcerer's curse to take effect the shaman would put the curse on the person's children. A description of such a curse on a child is the following account by Gladys of the curse put on her when she was a baby. One night when Gladys was still a baby in the cradleboard, a woman doctor, Hadómuhdi, "Hello Mattie", came into the house and warmed her hands over the stove. Nearly everyone was in bed and Gladys was in her cradleboard on the bed playing with the beads hanging down from the hood. As the woman warmed her hands over the stove a baby was heard to cry on the stove, where-
754 upon Hadómuhdi left the house. Kitty immediately sent Gladys'
brothers after a man who was just becoming a doctor, and then
755 took some burning rags and followed the doctor to her door,
praying as she went. The doctor, whom Kitty sent for, arrived and observed Gladys who was crying long and loud. This man, Sagyeh', advised that two important and experienced doctors be called in to handle the case, which was done. When the two men came they started treating Gladys immediately. Hadómuhdi, the one who had made Gladys sick, came each night of the curing ceremony and was told to go outside and pray "if she still wanted to walk around" (i.e., to live). Her son also came to the ceremonies, but her husband, a doctor at Pyramid Lake named Wunu'yaga', would not attend the curing.

Hadómuhdi did not want to pray at daybreak because she was ashamed. The doctors working over Gladys told Kitty, however, to "get after" the old woman doctor on the third night. The two doctors told Hadómuhdi: "Pua'tua' wumuhna", "Friend's baby turn it back over". Everyone urged her to do this, including her son, so on the third night she agreed to

756 A shaman who lost many patients was regarded askance. Charlie said that an unsuccessful doctor was not killed—"The Pit River people killed their doctors; I can't understand that." Some years ago, however, his own brother, Dr. Louie (called also Old Noah), lost a case in Warner valley, Harney Spott. The man's relatives accused Noah of malpractice and attempted revenge. They succeeded in slashing him badly across the abdomen, but he recovered. He left the country, taking up residence at McDermitt, and visiting here only occasionally and for short periods. When a shaman had lost many [754] cases, and a certain patient was not improving, the family of the latter consulted another doctor. The latter would say, "Your relative is sick the same way as his other patients. It looks as though they had been poisoned (bewitched) by him." If the patient did not recover, a relative might kill the guilty shaman.

A doctor could lose his power, either by forgetting his dreams or by other means as, for example, through contact with menstrual blood. Dr. Sam said:

> I cannot cure now because my own people did not do what I told them. Years ago when I was young I doctored with a deer-hoof rattle and eagle feathers; nowadays I treat with medicine like a white doctor. I cured a farmer here from Portland with the help of a white doctor two years ago.

When a shaman lost two or three cases he began to doubt the efficacy of his power.

789 Ideas on contagious magic were not well developed. According to Piudy, "Perhaps once in a while a man could make a person sick with a piece of hair, throwing it away. I am not sure." Care was taken in the disposal of hair clippings but not from fear of sorcery. When an individual cut his hair he buried it beneath a small sagebrush bush. Then he jumped over the bush, trying not to touch it. If he accomplished this, his hair would grow "nice and long." I was told that nowadays people do not burn their hair combings for fear of death, but Piudy affirmed, "This is just a new idea. They never thought of that in the old days." Nail parings were not considered a possible source of danger.

754 A shaman could cause an enemy to fall ill; formerly this was the 756 only kind of sickness known. A person might hire a shaman to "poison" someone. He called upon his spirits and if the man fell ill, "then you believed in that doctor." White people could not be "poisoned."

> A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It [presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT). 754 787 756

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

> Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was not generally recognized: 753

> Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to kill the guilty person (P and NH). 756

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

> When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[234] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies. 755

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Piudy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad." 752

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

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[234] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	[illegible]
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2540. Sleight-of-hand	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

Special Powers of Shaman

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	[illegible]
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2550. By sucking out snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
2557a. Female	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2559. Transforms self into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2560. Power of rapid travel	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2561. Invulnerable	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2564. Power from various animals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2566. Power to foretell future	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−

● N
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● 754

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[787]

Miscellaneous

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	[illegible]
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2568. Killed for declining	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumaiyma)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2577. Offerings to "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2578. To ghost (tsaawü)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p. 414]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from
[756 dream of frog.
787] 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great In-
N dian "doctor" who could make it rain at will.
756 Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago,"
789 he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not
sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him
to take free some wild hay.

W 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wil-
[756] son's power to control weather, but no Washo
shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 2554. To: See note 2549.
754 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
756 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did
683 other people, yet they used power for evil in-
stead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee
755 was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans
756 do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless
[177] of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made
until patient is well.

A 2570a. At: See note 2477.
[755] 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenom-
N ena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds,
which functioned as personal powers of shaman—
776 the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha).
A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by
782 sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and
by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and
782 other things, sprinkled on the ground while old
765 man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't
want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).
[782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of
a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The res-
ervations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the
Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores
of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on
the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

821 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
621 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
548 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
529 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance move-
ments would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance move-
ment, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

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While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have supernatural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

756 There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

787 Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doctors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen because he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life. 754

Interpreters.—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience. 198 The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

755 *Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there 776 all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with

The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that 756
he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his 224
songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought 756
to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this 789
power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired [792]
strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when [668]
fired upon with a gun.

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another 756
shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father 754
went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was 789
asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to 787
prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other 756
important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

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756 night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[200] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

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754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power from the bear. [825]

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient gets well. [755]

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

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683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755

683 There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766] usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

Of these six types of social control all but the last may be said to have functioned among the Paiute. Within the family the conscience, developed by direct punishment, identification and the fear of loss of support and help, was the strongest force for social control. The fear of being accused of sorcery and punished accordingly maintained the strength of the conscience. Within the band, the most important mechanisms of social control were retaliation and the fear of sorcery and accusations of sorcery. In analysis, these fears represent a combination of public opinion and supernatural sanction with an implied threat of retaliation and mob action. The concept of reciprocity was found to be basic to all the types of social control in so far as the need for support and help from others motivated individuals to maintain peaceful relations with their neighbors. 121 [681 754]

The literature on social control in primitive societies is not extensive. Ethnographers are apt merely to describe the political organization of a tribe. The political organization, however, may or may not include agencies for social control. The function of the governmental bodies may be executive, advisory, administrative, fiscal, military, or religious as well as legislative and judicial. The danger of this confusion of social control and political organization may be seen particularly in societies such as those found in the Great Basin, which have no formalized government, lacking even chiefs and rudimentary councils.

Failure to recognize the functioning of social control in primitive communities is also due in part to the fact that anthropologists have looked for legal systems similar to those found in Western civilization. Finding neither legal codes nor court systems, they have assumed that there is no social control at all. It is stated that the members of the community are so bound by tradition and custom that laws are not necessary. Malinowski has pointed out the fallacies of these assumptions,[15] and in his studies has defined primitive law as any rule which is sanctioned by a duly constituted authority. From this point of view, law exists in all societies whether or not they have a legal system similar to that found in our own society.

Social control in the broadest sense is any pressure exerted upon an individual which makes him behave in relation to other individuals in a socially approved way. In this paper, however, it is used particularly to cover the control of any offense which causes friction in the community. Consequently, simple breaches of manners or etiquette are ignored, unless such breaches carry further and more serious connotations. If, for example, failure to speak politely to people is interpreted as an indication of sorcery power, the custom is considered as being more than etiquette. In this work I have stressed the conformity to customs which are considered essential to the welfare of the group. The method of teaching and maintaining economic techniques and minor rules and regulations has not been considered.

The most common sources of friction in primitive tribes stem from aggression and from competition in attempting to satisfy basic needs. Offenses against

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[15] B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba*, sorcery power. All of these are thought
to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who
have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are
thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment
for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The
doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ba*, are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit
helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect
a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their
power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very
common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to
attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [524
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224]
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men
went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411 726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

● [754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

[161 162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

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[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot [854]
resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand,
get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for
guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type
of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure
within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned
him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father
had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and
uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and
his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect
that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that
Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore,
his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him
that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the
child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

The Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who [754
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own 776
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775]
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated
murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's [787]
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. [756]
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish [755]
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake [787]
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagnosis.
[755] Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sickness
[776] one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[8] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had [741]
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally
broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[9] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made
Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by
sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well
which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to
capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the daytime or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[8] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[9] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 753 775
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the
blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but sometimes 757]
he calls in a doctor.*

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although
he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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* The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

of diagnosis, sometimes part of the cure, and sometimes for both. In one instance, 755
Dr. Damin sucked at the top of Dick Jonas' head when he sought to discover his ailment. Dick was unconscious at the time and Dr. Damin diagnosed the case as "loss of breath." In another case, Dr. Thomas sucked a snake out of Ellen and stated that a ghost was responsible for the illness. On the other hand, in several cases when the patient had a localized pain, the doctor cured the illness by sucking out some foreign object.

Sometimes the "laying on of hands" or the touching of the patient's body with a feather seems to be directly related to diagnosis, at other times to curing. Although the singing and appeal to the power seem to be most often solely for diagnosis, in one case it was stated that the doctor's songs drew the bad power from the patient's body.

It is possible to deduce several generalizations concerning the method of
curing certain diseases. When the doctor decides that an illness is caused by sorcery, [754]
he does one of three things. He may discover the identity of the sorcerer, and persuade him to repent and to call off his power by bathing and praying to the sun; or he may suck the diseased object sent by the sorcerer out of the patient's body and cure him without the aid of the sorcerer; or he may exorcise the bad power by song alone without sucking, or by both singing and sucking.

When the disease is found to be caused by the patient's own power several [753]
things may be done. The doctor may take the power away from the patient either by sucking it out or in some other way, thus permanently removing the power; or he may take the power out, "fix it up" and restore it to the patient. If the doctor finds that the patient has failed to obey the power, he determines the unheeded orders and instructs the patient to carry them out in the future. If it is found that the patient is suffering because of the loss of his power through theft, the doctor can discover the thief and see that the power is returned. Lastly, if the patient is suffering because he has lost part of his paraphernalia, the doctor can, with the aid of his own power, find the lost object, or he can make a copy of it for the patient.

When the diagnosis is ghost sickness, as a general rule the doctor does not [775
suck. He identifies the ghost who is trying to steal the patient's breath and attempts 753]
to drive it away with his power songs, or he prescribes rituals, such as sprinkling ashes around the house or putting bunches of wild rose by the door, to keep the ghost away in the future. If the ghost has already made off with the patient's
breath, the doctor can cure him only by pursuing the breath. A doctor who special- [774]
izes in breath-catching has a formalized procedure. He dances until his breath begins to leave him, then he either falls or lies down beside the patient. Often he has his assistants cover both him and the patient with the same blanket. According to native theory, the doctor is like a dead man when his breath goes up the Milky Way after the patient's breath. His voice travels with his breath and reports

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she [584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on [578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have [754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa 755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had [753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her. Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor 578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself. Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [754]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day, two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some
sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have
been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experi- [754]
ence which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been
mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated
that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had
treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she
sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long
illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own
power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness.
Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it mani-
fests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is un- 753
conscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath.
This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged
patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their
company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think
of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the
doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly
if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my
stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her
daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158]
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and [273]
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity,
which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and
particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the
most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who
seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired
by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased
husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

[55 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a
scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States
Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not
become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry
[622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor
of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by
the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many inform-
ants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

[787] Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her
former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed
755 her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she
753 diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the
ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person
578 who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one
of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone
or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly
indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved,
is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is
accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A
further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden
death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to
[753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger
on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in
old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was
diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, 754
in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his 578
arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As [657
the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. 177]
Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral 754
of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had [657
felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in 693]
the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

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[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

754 the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp, [755] worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery. He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T. Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery. Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis. She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr. M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly, although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances. [155] He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived in Burns.

[578] The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly. On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning. Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs. M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them, but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling [787] he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This
time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not
name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was
obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter
family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the
sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the
family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to
get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They
said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to
each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and
Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [755]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her
by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according
to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated
by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters
felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better
educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men.
Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter
because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was
probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey.
Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed
her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused
of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the
family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M.
girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public
opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [657]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and
no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had
relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of
the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has
had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

578 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the
758 father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with
157 whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated
[684] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

[554] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[3]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie
759 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and
157 was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen,
[754] Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

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[3] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing
her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that
she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal
motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power
which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling,
but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally
known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments,
and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was
feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to
have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power,
some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have
some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established
fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease
which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized
irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would
have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want
her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the
living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence
would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her
breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that
it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [694]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to
her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that
by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried
to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being
punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding
his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass
a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members
of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood, is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its pos- 756
sessor employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punish- 578
ment. For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

754 him, the safest thing to do may be to admit guilt, repent, and bathe so that the [578] victim will recover. If a person is so terrified by the accusation that he flees from the band or stays away from all the relatives of the sick person, his action is taken as proof of his guilt.

It will be remembered that a person who has bad power is believed to be able to make others sick by thinking evil thoughts about them. He may use his power intentionally or unintentionally. If he uses it intentionally he may do it in one of the following ways: he may think aggressive thoughts about the victim; he may tell his victim to expect sickness and death; he may throw his power into his victim by hitting him with a stick or stone; or he may put his power in his victim's food, either directly or by biting something which the victim is going to eat. Any one of these things may be done to one of the victim's relatives, rather than to the victim himself. It is believed that the latter procedure will hurt the intended victim even more than injuring him directly.

When a sorcerer is angry, he may unintentionally kill someone in one of the following ways: he may think bad thoughts about the individual without being aware of his thoughts; in a fit of temper, he may express aggressive wishes about an individual without the intention of injuring him; or he may dream bad dreams about an individual. In the latter case, the victim may have dreams in which the sorcerer's power appears.

[114] It is very hard for an ethnographer to get a list of the sorcerers in a community. It was seen in an earlier chapter that as many as seven per cent of the community were accused of sorcery at one time or another. An even larger percentage were rumored to be "mean thinkers." It is also hard to determine the attributes of such persons, but an analysis of actual cases will give a better understanding of these attributes.

Of the eight people accused of sorcery on whom I have adequate material, three were recognized by all informants as being sorcerers. There was no unanimity of opinion on the other five.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter have already been mentioned; the former in connection with the accidental death of his young son, and the death of Polly, the latter in connection with the death of Mr. M.

Mrs. Porter's mother, father, sister, and brother were all said to have been mean, bad people who had power. Her father had beaver power. He wore beaver [301] claws in his ears and it was said that when his power was working on someone, the victim could feel the claws around his neck. I have no specific evidence as to what kind of power Mrs. Porter's mother had or how she used it, but she was evidently domineering and selfish as she prevented one of her daughters from marrying. Mrs. Porter's sister had power, and her brother had power in snakes and was blamed for several deaths. In short, all of Mrs. Porter's family were said to be bad and her husband had also come to be known as a sorcerer. There is no evidence that

such power ran in his family, and it seems as if he shared the reputation because 754
he was married to Mrs. Porter. He was said to have power in sea gulls. In the account of the death of Polly, reported in the previous chapter, it is interesting that some accused him of the act, and some accused his wife, but everyone agreed that one or the other was guilty. Mrs. Porter's power was in snakes and it was said that all the victims of her power saw snakes or felt them on their bodies. It was also stated by the community that all the Porter children would probably be just like their parents, mean, bad, and dangerous.

In determining how Mrs. Porter got the reputation for sorcery, the first fact which seems important is that her family were already marked as mean people. [157]
Although none of them seem to have been in such an uncomfortable position as Mrs. Porter, they certainly were not popular. The two types of behavior attributed to her father and remembered with disapproval were winning at games too frequently, which was attributed to using his power to cheat, and spitting in other people's food. This latter behavior was attributed to jealousy and the wish to have the food for himself.

Seven different people were said to have been killed by Mrs. Porter. I have 754
reconstructed the chronological order of these cases as accurately as possible as it 761
seems important in determining how a reputation is built up. One of the first sicknesses blamed on her was that of a young child. It is stated that during the doctoring of this child, which Mrs. Porter attended, she could not sit still and the doctor stated that her power was responsible for the child's condition. Evidently Mrs. Porter was very nervous and did not challenge the accusation as the doctor is said to have worked on her and with her consent taken away her power. One would surmise that she was in a bad position or she would not have accepted the blame. It may also be that she was young at the time and more sensitive to criticism than she became in later life.

Three other accusations were leveled against her which date from about this period. She is said to have killed her own uncle, a man who specialized in helping women who had trouble in childbirth; and she is also reputed to have killed her own niece. The evidence against her in this latter case was quite damaging as several people are said to have seen a snake crawling around the young girl's neck; one man tried to pull it off but did not succeed until the girl was already dead. The third offense was explained as revenge for theft. Sophie is said to have stolen Mrs. Porter's' beads. Sophie's mother died soon after this episode and Mrs. Porter was held responsible for her death.

About 1930, when the Porters were living in Fort Bidwell, the accidental death [626]
of their son precipitated the accusation of sorcery already discussed in the previous chapter. This accusation was backed by the entire community. The circumstantial evidence was damning. The Porter's had publicly blamed the Simms for the death of the Porter boy and in their uncontrolled anger had theatened the family. Soon

754 761 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen [753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 684 761 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 761 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 208] In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion. It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community
would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality [754]
was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing [762]
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest,
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five.
After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering [657]
around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

● 754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[8] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which [574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent [753 761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case [755] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[8] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754
in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578
It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his rela-
tives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in
their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They
explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed
this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689]
around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threaten-
ing behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had
they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents
not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used
sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his
relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the
fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power
like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children
all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she
thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828]
the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably
why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not
take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because
of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other
people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's
behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important
information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very
likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579]
drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended
up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one
of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684
population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to
restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with
other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or
where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with
any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own
brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making
overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276]
was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of
them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[584] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help ~~herself,~~
328] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
754 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
[832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
837] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

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band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. 164]
The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [754]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[579] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on 155
family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying 328
degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more [578]
remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance
against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of
malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns
by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those
who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost [674]
all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with
disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were
supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has [756
been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person 681]
by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a
large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an
official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and
accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction
to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts 754
the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and 681
either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community,
he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man
has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action
is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed
power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is
just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover.
The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that
retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays,
when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight
often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

754 would appear that in the old days in many cases the accused was killed by the com-
681 munity before he could flee.

Lastly, once a person has a reputation for sorcery he becomes a scapegoat and
626 is likely to be blamed for offenses when no one knows who committed them.

681 In broad outline, then, we can see how the concept of sorcery works in social
578 control. The important threat is that of ostracism or mob action. This punishment comes when the majority of the community and a doctor agree that a person is guilty of sorcery. The majority of the community will only agree to this if the individual has frequently behaved in such a way as to antagonize them. The behavior which annoys them may range from minor aggressive acts, such as speaking impolitely, to more serious offenses such as threatening others, adultery, destroying property, etc. Thus the fear of being accused of sorcery acts as a check on a great variety of anti-social behavior.

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865 when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should 861 love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867 with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867 which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754] and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152] afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756 people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 758] The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power, but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty. Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783 rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back." Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152 him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

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[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost [751] sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead.

three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 578 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every in- 152
stance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Con- 762
cerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remem-
bered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter- 578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have [754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 837] Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels [157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception [423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They [422] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief [579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. [525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

individuals indicate that there are three main forces of social control. It seems easiest 626
to describe these in terms of fears which keep the individual from committing 578
crimes.

The fear of retaliation is the first and most important regulatory mechanism. [681
Any offense against a member of a family by a nonrelative is liable to be revenged 627]
by the wronged person's immediate family on the principle of an eye for an eye.
If, for example, a man kills another man he can expect that the murdered man's [682]
brother, parents, sister, or first cousin will kill him or a member of his family.
Revenge can be stopped, however, by financial settlement, the payment of a wergild. The family, usually the father or mother of the deceased, or, if they are dead, the sister or brother, receives the blood money. In the memory of informants no revenge killings took place, and informants stated that the payment of blood money is the most usual type of settlement for murder. Wergild is also demanded in case of accidental homicide and it is more likely to be accepted than in cases of murder.

Besides the wergild, there are three other types of adjustment to the fear of
retaliation. In one case a man left the community to avoid revenge. He had paid for [686]
a mare and colt *in utero* and, when the owner delivered the mare but refused to give over the colt, he killed the owner and then left the community. In two different cases which involved fights over gambling debts, the murderer was killed by his own brother to stop retaliation. In another case a man killed his rival in a fight over a woman and then killed himself. The fact that a man would kill himself or his own brother to stop retaliation gives some indication of the strength of the fear.

Murder by sorcery is also punished by retaliation but differs in that there is 754
no possibility of financial settlement.[2] Furthermore the people who retaliate are not 627
only relatives but often include the entire community led by a relative of the victim, especially if the doctor gives his sanction by naming the sorcerer.

Adultery and theft are also liable to kin retaliation. A man is liable to be 684
physically attacked and even killed by the husband of the woman with whom he 627
philandered. Many physical fights between husbands and their rivals and wives and [685]
their rivals took place in the memory of informants, and several such combats took place during my stay at Burns. Hannah Pete beat up Annie Winhook for sleeping with her husband. According to informants handfuls of hair lay around on the ground when they got through. One day Helen had a fight with Anne J. in the laundry because Anne boasted of sleeping with Helen's husband. Helen threw Anne down, got on top of her, beat her head on the floor, and punched her in the eyes. One of the most spectacular fights between two men rivals took place at Harney when Dick Jonas was a young man. The men pulled each other off their horses, twisted each other's braids, and tore off each other's clothes and jewelry.

To kill a rival for adultery, however, is considered too severe, and when this

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[2] The murder of a sorcerer is now prohibited by the government. Ostracism has replaced it as a method of retaliation.

quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood 626
around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they 627
hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one
of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing [692]
around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body.
When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they
stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a [602]
brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a
relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as
he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the [754]
fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling 626
retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of 627
sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates 183
as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated
that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his [208]
wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out [152]
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery, his word gives authority to community gossip.

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[1]

626 IT has been shown that social control in Paiute society is administered by the
593 extended family. Retaliation is the essential mechanism for maintaining law and
627 order and takes the form of direct physical violence or sorcery. When a person
681 wrongs another, he fears not only assault but sickness. On the other hand, the
practice of sorcery is a crime and leads to retaliation, so that a person is afraid of
being accused of sorcery. The only check on retaliation is public opinion; the by-
208 standers witnessing a fight may separate the contestants and advise them to make up
their differences, and gossip, particularly accusations of meanness, checks excessive
violence.

121 626 A survey of a selected sample of primitive tribes throughout the world suggests that there are two main types of social control: the coordinate and the superordinate. Paiute society is an example of the first type, the essential characteristics of which are the absence of an individual or group of individuals with delegated authority to settle disputes and punish offenses and the presence of retaliation administered by peers as the major mechanism for social control. The kin or local group avenges wrongs done to its members and defends them from retaliation by outsiders. In societies which have superordinate control, on the other hand, the persons who decide disputes and punish wrongs are not necessarily members of the injured man's or criminal's group but are selected by birth, talent, or popular election. Because of their authority they have higher status than the disputants in the case.

754 The fact that both sorcery and coordinate control are found in Paiute society, and, as careful analysis has shown, are functionally related, suggested that they should occur together in other societies. The purpose of this chapter is to present a preliminary cross-cultural test of this hypothesis.

121 If the hypothesis is true, it should be possible to derive it from accepted anthropological and psychological principles. The analysis of sorcery and social control in Paiute society suggest that the following principles are operating. Since, by definition, coordinate control is based upon retaliation, it follows that whenever a person wrongs another he is punished by the wronged person or by the wronged

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[1] This cross-cultural study was made in 1941-42 when the files were less complete than they are today and when the techniques of cross-cultural study were in their infancy. This study can only be considered exploratory. Lack of access to the files has made it impossible to check and expand the study.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753
ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757]
The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and
is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the sha-
man. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes
and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring
about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a
strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164]
that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were
not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains
which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural
causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive
world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness
results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again,
an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774]
may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of
breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [698]
their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are
somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish
among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787
dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755]
intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occa-
sion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient.
Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754]
sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are in-
volved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native
belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease
would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294-295, observes that shamans return the lost
soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence
of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's
account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114]
cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on
the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief
only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution
of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the
Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

753 It is believed that animals as well as ghosts can bring sickness to
825 man. Apparently, such sickness may result from a deliberate malicious effort as in the case of the coyote; with other animals it may be involuntary or the means of punishment.

> Once a man dreamed that three coyotes came to him. They said, "Tell us who is a good man. We will get him and eat him. If you do not tell us, we will come and eat you." The man believed them, so he told them about a woman. A few days after the man had this dream, the woman was sick. They got a shaman to doctor her. He sang for two nights before he knew what made her sick. Then he saw three coyotes in a cloud. Only the heads could be seen. He saw that they were coming to get the woman. He told the woman's family what the coyote had done. They were coming then. When they came close and saw the shaman, they were afraid. They went away and never bothered the woman again. The shaman told her to put red paint on all her joints.
> [755] She was to paint red and white bands around her joints. [Treatment in this fashion is customary in curing illness caused by dreams.] Coyote could see that paint when he was a long way off. He did not like it so he never came again. (Joe Green)

Other game animals, especially large game, such as antelope and mountain sheep, can also cause illness. The owl appears, prophetically perhaps, in dreams to bring sickness. Gophers, too are thought to be a sign of sickness and death, but it is doubtful that they cause either. When gophers are caught, they are skinned and the skin is spread over the belly of the carcass. Both are then hung up on the south side of a bush, tree, or house. Gophers may also be
[182] burned until only ashes remain. In the course of either operation, a prayer in some such words as these is recited: "You tried to give me bad luck. Now you will be destroyed."

● 754 Sorcery is an extremely potent source of illness. The sorcerer secures his power from the same sources and in the same way as the shaman who practices for the general good. In fact, to the Paviotso a sorcerer is a shaman who utilizes his power not in the socially accepted way but in a dangerous and anti-social fashion; he has corrupted potentially beneficial power in such a way as to cause harm. The sorcerer is frequently designated by the term for shaman, puhágəm. There is, however, another word for the sorcerer, numə́tukə́d' (eater of people), but the former seems to be more commonly used.

The sorcerer recites no incantations, nor does he work spells, to 754
overcome his victims. Cast-off clothing, nail-parings, hair-combings, and the images of intended victims, are not used by the sorcerer in causing sickness and death. In fact, none of the techniques usually associated with the practice of either sympathetic or contagious magic is to be found among the Paviotso. Frequently the sorcerer achieves his end simply by concentrating his thoughts on the desired end, the wish for the destruction of the victim by sickness. A sorcerer may also cause illness by touching a person, by handing him food, or giving him a pipe to smoke. The sorcerer does not allow even his victim to become aware of the effort being made to harm him. Discovery of the sorcerer's practices comes only when a shaman is successful in diagnosing the malady of the victim. It is said that sorcerers can cause people either to die suddenly or to suffer a lingering illness.

Often, when sickness results from sorcery, a tangible substance 753
enters the victim's body. That is, in the current categories of such 754
concepts, the sorcerer brings about "disease-object intrusion." These objects are variously described as a small stone, a little black lizard, a worm, insects, a sliver of obsidian, and miniature figures of men, animals, or birds. None of these is thought to have been "shot" into the victim; nor are such objects used in any way to bring about sickness. In the words of one informant, "The sorcerer thinks about a lizard and that is what causes sickness." The sorcerer then simply concentrates on something, and with the assistance of his power it, or its miniature, is injected by some supernatural process into the victim and sickness results. The disease-object must be sucked out in order to bring about the victim's recovery.

Sorcerers appear never to practice their art for material gain or 754
at the request of another. Securing the services of a sorcerer by means of persuasion or bribery to wreak vengeance on an enemy is totally foreign to Paviotso thinking. The sorcerer works in secret entirely for his own ends. At least this is true when he first uses his power for evil purposes. Later, after he has caused the illness and death of a number of people, he is powerless to withstand the impulse to kill. Then his activities become completely involuntary and he is unable to restrain his lust for murder.

754 After a shaman poisons one person, he cannot stop. When the first victim is dead, he tries to poison others. Then he always wants to make people sick and kill them. (Joe Green)

If he has sufficient power, a shaman who has been the victim of a sorcerer may extract the cause of disease and without the aid of another practitioner cast off the ill effects of his enemy's magic.

As sorcerers are believed to cause so much of the illness afflicting the Paviotso, they are greatly feared. Anyone suspected of sorcery is treated with every respect and consideration in order not to arouse his wrath and ill-will. It is said that any request or demand made by a known sorcerer is never refused out of fear of the revenge that might be taken through witchcraft. Those who fear a particular shaman will, if possible, avoid accepting anything from him or touching his person.

754 In aboriginal times, sorcerers were put to death when detected
683 in frequent killings. Their guilt was established then as now, by shamans who determined not only the nature of sickness but also the person responsible. An accusation of this sort by a shaman of standing was probably tantamount to conviction. When a sorcerer claimed several victims, the entire group became concerned and demanded the death of the guilty person. The execution was carried out by several men appointed for the task, or a large number of people fell upon the sorcerer and killed him. The usual practice
[766] was to burn the house over the murdered sorcerer; otherwise the body was buried in the usual manner.

If a sorcerer had not become notorious, members of a victim's family might take it upon themselves to avenge the death of a relative. The sorcerer, known to them from the shaman's diagnosis, was stabbed, clubbed, or shot. As in the communal execution, the house was burned with the corpse inside. As far as can be learned, the sorcerer's family rarely attempted retaliation for these murders. In so far as pre-Caucasian conditions can be determined from the memories of living people, it can safely be said that the fear of sorcery was easily the chief source of intra-tribal strife and violence; that the charge of witchcraft more frequently
[578] than anything else led to the killing of one Paviotso by another. Suspicion of sorcery is in itself sufficient to endanger social relations and even life.

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that 754 all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. 756 According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

Shamanistic Doctoring

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is al- 755 ways a public performance, with spectators participating to a certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans. The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the [796 only other important public ceremony.[12] The Paviotso shaman 224] gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power, nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an important public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious [796] activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso 756 shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

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[12] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both movements, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they [796] had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance.

Largely because of this popu-
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store 556
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an [437]
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been men-
tioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear,
the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may
be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect
felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general
feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with
supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's 821
death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of
such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths
among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the
weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these move-
ments. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the
dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remem-
bered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a 756
wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not [556]
relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In
short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to
gain marked economic privileges.

SUMMARY

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is 755
the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public
participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional
crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely
lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire cere- [796]
monial life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of or- 756
ganization, Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several
features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in ac-
quiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt
acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all [754]
shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indi-
cate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be re-
garded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in
emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity
of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel com-
binations of practices found widely over western North America, [171]
the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are
unique.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

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The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

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The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

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In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[illegible] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

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[illegible] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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W does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the
177 aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other
*795 distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster.
His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction
and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

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REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

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182 Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[illegible] its effect on the
group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh
571 of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions,
578 accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent
*795 opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members
N remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition
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[648] to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[illegible]
In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with
N community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[illegible]

W An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in
182 witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of
● 754 the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or
*795 removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

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[illegible] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[illegible] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[illegible] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness 182
sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through 754
personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their 795*
visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed
these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, N
one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's W
friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing
the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." 694
Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference 578
at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness 754
said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by 795*
Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved
his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should
be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to cor- W
rect specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas.[illegible] A danger in such [683]
situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old
Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge
or for safety.[illegible] N

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are W
said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles 578
(P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger 795*
Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely N W
united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken 182
place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social con- 571
tact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and
practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resent- 795*
ment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by
peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time.[illegible] N

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the W
principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their [191]
prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he [648]
joined the cult.[illegible] This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

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[illegible] Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

[illegible] Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

[illegible] Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

[illegible] La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

The
756 [755] first type cured such minor things as [illegible] and other massage as a major means of making cures. The second type seemed to be closely related to the [illegible] massage, but in addition sucked out [illegible]. The third type had a more complex method of curing. [illegible] a Numuhgumuhd (and presumably a [illegible]) [illegible] for several years that it was necessary for him to become a doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as he did not want to become a doctor, for being a doctor entailed considerable responsibility and effort [illegible], but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The [illegible], however, did not have to go out alone to some [illegible] spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the [illegible], did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he [illegible] being a Numuhgumuhd. If he was not [illegible] as this type of doctor he had to try to become a [illegible].

[755] Gladys was treated once by a [illegible], for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a [illegible] and used an eighteen inch long [illegible] to suck a [illegible] from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's dreams. It is also said that the mother probably dreamed the dreams to her daughter. [428] This would suggest that doctoring tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a doctor Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both a Numuhgumuhd and a [illegible].

753 [775] [754] 753 828 Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a sorcerer, who "poisons" ([illegible]) people. It has also been shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a call to become a doctor. Unpleasant dreams made people ill also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be applied to the Wadatkuht, these dreams could have [illegible] effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a [illegible] in which she was trapped. To escape she had to [illegible]

Wadátkuht

753 snakes, much to her horror. She could not escape from the dream
828 until she awoke in the morning, and at that time she found she
was paralyzed from the hips down. She was in this condition for
755 two months and was treated by white doctors who were unable to
828 help her. Finally her parents called in a Paiute doctor who
made her think back and discover the dream which had caused her
crippled condition. She told him of the dream of the snakes in
the cave which she had to walk over. When she told him the dream
he had her bathe in a creek before sunrise one morning. Her
family lifted her into the cold water while the doctor sang over
her, a treatment sufficient to cure her. Gladys said that the
woman should have told of her dream earlier and she would have
gotten well sooner.

754 Sickness Caused by Sorcery. A malevolent doctor might
put a curse on an individual, or his children, by making such
a statement as: "May you get sick and die from a cough". If
the individual being cursed had too much power for the sorcerer's
curse to take effect the shaman would put the curse on the person's children. A description of such a curse on a child is
the following account by Gladys of the curse put on her when she
was a baby. One night when Gladys was still a baby in the cradleboard, a woman doctor, Hadómuhdi, "Hello Mattie", came into the
house and warmed her hands over the stove. Nearly everyone was
in bed and Gladys was in her cradleboard on the bed playing with
the beads hanging down from the hood. As the woman warmed her
hands over the stove a baby was heard to cry on the stove, where-
754 upon Hadómuhdi left the house. Kitty immediately sent Gladys'
brothers after a man who was just becoming a doctor, and then
755 took some burning rags and followed the doctor to her door,
praying as she went. The doctor, whom Kitty sent for, arrived
and observed Gladys who was crying long and loud. This man,
Sagyeh', advised that two important and experienced doctors be
called in to handle the case, which was done. When the two men
came they started treating Gladys immediately. Hadómuhdi, the
one who had made Gladys sick, came each night of the curing
ceremony and was told to go outside and pray "if she still
wanted to walk around" (i.e., to live). Her son also came to
the ceremonies, but her husband, a doctor at Pyramid Lake
named Wunu'yaga', would not attend the curing.

Hadómuhdi did not want to pray at daybreak because she was ashamed. The doctors working over Gladys told Kitty, however, to "get after" the old woman doctor on the third night. The two doctors told Hadómuhdi: "Pua'tua' wumuhna", "Friend's baby turn it back over". Everyone urged her to do this, including her son, so on the third night she agreed to

Wadatkuht

754 755 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors, and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed Gladys got well.

754 [841] [262] [787] 754 783 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip, haki^{nukpa}, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'^{yu} Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

754 683 The following account describes what might happen to a sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai, Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai's house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

Wadátkuht

762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her. As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to
[557] drink some cream and saved her life.

561 192 Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded: baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi; young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman, biawuhb.

838 Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment,
[177] however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white standards.

648 Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River
●[754] people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however, and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean". Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one) in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

SMOKING

Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[230] young boys did not smoke 276
for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non-
ceremonial and was chiefly an evening pastime. Three or four old 517
men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One
would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was
not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed
number of times, and a person could decline on the second round
without offending.

The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds
were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-
mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'b^{a})[231] The 277
local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now
fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well
scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to
have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or
wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with
a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot
and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'b^{a} were
mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowa-
days koda'b^{a} and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the
blend called düma'iyu, mixture. Koda'b^{a} is said to be "pretty strong."

Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[232] For earache and 276
deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear 755
the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache.
For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. 855
A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." 861
Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall
sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the [826]
other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can
tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he
is born with the cord around his neck."

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[230] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[231] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[232] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

> A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
> He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
> [presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787
> sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the 756
> poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had
> to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim
> would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

> Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753
not generally recognized:

> Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul 756
> is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to
> kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

> When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[234] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755
required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature
were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752
once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Piudy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

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[234] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

752 sucked a wound. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time. He did not have to cut or suck the wound. He told it not to swell. The rattlesnake was his friend; he dreamed about him; and he carried one around his neck all the time. He put Star chewing tobacco on the bite." Daisy also spoke of a "doctor who was like a snake charmer" and who was the only one able to cure snake bite.

● 755 No one but a shaman attempted to treat nosebleed. Daisy said, "They must have a special doctor for that, but there are none living now. A doctor used mostly horsehair; he told the patient to tie his head with it."

Headache resulted when blood in the head was "too thick," and for relief the forehead between the eyes was slashed and the blood let. This was performed by "somebody who knew how," presumably a shaman, although Nettie de Gamo, who gives this treatment nowadays, is not so regarded. For earache or for deafness, a shaman blew tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') smoke in the patient's ear to clear the passages.

752 A broken bone was enclosed in two or three flat splints bound on
278 with deer hide. The crushed leaves of kusi'agüp^{a} (said to be the same as a'gü', *Wyethia mollis* Gray) were applied as a poultice. The same medicine was used for sprains and to reduce swellings. As an alternative treatment for the latter, one might apply the mashed leaves of bawa'natizua (*Chaenactis douglasii* H. and A.) or of wada'^{a}-kwasi' (squirrel-tail; *Achillea millefolium* var. *lanulosa* Piper). The crushed root of do"sa^{aba} (*Leptotaenia multifida* Nutt.) was a remedy for both sores and swellings. For sores, one might use a poultice of mashed leaves of na·mogu·d (*Penstemon deustus* Dougl.) or a salve of the roots of dotsi'toniga (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.).

Deep cuts were washed with tea of sagebrush leaves. The blue-tailed skink (puhi'-kwida'mugus; green, blue-lizard) was dried, powdered, and sprinkled on deep cuts. Tüba'süp roots were dried, pounded, and spread over bruises. Blisters were opened but were given no other treatment. For burns, tüba'süp or a powder of burned cat-tail pods was helpful. Roots or leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} were chewed and applied to bee stings. Informants had not heard of skunk bite. Sometimes a coyote with rabies would bite a dog and it in turn would bite a person. There was no known cure for such cases; shamans and medicines were ineffectual.

There was no remedy for frost bite.

278

755 ●

Granulated eyelids were scraped with the rough edge of split rye grass. A wash for sore eyes was made by soaking the leaves of wada'^{a}-kwasi' in water.

For toothache, the leaves of wada'^{a}-kwasi' were chewed; or the roots of tŭba'sŭp were roasted, dried, pulverized, and the powder dampened and rubbed on the face.

There is a large series of cold remedies. A mixture of balsam (to″sa^{e}) and tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') was smoked for bad colds, even by children. A potion made from the boiled roots of dotsi'toniga or of the mashed leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} was drunk for a cold. The leaves of nettles((kwiba'nop^{a}) were mashed, boiled, and used as a medicine; also for colds, Susie thought. An infusion from the crushed leaves of rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus viscidiflorus* Nutt.) was effective if one drank it or bathed in it. Crushed leaves of *Artemisia vulgaris ludoviciana* (Nutt.) Hall and Clements, were applied to the chest or other parts of the body as a cold remedy. Leaves of young sage and juniper were boiled, either separately or mixed. The brewed leaves were used as a compress and the tea drunk for colds, coughs, and sore throat. It was especially good for children and infants. For coughs or sore throat, one chewed the leaves of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a}; they tasted badly but they were chewed until the flavor was gone. Seeds of bati'p^{i} (*Paeonia brownii* Dougl.) were soaked for use as a cough medicine. The roots (?) of an unidentified plant called pusu'^{e}, said to grow only near Beatty, were either chewed or else boiled and the liquid drunk as a cough remedy. This medicine had a "pretty strong" taste.

Pindy did not know of a febrifuge, but Daisy thought that a brew of tŭba'sŭp would be helpful.

A number of remedies for stomach complaints follow. When a person was nauseated and "sick all over" he drank a beverage made from the dried roots of bati'p^{i}. For stomachache, he drank a tea of the boiled leaves of kusi'agŭp^{a} or of tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo'); or else chewed the seeds of ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a}. White paint was chewed as a remedy for diarrhea; this was especially good for babies and small children.

Badger fat roasted on the coals was eaten for heart trouble. For the same ailment, small, black, malodorous beetles (pipu's), called stink bugs, were sucked. Although they tasted "pretty bad" they were generally beneficial. Perry Parker is said to have cured himself of heart trouble by sucking them.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

278 755 Rheumatism was a common and a dreaded ailment, but there were a few remedies. Susie Archie knew of persons who had whipped the affected parts with nettles, and after the inflammation subsided, the rheumatism was gone. She had been urged to try this, but could not steel herself to do it. The sweat bath, it was said, helped rheumatism as did also the "hot bed" made of heated stones covered with juniper boughs and blankets.

A drink made of the boiled roots of tüba'süp or of oha'nazagodidi[235] (*Berberis repens* Lindl.) was taken for venereal disease; a drink from the boiled roots of do"sa^{aha}, for tuberculosis.

SOUL, ABODE OF DEAD, GHOSTS

775 When Nora and Piudy were asked concerning the human soul, they conferred and said, "They name it the same as the breath, sofiü'p^{a}." However, when Joshua was questioned, he called the soul mu'gwa, which agrees with the terms recorded by Lowie[236] for several Shoshonean groups. Concerning the two terms, Joshua said:

> When a man dies his mu'gwa leaves and never returns. His sofiü'p^{a} breaks up and goes when he dies. If a man is half dead his sofiü'p^{a} is still there; his mu'gwa is half gone. The doctor tries to put it back.[237] When the mu'gwa leaves it hovers around. I do not know where it is in the body.

[821] At death the soul goes above; it travels south along the Milky way to the abode of the dead. I was asked at this point if white people also go above, because when the shaman searches for souls of half-dead people "he see only Indians there." The abode of the dead is unnamed; all Paiute go there regardless of moral character and mode of death. It is "like this earth, but there is lots of green grass there; people never grow old; and everything is nice."

A dead man is addressed thus, "Go off. Goodbye (native?). You have a good country there." A dead person sometimes returns looking for his things. There is particular danger of this if the relatives have been careless about burning his property. Charlie Washo said, "About twelve years ago someone died and came back. He came to the door, but I could not see him. I was not afraid though. Perhaps they had not burned his things." Charlie went on to tell of an experience he once had when visiting in Alturas. He was asleep and his blankets were pulled from him. He got up and rearranged them, but the

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[235] Oha', yellow, having reference to the color of the peeled root.

[236] SE, 296; and NS, 226.

[237] By going into a trance and searching for the soul.

000 At Navaho Springs rabbit's feet with beads are said to be worn as charms, but the trader thought the idea had been stimulated by whites.

According to Annie Lowry, the Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son, as in the case of Coffee Charlie. The medicineman's soul leaves him when he doctors and goes into a trance, but the patient's soul remains in his body. The shaman's soul goes to the place of the spirits in order to get their aid. A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision. The paraphernalia of shamans differ,—some have an eagle tail, others a magpie tail, etc. The shamans also use a rattle.

Coffee Charlie was once doctoring his own boy, four years old, who was very sick and had been given up. The boy suddenly said, "Do you see a little bird on my head?" Coffee Charlie told him there was nothing there, but the boy insisted that a bird was there, chirping, and the bird was saying to him, "Little boy, you won't die, you will live." Coffee Charlie doctored him, and he lived. On another occasion Coffee Charlie doctored Annie Lowry's son, who had been given up by the white physician. Coffee Charlie used a stick about four feet long, carefully smoothed, and sprinkled with white clay, and with an eagle (?) feather at one end. This was set at the patient's head; the idea of the clay was that it would cause moisture all over the patient's body. The shaman went into a trance, then the boy was placed on him so that the pits of their stomachs were together, then the boy was taken away by his mother. Before this he shook his rattle; at first the sound seemed far away, but gradually it got closer and closer. The boy at first did not recognize his mother, but did a little later. He recovered.

755 756 (683) Mack Winnemucca said that the Paviotso killed sorcerers (*stai*^{w} *puhdγa*^{iw}) who caused people's death. When a person "died," i.e., was very sick, the shaman would lie beside him and also "die" for several hours in order to bring him back. On the return trip, they heard talking about mountains. When the patient came to, his parents talked to him, asking whether he was well now, whether he wished for a drink of water, etc. They would give him water. The other Indians sat around both the patient and the doctor. At times it was necessary to keep up the treatment for three or four nights. Sometimes the doctor's spirit coming back unsuccessful was heard crying. During the doctoring the shaman did not move but lay stiff as a board till his return. This procedure is called *mugudmandq'*, a word doubtless connected with *nō̄'mō mūgua*,

775 human soul or spirit. A person who dies goes across a big body of water

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are
up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking,
the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 171
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both
Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will 845
also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is 828
thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the 000
Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.

[2] Ibid., 13, 47, 48, 50, 57.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WB	Ki	AE
2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2472. Any time	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2473. Power inherited from father	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2474. From mother	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2475. Before relative's death	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2476. After relative's death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2477. Source of power in natural dreams (unsought)	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2478. Sought in mountains	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2481. Shaman interprets vision	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2483. Power may be refused	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2484. One doctor has several powers	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485. Vision gives: songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2486. Dances	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2487. Paraphernalia	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2488. Paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2489. Methods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2490. Doctor's assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2492. Feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2493. Eagle down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2494. Fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
2495. Clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2496. Deerclaw rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496a. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2497. Cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2498. Flute	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2500. Curing Performances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. In house	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
2503. Doctor sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2504. Audience joins song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2505. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2507. Pipe passed to right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
2507a. Left (clockwise)	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2508. Doctor talks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2509. Assistant interprets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2510. Doctor dances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Doctor walks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Doctor sucks out of patient:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2513. Blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Snake	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2515. Flint	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2516. Stick	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
2517. Worm	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2518. Other or various objects	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519a. Bone	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2520. Stick	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2522. Feather	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2523. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526a. Rubs object on hand	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2527. Doctor blows away disease	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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[p.413]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
755

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	Tc	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ak
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2540. Sleight-of-hand	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2550. By sucking out snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
2557a. Female	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2559. Transforms self into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2560. Power of rapid travel	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2561. Invulnerable	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2564. Power from various animals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2566. Power to foretell future	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2568. Killed for declining	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	.	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijunaipma)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2577. Offerings to "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2578. To ghost (tsaavu)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
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789

N
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N
[787]

N
W
A
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681
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N
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776
782

[p. 414]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
721 raided them and drove them out of the country
173 (GN). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave
(LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and
MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which ac-
counted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined
Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley.
This explains why so many arrow and spear points
have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The
war against Sai is only one about which DW knew.
"The Sai were from around Klamath River and
raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard
that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands
aided in battle. This happened three generations
W
[721] ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger"
was remembered by LR. One person was killed.
Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was
a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The
Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither
wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai
lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed
near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe)
only called Sai because it came to signify any-
one bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in
war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The In-
dians in American army really won the World War.
The Indians showed generals how it could be done.
They formed a circle around German trenches (JM).
Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The
Tagö had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm
Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie
Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight
against Pit River Indians. He got scared, how-
ever, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Pai-
A
ute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was
[721 generations ago, the other was in historic time
173] and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and killed all the girls who had been taken captive to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble at home. There were many people killed, "maybe 4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N
778 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered,
832 mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin,
753 the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm.
It is dangerous to possess such a charm because
it might enter one's body through a sore or
something and kill owner. It causes sickness
like blood poisoning. Tö: A mole charm is dan-
N
[755] gerous medicine. One made an Indian boy sick a
little while ago, and he would have died if the
Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was
painted and father was forced to throw away his
mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to
N
be very dangerous.
844 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and
[115] denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement 5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

[p. 441 (A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of nonacceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [756] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

N 756 2495. Kü: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). Tö: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Kü: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

Curing Performances

N 755 2505. Tü: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Kü: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Ki: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. AE: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [755] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Tö: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 756 2549a. To: - (LP).

2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

[p. 443 (R)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 2554. To: See note 2549.

2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

756 683 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

● N 755 756 [177] 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p.444(A)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [84] 2595. To: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

● N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö dis-
276 tinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands
I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed,
but several recognized muipö as the name of a
powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it
N could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 di-
rections, it was good luck in gambling, it would
[525 strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed,
777] and he knew prayer was offered before and after
N digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson
782 City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was pow-
erful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its
possessor if kept too long. Pa: DW described
muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance, costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-nûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (30)]

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
621 gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
529 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
755 tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
182 that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack 756
of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the 182
old confidence in their powers.

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person 756
of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman 787
may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves.

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

> A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the
paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the [778]
eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer, badger, or coyote skin.

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sick- [753]
ness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the dreams.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish 756
to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when 755 ●
a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do 787
as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 778

756 parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured.
755 If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people,
787 but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a
778 person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses
[753] his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

756 Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once
787 or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related the following dream.

> I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness. I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick
> [755] people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical
[776] beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies." They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

[753] When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of sickness.

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a de- 776
ceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative [775]
visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the 787
power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account.

> When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do
> that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt [751]
> him.
>
> Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to
> get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with [755]
> the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well.
>
> One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the 755
> snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to.
>
> Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist 825
> next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started 756
to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be 787
a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get 776
eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way.

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman. A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

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787
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[755]
[775]

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

781
787
[777]

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

224
787

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see through anything. That makes him lucky.

525
787
[777]

787 776 [156] While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have supernatural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

756 There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

[787] Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doctors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen because he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life. [754]

Interpreters.—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience. [198] The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

● 755 *Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there [776] all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with

The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snakebite. [823]

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground
at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The
door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his
kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was
the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the
sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions
that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on
each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the
interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise.
"It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe
around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times
he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and
sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue
to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He
spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the
patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and
the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated
by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each
person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman
sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay
him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing,
and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They
should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle
feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour
to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is
very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter,
what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring
about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The
shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

755 he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

[774] When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

[064] About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

756 755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

[815] Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

752 755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then 752
the patient is all right. 755

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the 756
sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old [865]
days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs [753]
harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. [688]

About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others [579]
stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to give back the fee.

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a 755
sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the 753
relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power.

Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If [841]
a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once.

A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any 756
kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows.

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cut- [685] ting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another wo- [598] man's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said, "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded [755] together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and [984] those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse [841] with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had [842] to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went 756 into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he 804 came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people 787 that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all [528] night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

[787] night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and
156 showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[209] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

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754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power
[825] from the bear.

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and
[755] then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient gets well.

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

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755
683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755 683

> There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feathers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. 764 To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775 ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

> When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

756 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of
114 the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2]
787 Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

[191] Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturity, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

●755 191 Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 787 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corroborated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

756 [755] The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

[224] The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

[778] [191] It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*.; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba*, sorcery power. All of these are thought to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The
doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ba*, are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their
power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to
attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [534
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224]
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

776 the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he
756 did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also
787 said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In
general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and
while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to
follow.

756 Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above
787 theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of
power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice
and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and
[869] techniques. The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him
that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to
remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger
of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental
pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the
community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or
special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his
power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the
case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting.
● [755] Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she
was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was
the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her
sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started
to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services
free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however,
began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise
had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm.
781 She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream
787 and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned
[755] Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill.
From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give
her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

756 A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community
787 is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and
unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant
behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick,
the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the
child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage
the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret
them in terms of power.

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

THE Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who [754
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own [776]
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775]
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated
murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's [787]
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. [756]
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish [755]
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake [787]
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagno-
[755] sis. Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter
again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on
him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sick-
[776] ness one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have
seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to
Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she
worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own
power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew
thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an
unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a
result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times
because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were
forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a
result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and
when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of
the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to
Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[2] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It [761]
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[3] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the daytime or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[2] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[3] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts.
753 In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards
775 with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became
stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her
breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
[761] was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A
woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse.
While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his
mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts
of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died.
He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had
looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he
was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came
to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
● [755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie
Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
775 weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased
and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt
the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden
bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an
attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will
not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attributed
[761] many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

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[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.

[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 753 775
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood
gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old
blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the
blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but some- 757]
times he calls in a doctor.[a]

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very
ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is
responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the
fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the
family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although
he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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[a] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

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THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases.
Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists.
In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient
and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending
[757] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological
treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied
externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may
[782 pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he
776] splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the
sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting,
757] paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the
operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if
new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or
protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's
immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and,
if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected
and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after
sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on
which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or
with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The
relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor
756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to
work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of
[753] becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a
755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the
756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a
pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays,
when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

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[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

paid in silver which is placed in a cup of water until the doctoring is completed. 755
If a woman is ill, it is customary for some woman relative to take the money to the 756
doctor; if a man, a male relative. Occasionally when a doctor is on some case, he will treat the minor or chronic ills of other persons for a reduced rate, charging only one dollar for such service.

The choice of doctors is limited. In the old days, when the camp groups were scattered, it was usually necessary to send someone in search of a doctor and there was little opportunity for choice if the matter was pressing. Today, when the community is localized and there are two doctors, the family will choose the one they trust most—the one who has been most successful in treating the family. If the disease is unusual, however, and one in which the other doctor is reputed to be particularly versed, they may summon him instead of the family doctor. For example, some doctors have a reputation for being particularly adept at working on unconscious people. If the symptoms have lingered for a long time and doctorings have not been successful, the family may postpone further treatment until they can get some visiting doctor from another locality or band.

The doctor, after he has been summoned and paid according to his specifications, sets a time and a place for the doctoring. In the old days, it seems to have been customary to construct a special house for the ceremony. If the weather was clement, a sagebrush enclosure sufficed; when this was impractical, a thule or cloth house was set up. Nowadays, the doctorings are held in the ordinary wooden dwellings, usually the home of the patient. A stove replaces the old fireplace which was located in the center of the dwelling. Formerly, the patient was placed on one side of the door and the spectators sat in a circle inside and close to the walls of the house, leaving the central space around the fireplace clear. In so far as it is possible, the same arrangement is attempted in the frame house, although the position of the stove usually necessitates a slightly different organization.

Doctorings usually take place soon after sundown and last late into the night, sometimes until dawn. There were a few exceptions to this recorded. In one instance the doctoring took place in the day time because the patients were drunk in the evening when the doctor had said he would work, and, since he was leaving Burns the following evening, he agreed to work in the morning.

It is considered important to have a large company present for each doctoring. [844
All adults, except pregnant or menstruating women, are permitted to attend. It is 843]
claimed that such women cause the patient to sweat, and, when they attend the meetings despite the taboo, they are thought to cause some doctors to become hoarse and have difficulty in speaking. Children are not allowed. In the old days when the camp groups were small, every one in the community who was able usually attended; but now, when the community is much larger, the people who participate seem to be limited to the members of the patient's family and clique.

In the old days, the doctor had no distinctive costume. He wore a breechclout [292]

755 and moccasins and occasionally a skin shirt. Nowadays the doctors wear American
756 clothes. For some reason, however, American shoes are not allowed, and further-
[292] more, doctors do not permit anyone to enter a house where a curing is in progress
unless he wears moccasins.

The doctor usually carries a pipe with special tobacco and a feather from the
[293] tail of an eagle or sagehen. Individual doctors may have other types of paraphernalia but the majority have only these items.

755 The procedure differs somewhat from doctor to doctor but the underlying
782 pattern is always the same. The doctor appeals to his spirit helpers by singing and praying and asks them to aid him in diagnosing and curing the disease. The men and women of the audience join in the songs after they become familiar with them. It is thought that they help influence the doctor's powers. A man, who is
[533] known as the repeater, leads the spectators in the singing and interprets the doctor's orders concerning procedure.

Sometimes the doctor asks his power to show itself in some way, so that he and the spectators may know of its presence. For example, a doctor with power in clouds might ask them to make known their presence by sending rain, or another might ask the lightning and thunder to come. Some doctors perform tricks to demonstrate the presence of their power. One doctor walked on live coals. Another was reported to have cooled a red hot stove with his body. As he danced around the stove, occasionally leaning his body against it, he told the people that if the stove cooled it was a sign that his power would cure the sick man.

The appeal to the power is always accompanied by vigorous dancing. While singing and between songs the doctor dances around the fire, pausing now and then to rest and smoke his pipe, which is passed among the spectators at other times. A few doctors have assistants who dance with them.

755 Water is often sprinkled around the room at some time during the ceremony. I do not know the explanation for this except that water is recognized as a purifying agent and is spoken of as being like the human breath.

Sucking is part of nearly every ceremony. The doctor often sucks out some foreign object and thus effects a cure. He spits the object out of his mouth and shows it to the people. He then mixes it with dirt in his hands, rubs his hands together, and the object disappears. Sometimes he vomits the object into a pan of earth to make it disappear. In the case of the bullfrogs, the doctor sucks them from the patient's body and then drives them out of the house.

This is the basic pattern which varies according to the special rituals of the doctor and the nature of the disease which is being treated. It is difficult to say just which part of the ceremony is for the purpose of diagnosis and which for curing. As in other aspects of the culture, the Paiutes did not make general statements and I was forced to deduce the theories from an analysis of the reports of the treatment of concrete cases. For example, sucking is sometimes for the purpose

of diagnosis, sometimes part of the cure, and sometimes for both. In one instance, 755 Dr. Damin sucked at the top of Dick Jonas' head when he sought to discover his ailment. Dick was unconscious at the time and Dr. Damin diagnosed the case as "loss of breath." In another case, Dr. Thomas sucked a snake out of Ellen and stated that a ghost was responsible for the illness. On the other hand, in several cases when the patient had a localized pain, the doctor cured the illness by sucking out some foreign object.

Sometimes the "laying on of hands" or the touching of the patient's body with a feather seems to be directly related to diagnosis, at other times to curing. Although the singing and appeal to the power seem to be most often solely for diagnosis, in one case it was stated that the doctor's songs drew the bad power from the patient's body.

It is possible to deduce several generalizations concerning the method of curing certain diseases. When the doctor decides that an illness is caused by sorcery, [754] he does one of three things. He may discover the identity of the sorcerer, and persuade him to repent and to call off his power by bathing and praying to the sun; or he may suck the diseased object sent by the sorcerer out of the patient's body and cure him without the aid of the sorcerer; or he may exorcise the bad power by song alone without sucking, or by both singing and sucking.

When the disease is found to be caused by the patient's own power several [753] things may be done. The doctor may take the power away from the patient either by sucking it out or in some other way, thus permanently removing the power; or he may take the power out, "fix it up" and restore it to the patient. If the doctor finds that the patient has failed to obey the power, he determines the unheeded orders and instructs the patient to carry them out in the future. If it is found that the patient is suffering because of the loss of his power through theft, the doctor can discover the thief and see that the power is returned. Lastly, if the patient is suffering because he has lost part of his paraphernalia, the doctor can, with the aid of his own power, find the lost object, or he can make a copy of it for the patient.

When the diagnosis is ghost sickness, as a general rule the doctor does not [775] suck. He identifies the ghost who is trying to steal the patient's breath and attempts 753] to drive it away with his power songs, or he prescribes rituals, such as sprinkling ashes around the house or putting bunches of wild rose by the door, to keep the ghost away in the future. If the ghost has already made off with the patient's breath, the doctor can cure him only by pursuing the breath. A doctor who specializes [774] in breath-catching has a formalized procedure. He dances until his breath begins to leave him, then he either falls or lies down beside the patient. Often he has his assistants cover both him and the patient with the same blanket. According to native theory, the doctor is like a dead man when his breath goes up the Milky Way after the patient's breath. His voice travels with his breath and reports his experiences as he wanders around searching, and the audience can hear him talking to the patient's breath when he finally finds it. Then the two breaths return to earth and to the bodies which have been lying rigid. Often the assistants have to lift the bodies to aid them back to life.

When the ghost sickness is caused by bad dreams, cures are sometimes effected by finding out the content of the patient's dream. In some cases when the patient has fainted or is "out of his mind," the doctor sprinkles water on him. One informant explained that a doctor did this only when he caught the ghost sickness before it was "in the blood."

The procedure described above is the Paiute theory and ritual of diagnosis and cure. To understand how the doctor actually decides which type of disease is causing the sickness it is necessary to probe deeper. Such an analysis will reveal the significance of the concepts of power and the theories of disease in the social life of the Paiutes.

THE PROBLEM OF DIAGNOSIS

As has been shown, there are four major causes of illness recognized by the 755 Paiutes and diagnosed by the doctors. It is formally stated that the doctor [753] decides with the help of his power which type of disease is responsible for the condition of a patient. When asked, informants said that there was no way of diagnosing from symptoms and that no layman could predict what a doctor's power would tell him. They refused to recognize the fact that often the relatives and the community as a whole have definite ideas as to the nature of the disease before they ever summon a doctor. They refused to recognize that doctors do not choose at random from the possible explanations, and that their choice is usually in accord with, and influenced by, public opinion.

I have attempted to discover the unformalized criteria which both the laymen [121] and doctors use in diagnosing disease. Cases which were complete enough to give an analyzable segment of the social events preceding the sickness were selected for study and it was found that there were similarities in the life events, in the ages, and in the circumstances surrounding the onset of sickness of people who were said to suffer from the same diseases.

A study of the cases where the patient's own power was given as the cause of 753 illness suggests that this diagnosis is given when some of the following conditions [755] are present: when the patient is young; when one of the patient's parents or close relatives has power; when the patient is known or rumored to have power or when he can remember recurrent dreams; when the patient has special talents which he does or does not use; or when some major affliction, such as blindness, occurs when the patient is still young.

Helen's illness at the time of the birth of her only son, Bill, is an example of a case of sickness caused by one's own power. Helen's father died when she was a year and a half old, and her mother was held responsible for his death by her in-laws. According to Helen he fell from a wild horse which he attempted to ride [752] when drunk. In any case, his family made it so unpleasant for Helen's mother that she set out all alone on one of her husband's horses for Fort Bidwell. There she married J. Smith, a cousin of her deceased husband. The children were brought up by their grandparents and Helen did not see her mother until six years later when she and her two youngest brothers were sent to the Indian boarding school at Fort Bidwell.

Helen was the youngest child in school and does not seem to have been very happy except during vacations when she stayed with her mother. She was fond

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her
mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she
[584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood
playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on
[578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and
Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant
again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have
[754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many
enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's
mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly
torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the
birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa
755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had
[753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she
had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the
importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked
her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt
that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her.
Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets
and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The
matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting
doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take
Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water
and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because
she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it
was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and
told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she
had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even
hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor
578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself.
Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that
he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [784]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day,
two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out
with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

755 753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work. [787 781]

Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his [164] blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind and his daughter is blind.

753 755 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred [756] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry [777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experi- [754]
ence which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness. Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is un- 753
conscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath. This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273]
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity, which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

155 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry [622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

[787] ● 755 753 Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 578 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved, is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to [753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

754 the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp, [755] worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery. He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T. Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery. Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis. She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr. M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly, although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances. [155] He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived in Burns.

[578] The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly. On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning. Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs. M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them, but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling [787] he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This
time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not
name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was
obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter
family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the
sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the
family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to
get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They
said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to
each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and
Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [758]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her
by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according
to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated
by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters
felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better
educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men.
Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter
because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was
probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey.
Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed
her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused
of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the
family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M.
girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public
opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [652]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and
no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had
relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of
the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has
had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments, and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power, some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [684]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

755 power, the censure is on the patient's own action; in ghost sickness, the blame may
681 be laid on the deceased's relatives or on the patient for thinking of them. In the case of sorcery, the blame is placed on someone else. These facts begin to shed light on the importance of the concept of power and the theory of disease and therapy and suggest how these beliefs function in social control.

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood, is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its possessor 756
employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punish- 578
ment. For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[8] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which [574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent [753 761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case ● [155] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[8] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

756 struments are used by some shamans at the beginning of the
778 curing performance in order to call the powers. They are little used
534 today, however, and it is doubtful that they were formerly commonly included with the paraphernalia. It was reported that a shaman uses a whistle only if told to do so by his power. When the whistle is not in use, it is stuffed with feathers.

756 A bone or wooden tube six to twelve inches in length, used in
778 sucking out the disease, might also be included in the outfit if required by a shaman's spirit. When not in use, such a tube is filled with feathers. Commonly the shaman sucks the cause of disease
● [755] from the patient by applying his mouth to the part of the body where, according to the diagnosis, the pain is localized. Some shamans, however, suck the disease from the patient through these tubes.

Paraphernalia in excess of the common standard equipment does not give a shaman stronger or even special powers. Nevertheless, unique or unusual additions are not looked upon as nonessential elaborations of the shaman's equipment. Everything in the kit is important and has a meaning, for if only a single feather is missing, the shaman faces sickness and supernatural impotence. All paraphernalia must be carefully preserved and used only in accordance with the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. When power is secured from several sources, say from several species of birds and animals, each spirit is represented in the shaman's paraphernalia. If part of the outfit is lost or disposed of, the particular power thus offended will cause the shaman to be sick, but he will be deprived of only that part of his power bestowed by the outraged spirit. The shaman may not lose all of his powers through the anger of a single spirit. It is reported that Abraham Mahwee, a shaman at Pyramid Lake, formerly had power from the bear in addition to the powers ascribed to him today. Grieving over the death of his wife a number of years ago, he threw away that part of his paraphernalia which had been collected at the command of the bear. Soon after, he became seriously ill and had to call in another shaman to doctor him. Since his recovery, he has not been able to get the bear to help him in doctoring, although he has not lost the powers given him by other spirits.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753
ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757]
The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and
is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman.
Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes
and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring
about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a
strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164]
that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were
not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains
which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural
causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive
world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness
results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again,
an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774]
may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of
breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [698]
their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are
somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish
among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787
dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755]
intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion
it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient.
Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754]
sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved.
Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native
belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease
would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294-295, observes that shamans return the lost
soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence
of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's
account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114]
cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on
the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief
only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution
of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the
Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

> People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different 753
> ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person 787
> dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be heard telling the dreamer to do certain things. Other people dream that a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'abᵃ), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the
bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady
has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782]
recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent
illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not
remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then overcome 753
the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755
The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787
on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775
cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753
Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774
in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ́yəp, or numəmugu'ᵃ.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

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[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

753 825 It is believed that animals as well as ghosts can bring sickness to man. Apparently, such sickness may result from a deliberate malicious effort as in the case of the coyote; with other animals it may be involuntary or the means of punishment.

> Once a man dreamed that three coyotes came to him. They said, "Tell us who is a good man. We will get him and eat him. If you do not tell us, we will come and eat you." The man believed them, so he told them about a woman. A few days after the man had this dream, the woman was sick. They got a shaman to doctor her. He sang for two nights before he knew what made her sick. Then he saw three coyotes in a cloud. Only the heads could be seen. He saw that they were coming to get the woman. He told the woman's family what the coyote had done. They were coming then. When they came close and saw the shaman, they were afraid. They went away and never bothered the woman again. The shaman told her to put red paint on all her joints. [755] She was to paint red and white bands around her joints. [Treatment in this fashion is customary in curing illness caused by dreams.] Coyote could see that paint when he was a long way off. He did not like it so he never came again. (Joe Green)

Other game animals, especially large game, such as antelope and mountain sheep, can also cause illness. The owl appears, prophetically perhaps, in dreams to bring sickness. Gophers, too are thought to be a sign of sickness and death, but it is doubtful that they cause either. When gophers are caught, they are skinned and the skin is spread over the belly of the carcass. Both are then hung up on the south side of a bush, tree, or house. Gophers may also be [782] burned until only ashes remain. In the course of either operation, a prayer in some such words as these is recited: "You tried to give me bad luck. Now you will be destroyed."

754 Sorcery is an extremely potent source of illness. The sorcerer secures his power from the same sources and in the same way as the shaman who practices for the general good. In fact, to the Paviotso a sorcerer is a shaman who utilizes his power not in the socially accepted way but in a dangerous and anti-social fashion; he has corrupted potentially beneficial power in such a way as to cause harm. The sorcerer is frequently designated by the term for shaman, puhágəm. There is, however, another word for the sorcerer, numə́tukə́d• (eater of people), but the former seems to be more commonly used.

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that 754
all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. 756
According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is al- 755●
ways a public performance, with spectators participating to a
certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices
are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans.
The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the [776
only other important public ceremony.[13] The Paviotso shaman 224]
gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power,
nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is
not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an im-
portant public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious [796]
activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso 756
shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

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[13] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890
were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both move-
ments, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they [796
had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the]
Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance.

756 instructed sons and daughters in curing practices. It is reported
that in some instances when a shaman is invited to treat his first
patient, he may ask an older experienced man to help him the first
night. The instructor initiates the curing and carries it on for
nearly half the night. The younger shaman then takes over the
performance and goes on unaided. This is entirely a personal
affair between shamans, as there are no organizations or societies
of shamans. Usually, instead of mutual interests and aims bring-
[57] ing shamans together, rivalry and jealousy, manifested by at-
tempts to poison one another, are typical of their feelings and
behavior.

755 In curing, each shaman is thought to derive his particular procedure from the supernatural power which directs his efforts. Therefore it seems perfectly consistent to the Paviotso that no two shamans will go through the curing performance in precisely the same way. There is, nevertheless, a general form of procedure followed by all shamans when they treat the sick. The characteristic features of this prevailing plan will first be described.

Curing always takes place at the home of the patient. In winter the mat-covered, dome-shaped house is the scene of the performance; in warm weather the shaman usually performs in the circular brush wind-break which serves as shelter while the family is away from winter quarters. Beyond sweeping the floor, nothing is done to the house in preparation for the arrival of the shaman and spectators.

The family of the sick person decides which shaman is to be called in to doctor. This decision may be made by the patient, if he is able to make his desires known. When the illness is quite serious, a shaman known to have unusually strong powers may be asked to doctor. Shamans of renown may be called in from another band, especially in serious cases, or after the failure of a local practitioner.

Shamanistic curing performances are attended by all who are living conveniently near. No public announcement is made when a shaman is about to cure, but the news of the coming event nevertheless circulates quickly. Often when a shaman is invited in the morning, everyone within walking distance has heard of the coming performance by nightfall. Consequently, a crowd never fails to gather for the curing rites.

The shamanistic performance is probably best looked upon as 755 a blend of the social and the religious. All who attend participate, [533] at least in a small way, by singing, which is thought to be a powerful aid in establishing contact through the shaman with the supernatural forces. This in turn assists the shaman in gaining control over malignant forces. When Paviotso shamanism was in full swing, these performances, held in a small closely packed house, must have been exciting and impressive. The singing and the shaman's tricks appear to have excited the spectators to a high emotional pitch which was followed by a relaxation of tension attended often by a general feeling of satisfaction when control of the sickness was demonstrated by the return of the soul or the extraction of a disease-object. The social aspect of these gatherings was and is today an important motive for attending. There were occasions during the night for talk and gossip, an opportunity never spurned by the Paviotso. The food provided by the patient's family at midnight also held a strong social appeal, for the religious tensions were largely relaxed for the moment. Finally, in the absence of other important religious ceremonies, these rites were charged with more feeling and emotion [781] than any other type of community gathering.

At the present time, there is little specialization among shamans. 756 In aboriginal times, however, certain types of disorders were 463 treated by shamans known for their ability along special lines. Shamans with power from the rattlesnake were believed to have the greatest power for treating people bitten by that snake. Again, only shamans who derived power from water-babies could treat sickness caused by these beings. Shamans who secured their powers from ghosts specialized in curing those whose illness resulted from experiences with the souls of the dead. Still other forms of specialization in curing seem to depend on the strength of the shaman's power rather than upon its source. Some powerful shamans are believed to be especially efficacious in curing the ill-effects of dreams; others are famous for success in doctoring wounds. On the Pyramid Lake Reservation at the present time, one shaman is well known for assisting women in cases of difficult labor, not because of any particular kind of power, but because of a number of successful cures. As with this man, the renown of shamans as specialists is based entirely on success in treating

756 certain types of afflictions. In still another form of illness, soul
463 loss, cures can be made only by shamans who have unusually
strong power. Lost souls are restored not by virtue of power from
a particular source, but rather by the aid of spirits far stronger
than those possessed by the ordinary shamans.

755 The curing performance usually takes place at night. In case of a wound, a snake-bite, or very serious illness, a shaman may be summoned at any time of the day or night. In this event, the doctoring begins as soon as the shaman arrives. Apparently these emergency treatments take place infrequently. The performance at night which is thought of by the Paviotso as the orthodox form of doctoring is called tuníku'hu (literally, singing). An emergency treatment which lasts about three hours is known as sɔgɔ́nəbu'ᵘ. The meaning of this term is not known.

It is customary for the shaman to doctor a patient for two nights. Several informants insisted that the treatment must be kept up for this length of time even though the patient shows signs of recovery after the first night. The shaman does not doctor two successive nights, however, but rests one night between the first and second treatments. When a patient is dangerously ill, two shamans may be called in, though usually they do not work together, but alternately. One performs the first night and the other the second, and so on.

A member of the patient's family summons the shaman, usually
visiting the shaman at sunrise. The shaman is reserved and aloof
during the consultation, slowly smoking his pipe while considering
the summoner's invitation. The fee is briefly discussed and agreed
upon; it may also be paid at this time. In former days, beads,
465 skins, blankets, and horses were paid for a shaman's services;
nowadays the usual fee is three to five dollars. No doubt the
shaman's remuneration varies considerably, the better-known
practitioners charging even more than the larger sum mentioned.

756 It is said that shamans who overcharge their patients become ill. The explanation offered is that the shamans' powers determine the fee and if the practitioner asks for more the spirit will be angry and punish the offender. On the other hand, shamans are required by their powers to collect a fee for treating patients; the giving of free services would endanger the life of the shaman.

The only exception to this rule mentioned by informants is in 756
the case of illness in the shaman's immediate family, where he can treat the sick without exacting a fee and at the same time remain in the good graces of his power.

Shamans may permit their patients to defer payment of the charges for curing. If the debt is not paid in a specified time, however, the shaman will suffer a serious illness. This is believed to be the shaman's penalty for disobeying the injunctions of his power. Consequently, the shaman makes sure that he will be paid, usually demanding the fee in advance. In spite of these precautions, several instances of sickness among shamans, attributed to the failure to pay, were recorded.

Shamans rarely refuse to accept a case. It is generally agreed that shamans are required to treat the sick whenever they are asked. It is said that if a shaman refuses to go, his power will be angry, and sickness and loss of power will result.

When invited to doctor, the shaman asks few questions. He 755
does not inquire about the patient's symptoms, for his power is supposed to help him determine them. Yet he may briefly question the summoner about the patient's actions prior to the illness.

After gravely and quietly considering the request for assistance, the shaman announces that he will doctor that night. Then he directs the preparation of the stick (subínamadáʙu·inya) which is to be placed upright by the patient's head. The relative who summons the shaman cuts and prepares this stick, which is of willow and is three or four feet long. The shaman takes a feather from his kit (usually the tail-feather of the eagle) which, together with a bone or shell bead and down from the breast of the eagle, is attached by a buckskin thong to the blunt end of the stick. Red and white bands may also be painted on the wand. The precise way in which it is prepared and decorated depends upon the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. The relative now returns home, and the wand that he has prepared under the direction of the shaman is stuck in the ground beside the patient's head with the feathers and the bead hanging by several inches of string from the top of the stick. During the day the wand may be kept outside the house, but it is taken in and placed by the patient before the doctoring begins.

● 755 756 [463] The shaman arrives after dark, usually about nine o'clock. He is accompanied by his interpreter or "talker," called poínab·.[14] The interpreter, like the shaman, receives a fee for his services; usually he is paid about half as much as the shaman. His function in the curing rites is to repeat, in a loud clear voice, everything that is said by the shaman. In the curing rites, the shaman mumbles and speaks rapidly in broken snatches. The interpreter sitting at his left listens attentively and repeats the words clearly in order that the spectators may understand. He also follows the songs that the shaman sings, repeating the words loudly to enable the spectators to follow them easily and join in the singing. The interpreter learns only through practice, as he does not have supernatural power to aid him. A shaman always uses the same interpreter, who becomes familiar with his songs and way of talking. Several people stated that formerly the interpreters were not numerous, that shamans outnumbered interpreters. It is also said that in earlier days only men acted in this capacity, but nowadays women also interpret for shamans. One informant asserted that the interpreter also "prays" to the source of the sickness during the course of the curing. According to this statement, before the shaman starts to doctor, the interpreter seats himself by the patient and addresses the "sickness" with some such words as these:

> Our doctor is here. He is a good doctor. He is a strong doctor. You are poisoning this man. This doctor will find out about you. He knows you. Go away and leave this man alone. We do not want him to be sick. Go away and do not come back again. (Joe Green)

This informant stated that later in the performance, when the shaman had diagnosed the cause of illness, the interpreter again prays. This time he addresses the shaman. He might say,

> Cure this man. Make the sickness disappear. Make this man well. Suck out the sickness that is inside him. Show us the sickness that you suck out. Then he will recover.

Other informants did not confirm this function of the interpreter. The general opinion seems to be that the interpreter's duties consist only of repeating the words of the shaman and leading the spectators in singing his songs. Qualifications for this posi-

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[14] It may be noted that a chief and the head man of a communal undertaking are also designated by the same term.

755● tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing 756 throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be 755 noted. This is the dancer (wũtád^{a}). The dancer is always a woman 535 and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous. She may be either married or single. This performer carries a bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This [534] type of rattle (wadákət') is held close to the front of the body and jerked up and down in time to the dance step. The dancer follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction. Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short, quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee [465] equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for 755 if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means that in the summer the curing does not get under way before ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One [756 may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his 757] clothing in a particular way.

755 clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own [302] style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left; the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range themselves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if [841 they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are 843] required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

756 The number of songs and their length vary with different 533 shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

After singing for a time, the shaman gets up and walks or hops 755
slowly around the fire in the center of the room. If he employs a dancer, she follows him around the room each time he makes a circuit. He always moves around the room counter-clockwise. In describing this part of the performances, one informant volunteered the remark, "The whirlwind always moves in that direction too." Unfortunately, I neglected to question others on this point.

When the shaman sits down, he takes up his pipe, already 755
filled by the interpreter, takes several puffs, and then passes it 276
around among the spectators, always in a counter-clockwise direction. Everyone must take one or two whiffs of smoke, the number varying according to the shaman's instructions. The singing continues while the shaman smokes and during the time the pipe is being passed around. If anyone refuses to smoke, the shaman stops the performance until that person can be made to conform to his request. Otherwise the curing will not be successful, and the shaman will suffer from the annoyance of his power. The pipe is usually circulated among the spectators at intervals ranging from half an hour to an hour as long as the curing rite continues, customarily until morning.

The nature of the disease determines to some extent the general 755
plan of procedure. If the patient is unconscious and appears to [774]
be dead, it is obvious that he is suffering from soul loss. It is then imperative for the shaman to go into a trance (yáika)[15] as quickly as possible in order to find and return the soul before it has strayed too far. On the other hand, when disease results from other causes, the shaman may go into a trance in order to diagnose the illness and to confer with his power on the treatment. Whether or not the shaman goes into a trance for the latter purposes is said to be dependent upon the strength of his power.

The procedure for entering a trance varies considerably from 755
one practitioner to another, but the following statement will serve 787
to give an outline of generally accepted forms of practice. The shaman who goes into a trance first details five men to catch him as he staggers about the fire singing. They lower him to the ground

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[15] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, gives the term *mugwamanaq'* for this shamanistic trance. My informants were not familiar with this word.

755 787 and when he shows signs of returning to consciousness, they rub his limbs, especially the joints, with the feather wand. If the spirit of the shaman is returning with a lost soul, he can be heard talking with the soul as the spirits approach their respective bodies. When the shaman uses the trance for prognostic purposes, he will not only see the cause of illness but also signs which are interpreted as omens of recovery or of death. A trance of the latter kind was described by Dick Mahwee.

> I smoke before I go into the trance. While I am in the trance no one makes any noise. I go out to see what will happen to the patient. When I see a whirlwind I know that it caused the sickness. If I see the patient walking on grass and flowers it means that he will get well; he will soon be up and walking. When I see the patient among fresh flowers and he picks them it means that he will recover. If the flowers are withered or look as if the frost had killed them, I know that the patient will die. Sometimes in a trance I see the patient walking on the ground. If he leaves footprints I know that he will live, but if there are no tracks, I cannot cure him.
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> When I am coming back from the trance I sing. I sing louder and louder until I am completely conscious. Then the men lift me to my feet and I go on with the doctoring.

Apparently today few shamans are able to induce a trance state in the curing performance. It is frequently said that in former times, however, shamans commonly went into trances in curative practice. It is now impossible to determine how important a rôle this played in the shamanistic rites of aboriginal days. It should be noted that usually no distinctions are made between those who go into trances and those who do not. Several informants were of the opinion that there was only a difference in degree —those who used the trance were the more powerful shamans.

As soon as the shaman returns to consciousness, he relates his experiences in the trance. The singing is then resumed. If the shaman has found that the sickness is due to the presence of a disease object, at this point in the ceremony he will attempt to extract it by suction. This part of the treatment is shown as nubu'u or as patɔzibúoiid. My notes fail to give any distinction between the two terms.

755 He sucks the part of the body which his diagnosis has shown to be the seat of the pain. Usually he applies his mouth to the

patient's body, but some shamans use a bone or willow tube 755 through which the disease is sucked. The blood and the cause of disease are sucked out through the unbroken skin, as the shaman never bites or cuts the patient's body. While the shaman is sucking, the interpreter and spectators continue to sing until he signals for them to stop by a vigorous shake of the rattle. The blood that is sucked from the patient is spat into a shallow hole scooped out in the earth floor beside the shaman. A new song is started by the shaman as soon as he spits out the blood. Then the pipe may be passed around again and he walks or dances around the fire several times before he applies himself to the sucking. This procedure is repeated a number of times before the disease-object is extracted.

When the shaman finally draws out the cause of sickness, he exhibits it to the spectators. He shows a pebble, a small black lizard, an insect, or a worm, which he claims caused the illness. The disease-object is then disposed of by putting it in the hole with the bad blood and covering all with dirt. Apparently it is no longer harmful. As far as could be determined, no particular time is specified in the curing rite for the shaman to succeed in sucking out the cause of illness. Singing and smoking are resumed as soon as the shaman disposes of the disease-object.

At about midnight there is an intermission in the curing performance lasting about a half-hour. At this time food provided by the patient's family is passed among the spectators. It is said that the particular kind of food is prescribed by the shaman when he agrees to doctor the patient. The basket containing the food is handed about in a counter-clockwise direction. Some shamans indicate the exact way in which the food may be eaten at this time. Care is taken in handling the food. None should be dropped on the ground or wasted; and the unconsumed left-overs are carefully buried. Usually the shaman does not partake of the midnight meal. He may, however, talk and even joke with the spectators while they are eating.

The shaman brings the ceremony to an end in the morning a little before daylight. Shamans often say that as day approaches their songs come to them very faintly; this is regarded as a signal given by the powers to stop. The shaman then gives the family

● 755 instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These prescriptions are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course of the curing rites.

→ When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the spec-
755 tators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire.
535 The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire. According to one description, at the end of the dance all must shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the
[776] house and these actions drive it away.

755 The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were
[825] to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness and loss of power.

755 The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəp^{i}) and white (i·bi),
302 is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are se-
[386] cured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry powder, and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted. There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are employed for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily decoration with these paints is also common on social occasions. Nevertheless, the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the recovery of the sick.

756 789 These few tricks are about the extent of the shaman's legerdemain. It is evident that sleight-of-hand forms no important part of the shaman's stock-in-trade. Moreover, only a few shamans at any time employed such means to demonstrate their powers.

756 533 The small number of songs that were recorded have not been analyzed, but several general observations can be made. The words of a shaman's song often refer to the source of power. The songs are short; frequently they are not more than four or five words in length, with meaningless syllables often incorporated. The three shaman's songs published by Gilbert Natches illustrate these points. The songs are short, and mention curing or other attributes of the shaman's power. The words of one song, "the soul pursuing, the person's soul bring back," obviously refer to restoring a soul that has been lost.[17] The words of a single song are repeated as long as the shaman cares to continue, usually ten or fifteen minutes, sometimes even longer.

Shamans claim that they are not familiar with their songs before actually engaging in the performance of the curing rite. As we have seen, songs come to the practitioners from their powers when they are needed and cannot be recalled the next day. In the course of recording songs, three otherwise quite willing informants insisted that they were unable to recall their own songs, although they could remember those of other shamans. Evidently, shamans' songs differ from those sung at the round dance and for the hand-game, although there appears to be little difference in words. A number of informants unhesitatingly identified curing songs when reproduced on the phonograph, but authorship was not always recognized, and property rights in them never.

● 755 The following two accounts of shamanistic curing will illustrate several points in the procedure outlined above.

> Jackson Overton's father, Natches Overton, doctored my mother one time. I was sitting with my uncle. Natches smoothed the ground in front of us. Then he drew three circles in a row in the dirt. He said that he wanted a man to take off his shoes and stand with a foot in each of the end circles. My uncle took off his shoes and stood where Natches told him. After a while Natches told him to sit down. Then Natches sang. When he finished his song he told my uncle to scrape

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[17] Natches, *Northern Paiute Verbs*, 259.

> away the dirt in the circles. In the dirt of the first two circles he found 755
> nothing. In the third he found a small hard object that looked like a piece of copper. It was about the size of a ten-cent piece and there was a hole in the center. Natches then said, "I think this woman will recover." He told them to tie the small object to the top of my mother's head with her hair. He said that she must keep it there for ten days. The next morning she felt better. In seven or eight days she was almost well. On the tenth day she got up and walked. (Joe Green)

> Captain Dave was almost dead. His mind was gone. Two shamans were doctoring him. They quit because they could do nothing for him. People brought Bull Tom to doctor Captain Dave. Bull Tom said, "I am going to lie down here. I am going to find him. His mind is already gone. Maybe I cannot find him. I do not know how long he has been gone. Maybe it is too long." Bull Tom was in a trance for a long time. Then he was heard talking softly. He was still a long way off. We heard him say, "Do not be afraid. We are going home. We are going back to your home. We will go from here over to that mountain. Your boy, your daughter, your wife are all there. We are going back and see all of them there. Do not look back. Bad animals are back there. Do not go back; we will be home soon." Then Bull Tom came out of his trance. He told Captain Dave's family to blow on the top of Captain Dave's head. Captain Dave woke up. He recognized all the people around him. Bull Tom turned the doctoring over to the other shamans then. Captain Dave recovered and lived for many years. (Joe Green)

Shamans cure wounds and injuries as well as illness. The treat- 756
ment is substantially the same for all. Usually shamans suck out 752
arrowheads and bullets. In case of internal injury they draw off the blood which is believed to prevent recovery. Certain shamans, such as Wovoka, are credited with unusually strong powers for curing the injured and the wounded. No particular source of power is associated with this form of practice; such shamans also cure disease.

War parties are often accompanied by at least one shaman. He 756
takes part in the fighting, and only when hostilities are over does 726 752
he treat the wounded. The shaman utilizes his power while on the war-path solely for purposes of doctoring. The only exception is the shaman whose power not only enables him to cure but also makes him invulnerable. Invulnerability is occasionally exhibited in peace-times simply to demonstrate the shaman's mastery of supernatural spirits. It is not probable that these public exhibitions were ever very common.

wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a 756 wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not [556] relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to gain marked economic privileges.

SUMMARY

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is 755 ● the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire ceremonial [796] life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of organization, 756 Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in acquiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all [754] shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indicate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be regarded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel combinations of practices found widely over western North America, [171] the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are unique.

Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are re-

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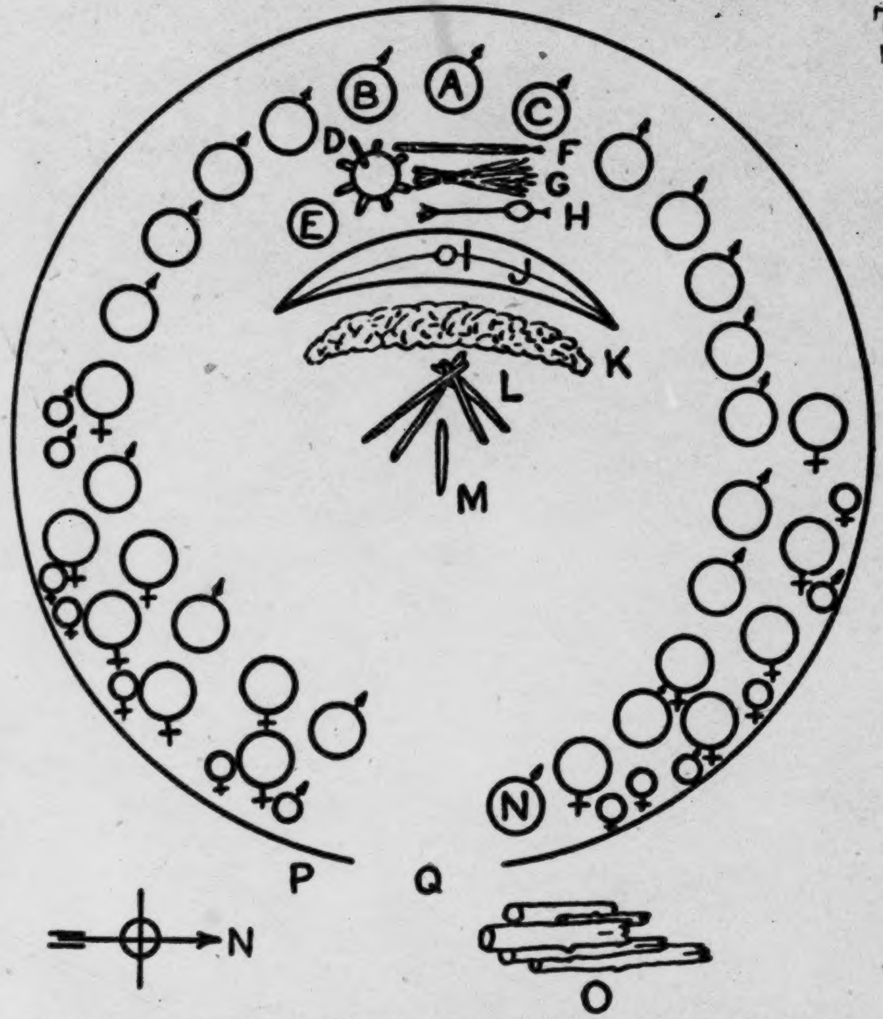

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

ceived. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great ●

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276 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar
● 755 smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled
*795 with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in
N nearly all peyote ceremonies.

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782 Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

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THE PEYOTE CEREMONY

*795 Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house
796 which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance;
[346] then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and pro-
[782] ceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[778] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it,
[276] to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

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LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[8]

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101 The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[9] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

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563 A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few
*795 Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

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FIELD METHODS

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114 Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances
000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[8] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[9] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

N W 177 795*

peyote,"[16] most of the adult Indians in the area of its distribution remembered in November, 1938, previously hearing of peyote, some having had personal experience with it.

In 1924, Dan Voorhees (P,1)[17] and Johnny Cleveland (P,1) heard that peyote was successfully used in a curing ritual in Oklahoma. A mixed-blood Sioux or Ponca, Tom Knudsen, the government farm agent then at Schurz, showed them an Indian Service pamphlet condemning peyote, but told them his family had been cured by it.

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Actual experience came through Leo Okio, an "Eastern Indian," who held meetings at Nixon, Fallon, and Schurz in the fall and winter of 1929–1930. When with the Northern Paiute, he lived with Joe Green, a Paiute shaman at Nixon, who befriended him and was convinced of peyote's power after seeing Leo cure cases of paralysis and pneumonia. Joe learned the relevant songs and assisted in the ritual. More than a dozen Indians described the 1929 meetings, several as eyewitnesses. The ritual differed in several particulars from the present Washo-Paiute cult, resembling what is known in the Great Basin as the "old Sioux way."[18] As many as seventy Indians attended Leo's meetings, some coming from as far away as Bishop, California, and McDermitt, Nevada. Although a number of converts were made, peyotism completely ceased as an active force when Leo Okio left. He is now principally remembered as an Indian doctor who took much money from the people and whose patients all died.

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Raymond Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin) (Ute,2), the second to hold meetings in the western Great Basin, arrived about 1932. A Uintah Ute, he had learned of peyote at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1913. Before marrying a Washo girl and settling with her tribe (where he was in 1938), he had also attended peyote meetings in Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico. Lone Bear was harbored by Sam Dick, a Washo shaman at Minden, Nevada. Soon he started "Sioux way" meetings and also "doctored" as an "old-time" shaman. Successful with both techniques, he collected for a few months from $15 to $60 for a single treatment. Nearly all the Washo in the vicinity attended his meetings. Sam Dick learned the peyote songs and made a kettledrum, acting as drummer during the rituals. Eventually, Lone Bear ruined himself by drinking too much and getting in jail too often. After his first period of success, he held only a few meetings. He has not been allowed to affiliate with the new movement.

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Besides the knowledge of peyotism brought to them by foreign Indians, the Washo–Northern Paiute also learned of peyotism on visits to other tribes. It is impossible to state exactly how many attended meetings elsewhere or heard of them, but I have information of several. Johnny Wright (by some called John Harrington)[19] (P,6) gives an interesting account. He had been converted to peyotism, "the

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[16] La Barre, 1938, 120, fn. 72: "Willard Park informed me in 1936 that the Paviotso [i.e., Northern Paiute] lacked peyote." Joe Green, one of Park's informants, joined the cult in 1929, continued believing in it, and reaffiliated with it in 1936. He said, "I didn't tell Willard Park about peyote because he didn't ask me."

[17] P, W, and S represent Northern Paiute, Washo, and Shoshone respectively, the tribes of the informants; figures agree with numbered places on the map, where informants live.

[18] The "old Sioux way" or "old Ute way" is still followed by a minority of the peyotists on the Goshute and Uintah-Ouray reservations. Although no detailed description is available, I have learned from the Indians that the moon is smaller, sometimes constructed on a piece of velvet; usually only four peyote buttons are eaten; there is no smoking; meetings are conducted strictly and without levity; and members are very pious. Rules of conduct resemble those of the Oto peyote church (Church of the First Born; see La Barre, 168–169).

[19] Wright interpreted for me in 1936; see Stewart, 1941.

N
CONVERTS AMONG WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

W About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meet-
159 ing privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with
*795 buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been
797 active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life to-
N gether probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam
W became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was
159 on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend.
755 Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's
*795 "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On
797 November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben
[274] to Johnny Doc (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doc there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doc's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doc was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[illegible] The In-

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[illegible] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after February, 1937.

W 159 755 ● 795* 797

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Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[19] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

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[19] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

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159 brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to
755 hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The
*795 meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the
797 reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Decroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Decroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Coleville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one W
mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members. 159

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake 755 ●
(California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at 795*
the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young
Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of 797
digitalis,[*] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again
made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lan- N
caster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. W
When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the [578]
sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[*] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so N
converts call him even when Ben is available. W

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding [435]

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[*] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.

[*] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

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The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

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The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[illegible] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[illegible] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full partici-
[841] pation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

N La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
W privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

N The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
W elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben,
171 admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
177 have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meet-
*795 ing too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water
N Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
W during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part
[533] of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534 to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
237 prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam.
755] Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

182 even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and
571 nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street.[illegible]

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced
*795 by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this
[648] acculturation study.[illegible] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and
attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions
to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic,
even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure,
we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion
formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals
that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every
explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition.
They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic
reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also
N aided the diffusion.

W As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely
182 advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have
755 to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty
*795 cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging
from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping
cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray,"
reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward re-
N covery.

W Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans con-
[648] tributed to this belief in peyote.[illegible] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much
as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[illegible] Most protracted illnesses
[756] for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans.
Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in
others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe
Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings,
and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is
N more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is
W better than Protestantism, although similar.[illegible]

761 Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that
*795 peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told
828 me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's
crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond
N Bishop) in Owens Valley.

W When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-
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[illegible] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[illegible] See Appendix III for statistics.

[illegible] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[illegible] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[illegible] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
755 curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
171 singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
801 visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoy-
756 ance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
276 peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
787 common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical con-
W clusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyot-
755 ism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
534 aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
276 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
533 a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute cere-
801 monial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

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complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers. W 177 795*

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism.[illegible]

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipõ that they use down south."[illegible] N 177 795* N [755] ●

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents.[illegible] N W 177 182 795*

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

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[illegible] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[illegible] Muipõ might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[illegible] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

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and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because 534
to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not [824]
allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called
the wind.

Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snowshoes and said they were a circular frame strung with strips of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet. 481

Ike was able to give some additional information on snowshoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. The snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's back until soft snow was encountered. [482]

Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959. 501 [824]

Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub^{i}, was used to make willow-bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used. Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles were blown by boys just for the fun of it. 534 [824]

The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrowcane and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin, a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. She also said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring. [824] [755] ●

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756 [755] The first type cured such minor things as headaches and used
massage as a major means of making cures. The second type
seemed to be closely related to the first since he also used
massage, but in addition rubbed medicine into the patient.
The third type had a more complex method of curing. To become a Numuhgunuhd (and presumably a Nutaigut) a person might dream for several years that it was necessary for him to become a doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as he did not want to become a shaman, for being a doctor entailed considerable responsibility and effort as in our own society, but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The Numuhgunuhd, however, did not have to go out alone to some wild and lonely spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the Nuhpud, did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he tried out being a Numuhgunuhd. If he was not too successful as this type of doctor he had to try to become a Nuhpud.

Gladys was treated once by a relative, Tsudi ("Judy"),
[755] for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a Nuhpud and
used an eighteen inch long arrowcane to suck a clot of blood
from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming
a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's
dreams. It is also said that the mother probably wished her
[428] dreams to her daughter. This would suggest that doctors
tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a shaman
Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both
a Numuhgunuhd and a Nuhpud.

753 Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the
ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's
[775] soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a
sorcerer, who "poisons" (puha') people. It has also been
[754] shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a
call to become a doctor. Unpleasant dreams made people sick;
753 also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be
828 applied to the Wadátkuht, these dreams could have crippling
effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a cave
in which she was trapped. To escape she had to walk over the

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753 snakes, much to her horror. She could not escape from the dream
828 until she awoke in the morning, and at that time she found she
was paralyzed from the hips down. She was in this condition for
755 two months and was treated by white doctors who were unable to
828 help her. Finally her parents called in a Paiute doctor who
made her think back and discover the dream which had caused her crippled condition. She told him of the dream of the snakes in the cave which she had to walk over. When she told him the dream he had her bathe in a creek before sunrise one morning. Her family lifted her into the cold water while the doctor sang over her, a treatment sufficient to cure her. Gladys said that the woman should have told of her dream earlier and she would have gotten well sooner.

754 __Sickness Caused by Sorcery__. A malevolent doctor might put a curse on an individual, or his children, by making such a statement as: "May you get sick and die from a cough". If the individual being cursed had too much power for the sorcerer's curse to take effect the shaman would put the curse on the person's children. A description of such a curse on a child is the following account by Gladys of the curse put on her when she was a baby. One night when Gladys was still a baby in the cradleboard, a woman doctor, Hadómuhdi, "Hello Mattie", came into the house and warmed her hands over the stove. Nearly everyone was in bed and Gladys was in her cradleboard on the bed playing with the beads hanging down from the hood. As the woman warmed her hands over the stove a baby was heard to cry on the stove, where-
754 upon Hadómuhdi left the house. Kitty immediately sent Gladys'
brothers after a man who was just becoming a doctor, and then
755 took some burning rags and followed the doctor to her door,
praying as she went. The doctor, whom Kitty sent for, arrived and observed Gladys who was crying long and loud. This man, Sagyeh', advised that two important and experienced doctors be called in to handle the case, which was done. When the two men came they started treating Gladys immediately. Hadómuhdi, the one who had made Gladys sick, came each night of the curing ceremony and was told to go outside and pray "if she still wanted to walk around" (i.e., to live). Her son also came to the ceremonies, but her husband, a doctor at Pyramid Lake named Wunu'yaga', would not attend the curing.

Hadómuhdi did not want to pray at daybreak because she was ashamed. The doctors working over Gladys told Kitty, however, to "get after" the old woman doctor on the third night. The two doctors told Hadómuhdi: "Pua'tua' wumuhna", "Friend's baby turn it back over". Everyone urged her to do this, including her son, so on the third night she agreed to

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754 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two
of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors,
755 and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at
home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed
Gladys got well.

754 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as
[841] follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was
detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not
[262] accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was
due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed
[787] with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to
make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on
754 the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the
woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a
783 curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might
die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip,
hakí^{nukpa}, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'^{yu} Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

The following account describes what might happen to a
754 sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two
683 children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai,
Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai' house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and
another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

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frightened and ran away. Just as the buckboard was passing over a bridge the vehicle's tongue broke and both boys were thrown into the dry creek bottom. The two severely injured boys were taken into camp and a Pyramid Lake woman doctor worked on them. They were laid on the ground side by side with a can of eagle feathers between them, and each boy was separately encircled by a horse hair rope. The doctor, Tsudi, "Judy", Kitty's father's cousin, sprinkled water on the boys' heads, and also sprinkled black pigment in powder form on their heads. White chalk was mixed with water and given to them in a spoon. Two rings were drawn on each boy's chest with red paint, and a red circle was drawn on each boy's forehead. Since the eagle feathers in the can moved and did not droop the shaman got the sign that the boys were going to recover. The term for trying to bring a sick person back to health was tumánog. 755

A number of years after the accident Tsudi doctored Gladys' brother again, this time for headaches presumably stemming from his previous serious injury. Kitty, Gladys and Gladys' brother went over to Nixon for the treatment. The patient was very weak. Kitty asked Tsudi if she would take the case, and the asking had to be done before sunrise, since that was the traditional time to ask. Tsudi accepted. 757 755 [821]

Gladys did not entirely trust Tsudi, so watched her carefully. The shaman told them all to go outside if they did not have strong stomachs, and to leave her alone with the patient. Gladys started to leave with the others but turned back in order to watch out for her brother. The shaman had assured everyone that everything would be all right when she sent them from the room.

The doctor felt around on the patient's head until she found a vein to open. When she cut the vein with a knife chipped from bottle glass dark-colored blood spurted out. When the blood looked better, more red-colored, she put a quid of chewing tobacco from her mouth on the cut. Later a second quid replaced the first one - it was a "clean" one. After this second wad of tobacco was put on it was tied in place with a horse hair rope and then with a rag. Gladys' brother got better and was never bothered again with the headache.

The knife the doctor used was chipped from bottle glass by striking off flakes with a stone. She "cleaned" the knife with tobacco "juice" (spittle), mud and water. She [413]

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757 also rubbed the knife with sand just after she had finished chipping it.

755 When a patient was taken to a doctor who was already doctoring someone the term was natzata. Apparently the shaman would treat both patients at the same time.

755 [821] **Doctoring a Sick Person**. As noted above, a doctor had to be called in early in the morning before sun up, that is, he had to be asked if he would take the case at that time. He was usually given a gift at the time of asking.

The doctor worked on the patient for four days, usually in a darkened room where everyone had to be quiet. Smoking was not allowed except when the doctor lit up; then everyone lit up. This was prayer time.

The patient lay on the floor and the doctor sat beside him and blew smoke into his face (this action was called háhi), prayed and then began his song (this last action was called tumanagi). An eagle feather was put upright in a can at the patient's head (this action was called tubihi). This was a specially prepared feather as it had down around its base, and the doctor had a decorated eagle feather in his hair. There was money for the doctor in the can with the eagle feather. Putting the money in the can was called astuwunai.

The doctor sang his song and everyone present sang it with him. He sang and prayed for about three hours.

The shaman had an arrowcane stick, or tube, he put against the patient's body to suck out the sickness, an act he did several times. Sucking out the sickness was called pumu' tumuhamuhn, "something to touch with your lips". The doctor sucked during the period when he sang and prayed. He had to clear his own throat of the "sickness" sucked from the patient and spit it out into a pan. It usually consisted of phlegm and clotted blood, and sometimes a worm. The act of spitting out the "sickness" was called ci'ihn.

A close relative of the doctor saw to it that the doctor's rules were carried out. This person "thought the world of the doctor", and was the one who took the pan outside and dug a hole a considerable distance away and buried the sickness that the doctor had extracted from the patient and had spit into the pan. The duty of the helper was to tumaiyoho',

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"carry out his orders", while he nuhpu, "doctors". 755

The doctor sucked several times then hummed, tunikihm, while all the other people sang his song loudly. When he stopped his singing to hum, the other people sang on. The humming indicated the approach of the spirit, nosihp. His nosihp talked to him while he hummed. His helper interpreted while he hummed. Meanwhile, the people continued to sing. [776]

The doctor sang different songs, very pretty songs with pretty words. He sang of the mountains, the sun, the moon, and of the springtime. It was a good sign if the patient broke into the doctor's song. [533]

The doctor eventually got up and danced; the women (and sometimes the men) got up and followed behind him. As they went around in a circle the interpreter got up and danced with them. "The dance was like a conga line." Everyone kept in step with the doctor's song. They circled to the left about three times around the patient while singing the doctor's song. The doctor began to stagger and spin in a circle, but before he dropped several men grabbed him and laid him down. At this time he was stiff and unconscious, and while in this condition he spoke. He remained in this state for about one-half hour during which time everyone continued to sing his song. When he came out of his sleep the interpreter helped him sit up. He now talked about his dreams and how he argued with the devils and spirits for the patient's life, and sometimes he told the people that the patient was going to die. [787]

As soon as the doctor awakened the people asked him such questions: Will the patient get well? What is bothering the sick person? The doctor gave instructions to the child's parents (or in the case of an adult patient, to some close relative) on the care of the patient. Usually the close relatives were to go to a spring and wash themselves and pray.

While the doctor was unconscious and the patient lying ill, everyone watched the eagle feather in the can. If it fluttered the patient would get well, if it drooped he would probably die. The feather usually took either course on the fourth night. [787]

Doctoring for a Rattlesnake Bite. The woman who doctored Joaquin when he was bitten by a rattlesnake was Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl", Tsudi's mother. The name of the plant whose 752 [278]

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752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup^{a}. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^{a} to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, Kukwa^{P}ta, if one knew the correct words.

821 [789] [177] Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^{b} - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 513 825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

SHAMANISM

My data on shamanism are unfortunately meager. The shaman 756 ●
entertains the unhappy notion that he will sicken and die if he divulges information, so it is not surprising that informants are uncommunicative. Most of the following material was obtained from Joshua Brown, a former shaman, and from Piudy. I have relied largely upon direct quotation as it gives a vividness and accuracy not to be had in a bald statement of fact.

The word commonly given for shaman is puha'gūm, but Joshua gave in addition another word, puha'gai', which he said was identical in meaning. All informants insisted that there was but one kind of shaman, but there was specialization even though it is not recognized in native terminology. Individuals such as Dr. Sam Wata of Beatty are general practitioners; others seem to have confined their efforts to particular ailments such as arrow wounds, rattlesnake bites, etc. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time."

Shamanism took the form of curing and sometimes of weather 756
control. There was also the antelope shaman (dūna'-puha'gūm) who 789
officiated at the ceremonial hunts. Ordinarily doctors did not locate 787
lost objects; "only one man ever found lost things. He was a good doctor; he could do anything. I don't know his name." And again, "I heard of a doctor who could find lost things, but I have never seen it done. Some say Dr. Sam could do it."

A certain amount of prophesy was also within the power of the 756
shaman. The coming of the whites was foretold by one as follows: 787

> Long ago they put up a big pole and all danced around it. A doctor stood by the pole and spoke, "I feel that something is coming from the east. A people with a different language are coming here some day." As he said that he would stop and listen, "They're making a lot of noise; their language buzzes just like flies." Then he said, "Those people will bring an animal and will make chokecherries, as big as a fist, grow in this country." The doctor meant the horse and apple. We had a strong belief in this doctor (SW).

And a further example of prophesy:

> Only doctors know when people are going to be sick. A doctor might dream that a friend of his in Cedarville was sick, and later find out that it was so.

756 Doctors know when sickness is coming. Frank Nanco's mother is an old woman living near Paisley. She dreamed of a sickness and said, "It's far in the east
787 now, but it is coming here." It was the influenza and it came here (NH).

Shamanistic power was acquired through dreams, often beginning in early childhood. Dreams came unsought to many. But a person desiring a dream vision might spend the night in a certain spot on the west side of Eagle peak, fasting during his stay. He went alone, lest a companion arouse him before his dream ended. In the morning he descended to a small lake on the western slope of the mountain and there bathed. The lake was known as Nava'gia-no (nava'gia, bathe). One other place was considered potent; it was "near a tall rock point this end of Steens mountain."[249] These spots were visited by persons who had not dreamed before, as well as by those who had forgotten their dreams and desired to renew their power. A person who remembered his dreams need not go. Charlie Washo had heard that shamans were plentiful at Pyramid lake and that there a person desiring to become a doctor went to a spring and slept. He had also heard of one "stout doctor" who had fasted ten days.

A person who disregarded the "call" of his dreams fell violently ill. His case was diagnosed by another shaman who told him, "That is why you are sick." Before practicing, a shaman subjected his dreams to tests.

If he dreamed he did something good the next day he actually did it. He followed this procedure for all his dreams. He had good luck (P).

And again:

You dream to become a doctor. You have to remember but not tell; you never forget; you think all the time. If you dream of a bear go and see a bear. He is your friend; he doesn't bite you; he is like a good dog. If you dream of a horse see a horse to know if your dream is right. The horse is like your friend; he comes to you without a rope. Then you know that you dreamed what to use to cure. You tell no one (JB).

A shaman controls various kinds of animal spirits which come to him in dreams. The eagle is the most frequent one, consequently in treating, a doctor puts an eagle feather on the ailing part and "sings like an eagle. When he calls on the eagle it comes from the mountain and looks at the sick man, but no one is able to see it come." If a shaman dreams of a deer and hears a deer call, he imitates the cry when doctoring. I did not hear of any spirits other than animal. Sometimes the shaman has a feather or other token of his vision, but

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[249] This is not within Gidü'tikadü territory.

usually he has a song, in which event he does not carry the token. 756
Every shaman dreams his own songs. They are his exclusively and 787
are not sung by another.

Piudy thought that a dying shaman did not will his spirits or [778]
paraphernalia. The latter were destroyed upon his death; sometimes
they were burned, sometimes buried with him. Joshua thought that [424]
a shaman might will his power to his son, or daughter, or to his wife, but he thought that they had to dream too. In other words, the transfer was not automatic. According to Joshua, "Charlie Washo's father was a doctor. When he died he left his things to his wife. She was nearly able to doctor when her husband died." Dr. Sam stated, "Four old doctors who were childless taught me. They taught me when I was a little bit of a fellow. I dreamed of things and they helped me cure people." This suggests that a shaman might teach his son. Billy Peanuts, whom, by the way, some do not regard as a full-fledged shaman, is assisted by his son.

A doctor's equipment consisted of beads, eagle feathers, a stone 756
pipe, and a deer-hoof rattle. These were carried in a sack about the 778
waist, nowadays in a suitcase. The beads were used "to see how the pain worked." Piudy thought that "eagle feathers were not always used in doctoring. We learned to use them from the people north, farther north than the Bannock." Two kinds of eagle feathers were used: a long tail feather and down from beneath the wing. The latter might be all white. Joshua said that eagle feathers were split and twisted about a thong so as not to break. They were not dyed. Sometimes the patient held the feathers; sometimes they were placed over the afflicted part. Before a doctor sang, he filled his stone pipe with tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') in order "to help his body." He removed his moccasins before smoking lest someone think him afraid of flying sparks from the fireplace.[230] The deer-hoof rattle was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Its particular function in healing is not clear, but it "helped."

It is of some interest that the usual correlation of the tambourine [534]
with shamanism does not hold for the Gidū̩'tikad^a. This rather argues for the late introduction of the drum and seems to bear out Piudy's statement that the drum "came from the north and northeast when the white people came."

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[230] Cf. Lowie, NS, 214 and SE, 215. Apparently the Cochiti practitioner removes his "shoes" before smoking, Curtis, 16:94. Miss Cora Du Bois tells me that the Wintu adhere to the same custom.

● 756 A shaman sings over his patient; he smokes; he calls upon his various spirits to cure:

The doctor would sing and see how the pain went. He would look and tell his medicine to stop it. He tried other medicines until one was strong enough. Then he was a little tired. He saw the patient again the next day. When the man got well he believed in the doctor.

Curing by extraction was known, but only the best shamans could do it.

Some doctors could suck out objects. They were reddish brown like pieces of meat. We watched closely because some had things in their mouths and pretended to take them out of the patient. A good doctor asked everybody to look at the things he sucked out. If a person swallowed them they made him sick. Some who did not believe swallowed them, and sickened immediately. A doctor swallowed the objects he sucked out; they did not hurt him (JB).

And further:

Only the best doctors could suck out things. When a doctor took out a snake or a bug he held it up for everyone to see, telling them when the patient would be well (P).

Treatment was usually at night, because "that is when a doctor dreams." If very ill, the patient was doctored during the day. When a shaman doubted his ability to cure, he put an arrowpoint on the coals and blew on it until it was red hot. He then took it in his hand, placed it to his mouth, and swallowed it. He did not do that if he were sure of the patient's recovery. Charlie Washo's father is said to have swallowed hot points without injury to himself.

159 Two accounts of curing follow:

756 When I was sick two years ago, Dr. Sam and Dr. Louie found me. There were many people around. I could not open my eyes. They told me, "You had better go home." I opened my eyes; all my friends were there. They gave me water to drink. My left arm and leg were stiff; I could not move. Dr. Sam and Dr. Louie both sang. They said, "Stay here; this is your own country. In the morning talk to the sun." I put white paint on my face [indicating the right cheek]. In the morning I was better. I could eat. When I was stronger I went to the sweat-house. The doctors slashed my hand and foot and let out the blood. They smoked; had eagle feathers to help them. I held the feathers.

It took me three months to get well. My boy told everybody, "My father is dying"(CW).

When I was sick two months ago, Albert Townsend's mother tried to doctor me one night, but she did not know what was wrong, and told me to go to the hospital.

Then my father and husband went to Summit lake to bring Billy Peanuts. He asked two dollars a night to treat me and wanted a pocket knife besides. He said he would not collect unless he cured.

> He told them to make an open willow shade [circular enclosure] and put me in at night. They made a fire in the center, and the doctor, my father, his wife, my husband, and many other people came in. The treatment lasted until sunrise. 159 756 ●
>
> The doctor sang about different things—the wind and things like that—keeping time with his rattle. He was barefooted and wore a headband of eagle feathers. He put an arrowpoint tied to a feather on my chest. Wherever he put it he sucked. He seemed to draw the blood out somehow but did not suck out any object. He put a bullet on my chest. Sometimes he sucked, and the bullet went into his mouth.
>
> He smoked cigarettes and danced around the fire, praying all the time; I don't know what he prayed to. He asked two women to dance and they skipped around. Another woman talked all night, telling them to keep on with the doctoring.
>
> The doctor chanted, and his son told in plain Paiute what he was saying. I think they have special songs. The doctor started the singing, and his son led the people off. The son knew all the songs.[281] The doctor kept on dancing.
>
> They did this every other night for sixteen nights (eight treatments), calling on a different spirit each night.
>
> The doctor told me one lung was covered with blood.[282] He gave no medicine but said not to eat much meat or fruit except oranges.
>
> Before Billy Peanuts came from Summit lake, Nettie de Gamo cured my headache. She made a hole in my forehead with an arrowpoint and let out black-looking blood. This was in the morning; she did not pray or sing. Nettie has headaches most of the time and cures herself the same way.
>
> Before this I did not believe in an Indian doctor, and I did not want one to treat me. But I guess he saved my life.[283]

A shaman treated in his own family; two or three shamans might treat a patient. Practitioners from other tribes were not employed. 756

As payment, a shaman was given moccasins or a large deer hide, sometimes already tanned. "If a man had nothing he had to pay all the same. Then he gave the doctor a bullroarer" (CW). According to Piudy, payment was given each night at the beginning of the treatment, and the shaman retained his fee even though the patient died. Charlie said that the payment must be returned if the individual did not recover. Joshua's statement casts an interesting light on the return payment:

> White doctors charge too much. The Indian doctor doesn't cost much unless he cures. You pay him $1.50, soon $2.00, then maybe $2.25. If your relative dies you say, "Give me back my money because you didn't cure." The doctor says, "Well, I give it back because you are poor. I did the best I could." Sometimes you ask for only half the money. If you made him return all, he might get angry and make you sick.

---

[281] This is at variance with what I was told concerning a shaman's songs.

[282] The government doctor diagnosed her case as typhoid fever.

[283] Minnie Teham Archie, Fort Bidwell.

● 756 A shaman who lost many patients was regarded askance. Charlie said that an unsuccessful doctor was not killed—"The Pit River people killed their doctors; I can't understand that." Some years ago, however, his own brother, Dr. Louie (called also Old Noah), lost a case in Warner valley, Harney Spott. The man's relatives accused Noah of malpractice and attempted revenge. They succeeded in slashing him badly across the abdomen, but he recovered. He left the country, taking up residence at McDermitt, and visiting here only occasionally and for short periods. When a shaman had lost many [754] cases, and a certain patient was not improving, the family of the latter consulted another doctor. The latter would say, "Your relative is sick the same way as his other patients. It looks as though they had been poisoned (bewitched) by him." If the patient did not recover, a relative might kill the guilty shaman.

A doctor could lose his power, either by forgetting his dreams or by other means as, for example, through contact with menstrual blood. Dr. Sam said:

> I cannot cure now because my own people did not do what I told them. Years ago when I was young I doctored with a deer-hoof rattle and eagle feathers; nowadays I treat with medicine like a white doctor. I cured a farmer here from Portland with the help of a white doctor two years ago.

When a shaman lost two or three cases he began to doubt the efficacy of his power.

789 Ideas on contagious magic were not well developed. According to Piudy, "Perhaps once in a while a man could make a person sick with a piece of hair, throwing it away. I am not sure." Care was taken in the disposal of hair clippings but not from fear of sorcery. When an individual cut his hair he buried it beneath a small sagebrush bush. Then he jumped over the bush, trying not to touch it. If he accomplished this, his hair would grow "nice and long." I was told that nowadays people do not burn their hair combings for fear of death, but Piudy affirmed, "This is just a new idea. They never thought of that in the old days." Nail parings were not considered a possible source of danger.

754
756 A shaman could cause an enemy to fall ill; formerly this was the only kind of sickness known. A person might hire a shaman to "poison" someone. He called upon his spirits and if the man fell ill, "then you believed in that doctor." White people could not be "poisoned."

> A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
> He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
> [presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787
> sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the 756 ●
> poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had
> to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim
> would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

> Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753
not generally recognized:

> Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul 756
> is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to
> kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

> When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[234] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755 required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752 once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Pindy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

---

[234] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

000 At Navaho Springs rabbit's feet with beads are said to be worn as charms, but the trader thought the idea had been stimulated by whites.

According to Annie Lowry, the Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son, as in the case of Coffee Charlie. The medicineman's soul leaves him when he doctors and goes into a trance, but the patient's soul remains in his body. The shaman's soul goes to the place of the spirits in order to get their aid. A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision. The paraphernalia of shamans differ,—some have an eagle tail, others a magpie tail, etc. The shamans also use a rattle.

Coffee Charlie was once doctoring his own boy, four years old, who was very sick and had been given up. The boy suddenly said, "Do you see a little bird on my head?" Coffee Charlie told him there was nothing there, but the boy insisted that a bird was there, chirping, and the bird was saying to him, "Little boy, you won't die, you will live." Coffee Charlie doctored him, and he lived. On another occasion Coffee Charlie doctored Annie Lowry's son, who had been given up by the white physician. Coffee Charlie used a stick about four feet long, carefully smoothed, and sprinkled with white clay, and with an eagle (?) feather at one end. This was set at the patient's head; the idea of the clay was that it would cause moisture all over the patient's body. The shaman went into a trance, then the boy was placed on him so that the pits of their stomachs were together, then the boy was taken away by his mother. Before this he shook his rattle; at first the sound seemed far away, but gradually it got closer and closer. The boy at first did not recognize his mother, but did a little later. He recovered.

755 756 (683) Mack Winnemucca said that the Paviotso killed sorcerers (*stai*^{yu} *puháya*^{en}) who caused people's death. When a person "died," i.e., was very sick, the shaman would lie beside him and also "die" for several hours in order to bring him back. On the return trip, they heard talking about mountains. When the patient came to, his parents talked to him, asking whether he was well now, whether he wished for a drink of water, etc. They would give him water. The other Indians sat around both the patient and the doctor. At times it was necessary to keep up the treatment for three or four nights. Sometimes the doctor's spirit coming back unsuccessful was heard crying. During the doctoring the shaman did not move but lay stiff as a board till his return. This procedure is called *mugudmandą'*, a word doubtless connected with *nō'mŏ mūgua*,
775 human soul or spirit. A person who dies goes across a big body of water

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are
up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking,
the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 191
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both
Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will 845
also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is 829
thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the 000
Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the 224 women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone.

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.

[2] Ibid., 13, 47, 48, 50, 57.

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular 224 enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he 796 also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the [539] following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:—

wázunaq	ína	hăúʙa	wŏ̄'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hăúʙa.	nŏ̄'mōnáqa	ína	hăúʙa.	
? .	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down [756] in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he [787] fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay [841] far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation [857] of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained.

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nŏ'qa*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no
acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from
their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in
Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252
mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the
ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals
in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 412
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted
it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized
religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756 ●
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious
forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite
well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he
positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the
world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [776]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the
Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which
George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently
found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
* Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

N
W
A
224

N
[231]

N
W
A
[411]

N
A
[736]

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE													
	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Ta	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2a. Communal	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*5. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	·-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·-	-
*8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*9. With fire	+	-	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
*10. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	·+	-
11. In relays	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Shamanism	-	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	+	+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	-	-	+	+	·+	+
14. In pit beside trail	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·-	-	-	+
17. Single hunter stalks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Runs down	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*19. Disguise	·+	·-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	·-	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
22. Brush carried	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
24. Fire to signal hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
*25. Formal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+
26. Informal chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·-	-
*27. Magic	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	+
*Antelope Hunting														
*27a. Communal hunt	+	·+	+	+	+	·-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	·+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	·+	-	+	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	·+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*29a. Brush fence around hill	+	·-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	·-	-
*30. Brush at intervals	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
31. Wings	·-	+	·-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	·+	+	
*32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	·+	·-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	-	·-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·+	-	+
36. Fire	+	+	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
*37. Notched stick	-	·-	-	-	+	·+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
*38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·-	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

[p. 366]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AY
40. Wand	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
47. Antelope mask	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
48. Round dance	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
49. Stumbling taboo	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
50. Loss of objects taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
53. Messengers to antelope	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
57. Fires to drive	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
58. Shaman in corral	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
59. Shaman "closes gate"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
60. Special archer	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
64. Drive	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
65. Past ambushed hunters	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
66. With dogs	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
67. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Ambush beside spring	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
73. Disguise	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
74. Antelopeskin	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
75. Brush	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−

Mt.-Sheep Hunting

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AY
76. Surround	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
77. Drive	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
78. Past hidden hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
79. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
80. With dogs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
81. Into enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
82. Through V-fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
88. Entire skin used	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. Fire to signal hunters	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
91. Magic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Communal Rabbit Hunting

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AY
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	Tn	Tb	Pn	Ha	At	Sn	Sp	Wd	Ki	AS
1887. Peggue	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (hamitsa)	–	*–	*+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1893. With hand to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

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Pipe

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	Tn	Tb	Pn	Ha	At	Sn	Sp	Wd	Ki	AS
*1898. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1899. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	*–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
*1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1906a. Bone	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1907. Cane	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
1908. Elderberry	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
1909. Rosewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	Tn	Tb	Pn	Ha	At	Sn	Sp	Wd	Ki	AS
*1914. Cane filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
*1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

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	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	Tn	Tb	Pn	Ha	At	Sn	Sp	Wd	Ki	AS
1921. Smoking any time	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	+
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	·	·	·	·	*+	*+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

*Tobacco (pui'pamo)

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	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	Tn	Tb	Pn	Ha	At	Sn	Sp	Wd	Ki	AS
1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	–	+	+	+	*+
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1935. Leaf of kinikinic (manzanita?)	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1936. Root of tosep for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
Rattles														
•1944. Cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1945. Attached to stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1947. Used by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
•1953. Sheep-horn rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1956a. Used by dancers	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1958. Used by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
•1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witsavigo)	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
•1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
•1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
•1971. Hoofs in line	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
•1973. Notched stick (mühunagi)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1974. Plain, notched	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1979. Used in "bear dance"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1981. Buzzers (tüna'sühiayu)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
1982. Deer patella	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Bull-roarer														
(See Games)														
•1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1992. 6-12	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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N W A 764

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N W A 768

N W A [766]

N W A 765

N W A 764

N W A 756

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	TS	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Yg	WR	Ki	AE
2399. Purified by washing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2404a. West	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2412. Cremation	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2413. All deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2416. Witches	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2417. Cremation in house	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2418. In pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2419. On pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2420. Bones buried afterward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2421. Funeral speech by old man	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2425a. House torn down, moved	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2426. House burned	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mourning														
2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2433. Burn hair clippings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2434. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
2437. Gash legs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2438a. Smear faces	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2439. Abstain from washing	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2440. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2443. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2444a. 3-12	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2446. Abstain from washing	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2447. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2447a. 12	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2447b. 24	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
2451. Permanent	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
2452. Only in presence of kin	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RELIGION														
Shamanism (poha'g'amö)														
2469. Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute ~~NR13~~
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ac
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2540. Sleight-of-hand	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2550. By sucking out snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
2557a. Female	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2559. Transforms self into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2560. Power of rapid travel	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2561. Invulnerable	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2564. Power from various animals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2566. Power to foretell future	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2568. Killed for declining	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	.	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumabi̇̄pa)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2577. Offerings to "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2578. To ghost (tsaavü)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p. 414]

N 224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ts: Chief led singing.

N [535 716] 44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

W [535] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'öm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

● N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koip^{ö}, female, mutsa'. Koip^{ö} also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

[p.423(W)]

N 224 85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 253, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N ● [756 789] 91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

N [825] Jack rabbit called kamö.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, Tö: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. Kü: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

N 223 117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

W [223] 120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

N [825] 127. Tö: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. At: PS pointed out that sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot, etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[p.423(BD)]

N
456 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
177 ute. KU: Shell beads obtained from California to
439 use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
W [439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N
276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N
[177 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W
[276 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

756] 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N
[782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N
● [756
782] 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N
Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa^{oIu}.

249 1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

824 1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N
534

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W
[534] 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N
[172 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

756] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N
[178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N
[281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

N
[178
759] 1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N
534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. Tö: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N
[177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). Tö: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W
[534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N
● [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[756] 2003. Tö: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N
[177] 2004. Tö: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N
[172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).
2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).
2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N
[684] 2023. Tö: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N
595
[177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W
[583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N
591 2040. Tö: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N
684 2041. Kü: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. Tö: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).
2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

N
586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).
548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.459]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt. A [764]

N [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Ki: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283). N 784

2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97). W [769]

RELIGION

Shaman

● N 756 787 2471. Ki: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p 443 (A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of non-acceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [756] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

N 756 2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

2495. Kü: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). Tö: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Kü: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

Curing Performances

N 755 2505. Tö: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Kü: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Ki: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. AE: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [755] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Tö: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 756 2549a. To: - (LP).

2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

[p. 443 (B)]

A
[756 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.
787] 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great In-
N dian "doctor" who could make it rain at will.
● 756 Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago,"
789 he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wil-
[756] son's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 2554. To: See note 2549.

754 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

756 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did
683 other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee
755 was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans
756 do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless
[177] of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A 2570a. At: See note 2477.

[755] 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenom-
N ena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—
776 the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by
782 sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and
782 other things, sprinkled on the ground while old
765 man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

[782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of
a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations
at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the
Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern
131 part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and
Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores
of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on
the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern
Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake
and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
226 spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
262 and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
222 their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
224 antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population
moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set
in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was
during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women
stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from
their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged
over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together
621 in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies,
648 the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
527 and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements
would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic
755 treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within
an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of
754 witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
182 as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion
that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement,
was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack 756
of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the 182
old confidence in their powers.

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person 756
of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman 787
may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves.

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

> A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must
obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he con-
tinues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the
paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the [778]
eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer,
badger, or coyote skin.

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sick- [753]
ness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the
dreams.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish 756
to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when 755
a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do 787
as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 778

756 parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured.
755 If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people,
787 but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a
776 person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses
[753] his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

756
787 Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related the following dream.

> I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness. I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick
> [755] people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical
[776] beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies." They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

[753] When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of sickness.

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a deceased 776 father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative [775] visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the 787 power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account.

When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt [751] him.

Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with [755] the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well.

One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the 755 snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to.

Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist 825 next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started 756 to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be 787 a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get 776 eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way.

756 424 Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about it so I am not a shaman."

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

> If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker
> [773] shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle
> feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming
> [787] from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off
> at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then
> her power tells her to be a shaman.

756 787 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the parent is still alive.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

[778] *Power quest.*—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 789 The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

> 159 There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this moun-
> [778] tain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams.
> I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman. A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around [755]
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to [775]
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777]
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777]
through anything. That makes him lucky.

787 776 756 While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have supernatural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

756 There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

787 Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doctors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen because he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life. 754

198 *Interpreters.*—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience. The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

755 *Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with 776

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

755 he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it [779] back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, [264] by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

756 755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman [815] came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

752 755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

> He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then 752 755
> the patient is all right.

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the 756
sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five
dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old [965]
days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman
asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs [753]
harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. [688]

> About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he
was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected
to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others [579]
stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to give back the fee.

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a 755
sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the 753
relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power.

> Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If [841]
a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once.

> A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any 756
kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows.

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died. 685 518 755

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through. 984 841 843

756 904 787 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music. 533

The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that 756
he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his 224
songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought 756
to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this 789
power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired [792]
strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when [668]
fired upon with a gun.

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another 756
shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father 754
went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was 789
asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to [787]
prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other 756
important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

787 756 night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[200] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

756 754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power [825] from the bear.

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient [755] gets well.

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

754 755 683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755

There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had 683
made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people
could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people.
He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives
to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was.
About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part
of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit
of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease
with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

756 114 787 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2] Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

[191] Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturity, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

755 171 Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 787 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corroborated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

756 [955] The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

[224] The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

[778] [191] It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*. Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

Weather shamans and specialists have been described above for the 756
Nevada Paviotso but they were unknown among the Owens Valley Paiute,
while little specialization was recognized in Surprise valley.[13]

The Paviotso shaman's invulnerability against bullets and arrows was [789]
practised among the Owens Valley Paiute, as among the Nevada Paiute,
to demonstrate the "doctor's" powers.[14] This practice may be connected [668]
with the Ghost dance movements.

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[13] Steward, 311; Kelly, 189.

[14] Steward, 310.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

N
648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N
789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the
Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na —
namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For
the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-
1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner,
N
●[756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced to-
day that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or in-
jure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party
N
[776] of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his
Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all
bullets fired at him.

N
[171]
[174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

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648
726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's
report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath
that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the
N
[712] summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed,
and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

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159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p, 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

177
657 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of
648 the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and
the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which
the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action
were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan,
Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and
[756] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them
bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8]
Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose
parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt),
and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In 1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants. In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the
648 Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing
[579] cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas,
made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was
constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes
in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably
took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of
the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the
valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and
648 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different
657 groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members
of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

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[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba*, sorcery power. All of these are thought to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The
doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ha*, are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their
power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush. Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to
attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [554
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224]
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411 726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

[161 162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

the memory of informants, are believed to have bestowed power on people: 776
waterbaby,[4] chicken hawk, robin, eagle, *kadi* (unidentified bird), antelope, otter, 756
weasel, mountain sheep, rain, fire, earth, whirlwind, cloud, lightning, thunder, rock,
ghost, *patibui* (unidentified berry), red beads, and gun.[5]

It is not always possible to deduce the kind of spirit helper a person has from the type of power he possesses. Some types of power, however, seem to come from one kind of spirit only. For example, the men who lead antelope drives always have the antelope as a helper, and people derive snake power from a particular variety of snake. Power to run fast comes from some animal that is swift moving, usually the antelope. In the old days, bullet proof men most frequently had power directly from rain, clouds, rainbow, or wind, or had a spirit helper who gave them control over these phenomena.

Sometimes the same kind of spirit gives different powers to different individuals. Waterbaby, for example, sometimes gives power to cure and sometimes power to ward off bullets; it may tell the person whom it befriends how to use the rain and the clouds to stop bullets or to diagnose disease. One man was both a doctor and bullet proof and had but the one helper. Of the five doctors who had the waterbaby as one of their helpers, several also had eagle and antelope, and there were many other spirits capable of bestowing the same type of power. In the majority of cases, however, only the doctors had more than one spirit helper, and one informant claimed that even they, if really successful, would have but one.

Snakes might give good or bad power. One sorcerer was befriended by a snake, another by a sea gull, and a third by black lizards.

The spirit appears to the individual in recurrent dreams and bestows power upon him. The dreams are thought to come unsolicited. In them the person meets his spirit helper, e.g., a chicken hawk, waterbaby, or gun, and is instructed in the nature of the power he is to have. The spirit usually tells him to carry some object at all times and to bathe on certain occasions. He teaches him a song and, if he is to be a doctor, some dances. The dream recurs until the individual becomes familiar with the instructions. Thereafter unless he carries them out in every detail, he will either lose his power or sicken and perhaps die.

The fact that these dreams are unsolicited is stressed and there are only a few 776
examples of behavior which might be considered comparable to the vision quest of 756
the Plateau. On the northern part of the Malheur Reservation there is a hill 787
known as Castle Rock. It is said that several men became bullet proof as a result
of sleeping there for several nights. At the base of the rock there is a stream in
which the neophyte bathed before ascending. During the night while he slept on

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[4] Waterbabies are mythical dwarfs who dwell in caves near water holes.

[5] This list is similar to that given in W. Z. Park, "Shamanism in Western North America" (*Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences*, II, 1938), p. 18.

776 the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he
756 did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also
787 said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In
general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and
while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to
follow.

756 Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above
787 theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of
power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice
and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and techniques.
[869] The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him
that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to
remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger
of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental
pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the
community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or
special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his
power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the
case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting.
[755] Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she
was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was
the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her
sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started
to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services
free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however,
began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise
had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm.
781 She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream
787 and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned
[755] Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill.
From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give
her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

756 A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community
787 is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and
unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant
behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick,
the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the
child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage
the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret
them in terms of power.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents can- [554]
not resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand,
get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for
guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type
of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure
within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned
him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father
had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and
uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and
granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were
said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and
his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect
that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that
Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Further-
more, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him
that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the
child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents'[7] and if they are doctors or have
other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept
himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

869 756 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 577] On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disadvantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[771] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

The Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who [754
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own [776]
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775]
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's [787]
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. [756] ●
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish [755]
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake [787]
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagnosis.
[755] Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sickness
[776] one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[8] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 75[illegible]
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had [741]
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally
broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[9] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made
Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by
sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well
which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to
capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the daytime
or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can recapture [761]
the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[8] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[9] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 753
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down. 775

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood
gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old
blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the
blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but some- 757]
times he calls in a doctor.[6]

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although
he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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[6] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases. Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists. In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending
[753] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological
treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied
externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may
[782] pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he
[776] splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the
sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting,
757 paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the
operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and, if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor
756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to
[753] work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of
becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a
755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the
756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a
pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays, when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

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[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

paid in silver which is placed in a cup of water until the doctoring is completed. 755
If a woman is ill, it is customary for some woman relative to take the money to the 756
doctor; if a man, a male relative. Occasionally when a doctor is on some case, he will treat the minor or chronic ills of other persons for a reduced rate, charging only one dollar for such service.

The choice of doctors is limited. In the old days, when the camp groups were scattered, it was usually necessary to send someone in search of a doctor and there was little opportunity for choice if the matter was pressing. Today, when the community is localized and there are two doctors, the family will choose the one they trust most—the one who has been most successful in treating the family. If the disease is unusual, however, and one in which the other doctor is reputed to be particularly versed, they may summon him instead of the family doctor. For example, some doctors have a reputation for being particularly adept at working on unconscious people. If the symptoms have lingered for a long time and doctorings have not been successful, the family may postpone further treatment until they can get some visiting doctor from another locality or band.

The doctor, after he has been summoned and paid according to his specifications, sets a time and a place for the doctoring. In the old days, it seems to have been customary to construct a special house for the ceremony. If the weather was clement, a sagebrush enclosure sufficed; when this was impractical, a thule or cloth house was set up. Nowadays, the doctorings are held in the ordinary wooden dwellings, usually the home of the patient. A stove replaces the old fireplace which was located in the center of the dwelling. Formerly, the patient was placed on one side of the door and the spectators sat in a circle inside and close to the walls of the house, leaving the central space around the fireplace clear. In so far as it is possible, the same arrangement is attempted in the frame house, although the position of the stove usually necessitates a slightly different organization.

Doctorings usually take place soon after sundown and last late into the night, sometimes until dawn. There were a few exceptions to this recorded. In one instance the doctoring took place in the day time because the patients were drunk in the evening when the doctor had said he would work, and, since he was leaving Burns the following evening, he agreed to work in the morning.

It is considered important to have a large company present for each doctoring. [841
All adults, except pregnant or menstruating women, are permitted to attend. It is 843]
claimed that such women cause the patient to sweat, and, when they attend the meetings despite the taboo, they are thought to cause some doctors to become hoarse and have difficulty in speaking. Children are not allowed. In the old days when the camp groups were small, every one in the community who was able usually attended; but now, when the community is much larger, the people who participate seem to be limited to the members of the patient's family and clique.

In the old days, the doctor had no distinctive costume. He wore a breechclout [292]

755 756 [292] and moccasins and occasionally a skin shirt. Nowadays the doctors wear American clothes. For some reason, however, American shoes are not allowed, and furthermore, doctors do not permit anyone to enter a house where a curing is in progress unless he wears moccasins.

[293] The doctor usually carries a pipe with special tobacco and a feather from the tail of an eagle or sagehen. Individual doctors may have other types of paraphernalia but the majority have only these items.

755 782 The procedure differs somewhat from doctor to doctor but the underlying pattern is always the same. The doctor appeals to his spirit helpers by singing and praying and asks them to aid him in diagnosing and curing the disease. The men and women of the audience join in the songs after they become familiar with them. It is thought that they help influence the doctor's powers. [533] A man, who is known as the repeater, leads the spectators in the singing and interprets the doctor's orders concerning procedure.

Sometimes the doctor asks his power to show itself in some way, so that he and the spectators may know of its presence. For example, a doctor with power in clouds might ask them to make known their presence by sending rain, or another might ask the lightning and thunder to come. Some doctors perform tricks to demonstrate the presence of their power. One doctor walked on live coals. Another was reported to have cooled a red hot stove with his body. As he danced around the stove, occasionally leaning his body against it, he told the people that if the stove cooled it was a sign that his power would cure the sick man.

The appeal to the power is always accompanied by vigorous dancing. While singing and between songs the doctor dances around the fire, pausing now and then to rest and smoke his pipe, which is passed among the spectators at other times. A few doctors have assistants who dance with them.

755 Water is often sprinkled around the room at some time during the ceremony. I do not know the explanation for this except that water is recognized as a purifying agent and is spoken of as being like the human breath.

Sucking is part of nearly every ceremony. The doctor often sucks out some foreign object and thus effects a cure. He spits the object out of his mouth and shows it to the people. He then mixes it with dirt in his hands, rubs his hands together, and the object disappears. Sometimes he vomits the object into a pan of earth to make it disappear. In the case of the bullfrogs, the doctor sucks them from the patient's body and then drives them out of the house.

This is the basic pattern which varies according to the special rituals of the doctor and the nature of the disease which is being treated. It is difficult to say just which part of the ceremony is for the purpose of diagnosis and which for curing. As in other aspects of the culture, the Paiutes did not make general statements and I was forced to deduce the theories from an analysis of the reports of the treatment of concrete cases. For example, sucking is sometimes for the purpose

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her
mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she
[584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood
playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on
[578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and
Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant
again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have
[754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many
enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's
mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly
torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the
birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa
755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had
[753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she
had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the
importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked
her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt
that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her.
Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets
and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The
matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting
doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take
Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water
and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because
she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it
was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and
told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she
began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and
bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was
left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she
had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even
hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor
578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself.
Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that
he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [784]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day,
two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out
with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

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753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his
[787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.
78] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that
probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his
devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild
[164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his
blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind
and his daughter is blind.

753 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience
755 with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I
met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry
worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred
[[illegible]56] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by
having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he
was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry
[777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he
went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south
of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753
no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755
I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some
sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have
been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experi- [754]
ence which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been
mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated
that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had
treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756]
arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she
sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long
illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own
power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness.
Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775
usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is un- 753
conscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath.
This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged
patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their
company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think
of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the
doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly
if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my
stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her
daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158
were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273]
the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity,
which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and
particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155
she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the
most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who
seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired
by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased
husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

578 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the
758 father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with
157 whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated
[684] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

[554] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[3]

● [756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie
758 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and
157 was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen,
[754] Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

[3] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing
her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that
she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal
motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power
which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments, and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power, some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that
it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [694]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [[illegible]27]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense. The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood, is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease. The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power. Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its pos- 756
sessor employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punish- 578
ment. For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community
would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his person- [754]
ality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, [762]
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-
five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation center- [657]
ing around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

754
band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonor- 164]
rhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [754]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[578] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on 155
family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying 828
degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more [578]
remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost [694]
all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has [756
been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person 681]
by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts 754
the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and 681
either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community, he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover. The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays, when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865
when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should 861
love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867
with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867
which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754]
and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152]
afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756
people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 758]
The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power, but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty. Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783
rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back." Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152
him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

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[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost [751]
sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead.

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[156] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act [152]
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of
shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed
laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others
requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by
both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen
or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary
material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada
lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The
[[131]] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five
lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson
Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of
128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture
were recorded from informants belonging to each of these
localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on
shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant
cultural differences among the bands. Differences that
appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data
on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation
rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the
loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not
to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing
these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso
● 756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances
[782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for
relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of
dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and
the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these
play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to
shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

It is in respect to the last activity that the shaman is an outstandingly 756
important member of Paviotso society. Although a 787
man can acquire supernatural power which will enable him to be
a successful hunter or a lucky gambler, these ends may be accomplished
more simply by praying to the sun, or before the hunt by
dreaming where game is to be found, or by use of charms. The
shaman may also have the power to control weather, but this is
not usually exercised for the good of the community. Rather, his [789]
demonstration of control over the elements seems to prove the
shaman's *rapport* with powerful spirits, which give him power to
cure the sick and heal the wounded. It is, then, the supernatural
inspiration and assistance which enable one either to draw out the
cause of illness or to go in search of the lost soul of a patient that
is pre-eminent in the Paviotso mind as giving meaning and importance
to the acquisition and exercise of shamanistic power. It
should be noted that a shaman who has power to doctor the sick
is called puhágəm. This term is not used to designate people who
possess supernatural powers for hunting, gambling, or warfare.
There is no term for such power or for the people who enjoy it.
However, supernatural aid in these latter functions is of the same
sort and from the same source—spirits of animals, birds, etc.—
as that acquired by a shaman. All supernatural power is, in theory,
of the same order, but it is the possession of strong power to be
exercised in the function of curing that is important in Paviotso
ideology. The other objectives can be, and in fact most frequently
are, accomplished satisfactorily, without spirit aid. Only curing
depends directly upon power.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

The spirit beings which are everywhere in the Paviotso world 756
are the sources of supernatural power. Spirits of the fauna, spirits 776
from certain mountains and of rocks, as well as the elements,
bestow on individuals the power (puhá) through which sickness
is controlled and cured. In addition to securing power from these
spirits, shamans also derive supernatural aid from ghosts of the [775]
dead (sa'ab) and from the dwarf-like creatures called water-babies
that live in certain water-holes, lakes, and water-serpents thought
to inhabit the lakes.

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> Indians were put here on this earth with trees, plants, animals, and water, and the shaman gets his power from them. One shaman might get his power from the hawk that lives in the mountains. Another may get his power from the eagle, the otter, or the bear. A long time ago, all the animals were Indians (they could talk). I think that is why the animals help the people to be shamans. Some strong shamans get their powers from the sun. (Joe Green)
>
> [787] Anyone can get to be a shaman by dreaming. In the dreams, spirits such as those from the eagle, bear, owl, snake, antelope, deer, mountain sheep, mole, or falling star appear. The spirit that comes in the dreams is the shaman's power. It helps him to doctor sick people. (Harry Sampson)

It is not altogether clear whether the animal spirits are conceived to be those of the species or of a single animal. One statement would seem to indicate that it is a spirit of the species that confers power.

> When a shaman gets his power from the otter it means that the spirit is from many otters. The chief otter spirit tells the man to be a good doctor. It is this main otter that cannot be seen by the common people. He is the one that makes a man a shaman. He lives in a certain place in the water. Only the shaman can see him there. He knows where the otter is. He dreams about the otter and after a while he learns where the otter lives. (Joe Green)

This point was not carefully checked with other informants, but it would seem that the above statement formulates fairly accurately the norm of Paviotso belief in the animal and bird spirits that bestow shamanistic powers.

Several informants described the water-babies that are also believed to be a source of supernatural power.

> Some shamans get their power from the water-babies. They are the only people who can talk to them. They tell the rest of the people not to make fun of water-babies. These shamans can take the water-babies out of the lake.
>
> The water-babies came to life by their own power. They formed themselves. Some water-babies live in water-holes, and these holes never dry up. People call these water-babies the "breath of the water-holes." There is a cool breeze all the time in the mountains where they live. They have the power to cause wind to blow, even a very strong wind. The wind is their breath.
>
> There are also women in the lakes where the water-babies live. These women are like the water-babies. They have the same power. Big ser-

> pents live in the lake, too. Like the water-babies, these serpents have strong power. They give power to some shamans. (Rosie Plummer) 756 776

A somewhat different statement of the source of shamanistic power, probably due to individual interpretation, was given by Dick Mahwee.

> The Indian doctor gets his power from the spirit of the night. This spirit is everywhere. It has no name. There is no word for it. The Indians hold this spirit so sacred that they are afraid if they had a name for it the spirit would be angry. No one has ever dared give it a name.
>
> Eagle and owl do not give a shaman power.[3] They are just messengers that bring instructions from the spirit of the night. Some doctors have water-babies for their messengers. They are called when the shaman doctors. They do not give him his power; they only carry messages from the spirit of the night. When the shaman is treating a patient he calls for the water-babies and they bring him instructions from the spirit.
>
> At the time that the spirit of the night gives power for doctoring, it tells the shaman to ask for help from the water-babies, eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear or some other bird or animal.
>
> When shamans get power it always comes from the night. They are told to doctor only at night. This power has nothing to do with the moon or stars. I knew one woman who used the sun, moon, and stars for her power. I saw her fill her pipe and just as the sun came up she puffed and started to smoke. I saw her do this several times. I watched her closely but she did not use matches. Her power lighted her pipe. [821]

A similar formulation of the spirit of the night as the source of power was made by Joe Green, also at Pyramid Lake.

> There are two nights. The second one comes behind the night that everybody sees. This second night is under the darkness. It tells the shaman where the pain is and what caused the sickness. When the second night comes it makes the shaman feel that he is a doctor. The power is in him to doctor. Only shamans can see this second night. The people can only see the darkness. They cannot see the night under it.

In other statements, Joe Green insisted that power came from the spirits of animals; and, as has been noted, his own power came from the otter. This view of the source of supernatural aid was

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[3] Other informants at Pyramid Lake claimed that Dick Mahwee received his powers from the ghost of a Pit River Indian, eagle, and crow. (See list of shamans and their powers given below.)

756 not held by lay informants at Pyramid Lake nor was it recognized
776 by members of any of the other Paviotso groups.

As has been suggested, personal interpretation may explain this deviant concept of supernatural power. It is clear that the views quoted harmonize at least in part with the basic pattern of individualized animal and other spirits giving supernatural aid, for here in one case we find these spirits acting as messengers; they are in immediate contact with the shamans, and in the other case power from animal and other spirits is specifically mentioned.

Spirits, then, are the sources of shamanistic powers. In theory, the number of these spirits or supernatural beings is unlimited. A list of shamans and their powers was compiled in the field and checked with several informants. Although there were discrepancies in the powers ascribed to some shamans—nor is it a complete list of present-day shamans—it will illustrate the actual sources of the powers of shamans living today.

Shaman	*Source of Power*
Dick Mahwee	Eagle, crow, and the ghost of a Pit River Indian.
Abraham Mahwee	A large spotted bird which lives on the lake (unidentified), and the ghosts of three Indians, the kind of people who live far away where nobody can see them.
George Calico	Lizard and two water-babies that live in the lake.
Frank Northop	The ghost of a Pit River Indian and horse.
Judy David	Eagle.
Jack Warwick	Two horses and the ghost of a man, the same kind of power that Abraham Mahwee has (see above).
Johnny Calico	Eagle and an unidentified bird.
Pete Toby	Horse and a horse-hair rope.
Eugene Frazier	Eagle and crow.
Hattie Whitehead	Water-babies and otter.
Mary Garvey	Crow and the big mountain fly.
Julia Robinson	Eagle.
Johnny Newman	Water-babies.
Blind Bob	Claims to have power from the magpie, but has never doctored.
Paiute Harrison	Antelope and eagle.
Mary Harrison	Eagle.
Jackson Overton	Bear.
Joe Green	Otter.
Tom Mitchell[4]	Eagle, weasel, small unidentified bird living in the mountains, and another spirit unknown to the informants.
Rosie Plummer	Rattlesnake.

[4] This man is acknowledged as the most powerful shaman in recent years.

It appears that the spirit of the coyote was never a source of power, although Coyote is the most prominent character in Paviotso tales. 756 776 825 [773]

> Shamans never got power from Coyote. According to the old stories the Indians tell, Coyote always spoils everything. Coyote is bad. Sometimes he tries to get the soul of someone. He says, "I am going to get you and when you die, I will eat you." The coyote cannot be heard to say this, but when he has said it, it makes the victim sick. (Joe Green)
>
> Shamans do not get power from Coyote. Coyote causes sickness. Dogs are almost like Coyote. When a shaman doctors, dogs are kept away, otherwise he would not be successful in curing the sickness. (Rosie Plummer)

Fear of the wrath of water-babies and water-serpents noted in accounts above is not held for other spirits, save those of the elements, particularly the thunder. There seems to be no danger in ridiculing or showing lack of respect for the spirits of the animals and birds. 756 776

> The Indian doctors know the wind, clouds, and rain. A shaman talks to them. They are just like people, and they come. Anyone who makes fun of the thunder will be killed. One time a man at Schurz heard the thunder, and said, "That is nothing. I am going to fight that thunder." He went outside the house, and the thunder was heard overhead. He was hit by lightning and killed. (Tom Mitchell) 756 776 821

There is only one shaman who is reported to have had power from such a source. Wovoka, the prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance, is said to have had power from two clouds.

> One was a straight high cloud. This was for snow. The other cloud was dark and close to the ground. It was for rain. Wovoka could see a man's arm sticking out of the white cloud. One time the arm would be pointing north. Another time it would be pointing south, east, or west. (Joe Green)

This statement could not be verified, but there is evidence that the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement had power from several sources, including the wolf.

Another aspect of the supernatural spirits which are the source of shamanistic power is their invisibility to all but the shamans. Only the shaman can see the spirit or spirits from which he derives his power. Even when he invokes his supernatural aids at a doctoring, they are visible to him alone. Their presence is known to the others only through the shaman's account of his conversa- 756 776

756
776 tion with them. Supernatural spirits never appear to, nor are they ever heard by, anyone but those upon whom they bestow power.

Acquiring Shamanistic Power

756 Both men and women acquire and exercise shamanistic power. A shaman of either sex is a puhágəm. The power possessed by either a man or a woman is likewise known by a single term, puhá. The ratio of male to female shamans, as well as the proportion of practitioners to the total population, no doubt varied considerably from generation to generation. There are at present at Pyramid Lake, in a total population of nearly five hundred, eight shamans. Three of these are women. On the Walker River Reservation, where the population is about the same, there are seven shamans, five of them women, one of whom is a Shoshoni. In past generations, female shamans do not seem to have ever outnumbered the men.

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562 In an attempt to arrive at some idea of the total number of shamans and the ratio of men to women practitioners, I asked informants to name all who could be remembered as possessing power for curing purposes. The results at best are only approximate, but some conception of the frequency with which men and women become shamans is suggested. At Walker River several people, after a lengthy discussion among themselves, were able to name twenty shamans who were living about 1900. Of these, five were women. Three of the men were said to have been much more powerful shamans than the others. No doubt the population was somewhat greater at that time than at present, but figures are not available. Joe Green was able to name nineteen shamans living at Pyramid Lake about forty years ago. Of this number, two were women. At that time the population on this reservation was nearly seven hundred.

All informants were certain that in former years the number of shamans was considerably greater than it is today. Consequently, these estimates may serve only as a clue to the proportion of shamans, perhaps in the order of twenty to seven hundred people, at the same time giving a rough idea of how many of the shamans were women. Obviously, these ratios must have shifted from decade to decade.

In theory, female shamans may become as powerful as the male 756
doctors. In practice, however, it appears that all the outstand- 562
ing practitioners are, and have been, men. On the other hand, female shamans are highly respected and are on an equal footing with their male colleagues; some may even have stronger powers than the less prominent male shamans. Moreover, according to several informants, women can acquire powers which are used, as with men, for purposes other than curing.

> Women who have power are as strong as men shamans. One time there was a woman who had a power that protected her against bullets.
> When the Indians were fighting the soldiers, she rode out in front of [789
> them to attract their attention while the women and children got away. 726]
> The soldiers shot at her but their bullets did not hurt her. She had the same power as men shamans. (Joe Green)

Apparently berdaches never became shamans. The several 756
transvestites who are remembered by people living today were 838
certainly not shamans. Lowie recorded only one case of sex-reversal among the Pyramid Lake Paviotso. This occurred some twenty years before his visit, and apparently shamanistic powers were not ascribed to the individual.[5] Sarah Winnemucca mentions the case of one cowardly warrior who was forced to don women's clothing and perform tasks allotted to that sex, but there is no reference to the possession of power.[6] This as well as the evidence in my own notes suggests that berdaches were of relatively infrequent occurrence and of slight importance. Certainly, they became shamans rarely, if ever, and clearly never as the result of their condition.

Acquiring shamanistic power, and later the exercise of power, 756
is an individual affair. This is true both for the power derived from unsolicited dreams and from the voluntary quest. Power is never acquired by people in groups or at public performances, but is the result of private personal experiences.

The acquisition of power involves more than the development of a personal relationship with a particular spirit. When shamanistic power is conferred, the candidate not only secures a spirit helper but also acquires those special abilities or capacities neces-

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[5] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 283.

[6] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 70.

756 sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[7]

756 787 The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

756 858 Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> [888] I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green)

756 Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

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[7] [776] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*, 13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*.

power may come at any time during life at the volition of the spirits 756
or powers.

Power that comes unsolicited makes itself known through repeated 756
dreams. The spirit which is the source of power appears repeatedly 787
in these dreams to instruct the dreamer. 776

> A man dreams that a spirit of deer, eagle, or bear comes to him. The spirit tells him that he is to be a doctor. When a man first dreams this way he does not believe it. Then the dream comes again. He dreams this way for a long time. The spirit tells him to collect eagle feathers, wild tobacco, a stone pipe, a rattle, and other things. When he gets these things he becomes a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him. (Nick Downington)

The dreams, both in form and in content, conform to no rigidly fixed pattern. One person may see an animal or a ghost in his dreams; another may only hear the voice of the spirit which gives him his power. There seems, however, to be an emphasis on auditory experiences in dreams. Usually in the first dream, the prospective shaman only hears the spirit singing and talking. In later dreams the spirit is seen. This is not always the case, for some shamans had visual evidence of the presence of supernatural powers in their first, as well as in later, dream-experiences.

The instructions given the novice shaman in dreams are also 787
varied. One may be told to follow certain rules in eating or in other 756
daily habits; for another the details will be quite different. As was mentioned in the statements above, the dreamer is told also to collect certain objects to be used in doctoring. There is, then, a certain generalized type of dream through which power is acquired. Within this framework, the dreams of individuals are quite varied. Differences in instructions received by shamans in dreams are often given as the explanation of the variety of ways in which shamans doctor or perform their other functions. Several informants stated that no two shamans have precisely the same dreams. Consequently, there are numerous differences in detail in carrying out shamanistic practices. These differences are never ascribed to individual interpretation, but are attributed to the whims of shamans' spirits reflected in the instructions received from the supernatural helpers in dreams or at the curing performance. Moreover, individuals vary in the number of dreams that

787 are had before shamanistic practice is undertaken. One man may
756 dream of a spirit only a few times; then, recognizing the meaning of his experience, he will feel fully qualified to take up doctoring. Another novice shaman may dream repeatedly for a year or more before he enters upon his profession. No doubt the degree of suggestibility of various individuals is an important factor in determining the frequency of dreams. The desire of one person to become a shaman may lead to the interpretation that certain dreams have conferred power, whereas another may refuse out of fear to undertake shamanistic practice. If a person dreams of being a shaman only once, or even several times, it is not thought that he must obey the call.

It should be noted that relatively few complete dream-experiences were recorded. This is in part due to the feeling that the actual content of the dream itself was of no importance. The instructions that the dreamer received were all that mattered. Consequently, though few people related dreams in any detail, the knowledge and the instructions gained through such experiences were carefully reported by informants. There was no reluctance on the part of either shamans or laymen in discussing dream-experiences; all talked freely on this subject.

756 An account of the dreams by which power was given to one sha-
787 man will serve to illustrate the characteristic features of this sort
159 of experience.

> I was getting to be a doctor. My father was a doctor, and I got to be one just the same as he. In my dream, I heard a song. It was coming from the north. It was coming just a few feet above the ground. I heard that song. I heard it just one night. The song came all night. That was all I heard the first night.
>
> In dreams after that I saw a horse coming from the east. When I first heard him, he was on the other side of the mountain. Then I saw him come over the ridge. He came toward me and when he got close, he made a big circle around me. Then he went back. That horse had nothing to do with my power.
>
> My father used to doctor. He had power from the otter. I had the same power. After I dreamed about the horse, the otter came to me in my dreams. He told me to get his skin and to cut it into a strip about four inches wide down the length of the back from the head to the top of the tail and including the eyes and ears. Then he told me to get two eagle tail-feathers and put them in two holes in the skin at the neck and

> to tie them inside with buckskin. The feathers lay flat on the fur side of 756
> the skin. The otter told me to keep the skin and the eagle-feathers. He 787
> told me to use the skin and feathers when sickness is bad and hard to 159
> cure. He said, "When there is very bad sickness and no doctor can cure it, take the skin out of your sack and put it in front of you. Then you are going to try to cure." I was ready to doctor then. When I doctored, the otter gave me my songs.

This account then goes on to relate how a mistake was made in 756
the care of the paraphernalia and, as a result, the informant lost 787
his power. This illustrates the belief that if the exact details of the 159
instructions given by the supernatural spirit are not followed, the 688
offending shaman will suffer illness and loss of power.

> After I got my power, I tried doctoring a few times. Then one night the otter came to me again in a dream. He told me that I should get another tail-feather of the eagle. He said, "Take a round piece of abalone shell about the size of a quarter and fasten it to the feather." It was then that I spoiled my power. I had been thinking for some time that the otter-skin was too long. It was about four feet from the head to the tip of the tail. So I cut the head off. After I had done this I got sick. The last time I dreamed about the otter was when I was sick. I felt dizzy. I did not feel very good. I saw the otter jump into the upper end of Pyramid Lake. Then I saw him running on the desert. That was the last time I saw the otter. I had to call in a powerful shaman [Tom Mitchell] to cure me. He came and doctored me. He said to me, "I found out that you cut off the otter's head. That is what made you sick. When you did that the otter went away. You will never see him again. You cut the head off and now you are just like the otter. He does not know anything, and you are the same way." I never dreamed again of the otter when I got well. If I had not cut that piece from the skin I would now be a doctor. (Joe Green)

Very often dream-experience, if not understood, will result in 756
sickness. In this event it may be necessary to have a shaman inter- 787
pret dreams and restore the dreamer to health.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man, who is still living here [Reno], was sick about a year. He almost died. When he was sick he went into trances and his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the land of the dead. He dreamed that way all the time when he was sick. He said that ghosts of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman. The man almost died, but his father finally cured him. (Harry Sampson)

● 756 787 The first few dreams in which supernatural spirits appear can be safely disregarded. But shortly, if the instructions received in the dream are not followed, it is necessary to call a shaman to doctor the patient. In the course of curing, the shaman tells the patient to do as he had been told in his dreams. Then, if the summons is obeyed, recovery is assured. Usually a person is reluctant to become a shaman, and assumes his powers and follows the spirit's bidding only when he is told by other shamans that otherwise death will result. Likewise throughout the rest of the shaman's life he must follow carefully all the instructions given him by his supernatural power. If any part of shamanistic paraphernalia 788 which has been collected at the behest of the shaman's spirit is lost or destroyed, the shaman not only loses his power, but, as has been noted, sickness also results. Death may also follow any other very serious breaches of the injunctions placed on the shaman by the spirits.

In addition to those who receive shamanistic power from involuntary dreams, there are individuals whose desire for power is sufficiently strong to cause them to undertake a voluntary quest. There are certain places, such as caves in the mountains, where power can be acquired.[8] Eight or ten such places are known today, and perhaps formerly there were still others which are now forgotten.

In some of these places, only power for certain undertakings can be sought; in others several kinds of spirit aid can be gained. The tests that are imposed upon the seeker differ also according to the place where the power is sought.

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> Power is sought on a mountain near Wabusca. This power protects a man against bullets. It makes him a great warrior. When a man gets power at this place he must run down the side of the mountain without breathing. If he does not do this the power will not help him. This place is not like the other places where power is acquired. Here the noises of all the animals are not heard the way they are in the caves. Only power to be a warrior comes from this mountain. This place is called tágwan'. A long time ago men got power there. No one goes there nowadays.
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> There is another place near Fallon where power is sought. The power

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[8] Lowie recorded that, "... in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision." *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294.

> to be a doctor can be acquired on this mountain. Big rocks roll down 756
> when a person goes there to seek power. If one steps out of the way of 787
> these rolling rocks, the power will not come. The rocks come within a 778
> couple of feet of the person who is seeking power and then disappear. That is the way the spirits test people who go there to get power. The mountain is called wayʃkudəgwa'. (Rosie Plummer)

There are no preparations for the power-quest. The man who 756
seeks a vision does not fast either before he undertakes the quest 787
or during his stay in the cave. Nor is the quest for power accompanied by self-torture or extended physical exertion.

Late in the afternoon, the man who seeks power goes to a cave where, he has heard, it is possible to acquire power. Food for a midnight and a morning meal may be taken along. Upon entering the cave, the aspirant for supernatural power asks for the particular kind of power that he desires. He then makes simple preparations for spending the night there. Power comes simply as a result of the aspirant's request and his concentration on the desire for power. One of the informants, Dick Mahwee, who sought and received his power in a cave, gave an account of his experiences.[9] His version will serve as a fairly representative statement of this manner of acquiring power. 756

> When I was a young man I had dreams in which I doctored people. 787
> I did not take those dreams seriously. My uncle was an Indian doctor. 159
> He knew what was coming to me. He told me to be careful in talking, not to speak harshly [in order not to offend the supernatural spirits]. I did not become a doctor from these dreams. Finally, I decided to go to the cave near Dayton. I was about fifty then. My uncle did not tell me to go there. I just decided to do this myself.
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> I went into the cave in the evening. As soon as I got inside, I prayed and asked for power to doctor sickness. I said, "My people are sick. I want to save them. I want to keep them well. You can help me make them well. I want you to help me to save them. When they have died give me power to bring them back [return the lost soul]." I said this to the spirit in the cave. It is not a person. It comes along with the darkness. This is a prayer to the night.
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> Then I tried to go to sleep. It was hard to sleep there. I heard all kinds of noises. I could hear all the animals. There were bears, mountain lions, deer, and other animals. They were all in caves in the moun-

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[9] It may be of interest to note that he related his experiences in detail each summer during the three seasons in the field. These accounts recorded a year apart agreed in all details.

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tain. After I went to sleep I could hear people at a doctoring. They were down at the foot of the mountain. I could hear their voices and the songs. Then I heard the patient groan. A doctor was singing and doctoring for him. A woman with a sage-brush shoot in her hand danced. She moved around the fire jumping at every step. Each time she jumped she said, "hɔ', hɔ', hɔ'." Then the shaman sprinkled water on the patient with sage-brush. The singing and dancing went on for a long time. Then the singing stopped. The patient had died and the people began to cry.

After a while the rock where I was sleeping began to crack like breaking ice. A man appeared in the crack. He was tall and thin. He had the tail-feather of an eagle in his hand. He said to me, "You are here. You have said the right words. You must do as I tell you. Do that or you will have a hard time. When you doctor, you must follow the instructions that the animals give you. They will tell you how to cure the sickness. I have this feather in my hand, You must get feathers like it. You are also to find the things that go with it. Get dark beads. Put them on the quills of the feathers and tie a strip of buckskin to the quills. Also get a hoof of a deer, and down from the eagle. With these you can go to people to cure them. These are your weapons against sickness. You must get three rolls of tobacco. You can use them to tell your patients what made them sick and then you can cure them. The tobacco will also help you if you are choked with clots of saliva when you suck out the disease. With this you are beginning to be a doctor. You will get your songs when you doctor. The songs are now in a straight line [ready for use]. Bathe in the water at the foot of the cliff and paint yourself with i·bi [white paint]."

Then I woke up. It was daylight. I looked around but I could not see anyone. The man was gone and there was no sign of the animals or the people who had been singing and doctoring. Then I did as the spirit had ordered and waited to become a doctor. In about six years I had received enough instructions to begin to cure.

The success of the power-quest is dependent upon the seeker's undeviating adherence to the traditionally recognized form of procedure. If he does not go to the right place or if he refuses to stay in the cave the entire night, failure will attend his efforts. Also, as in unsolicited dreams, the instructions of the spirits must be carefully followed. Consequently, only those who do not abide by these conditions fail in the quest for power. Several informants related anecdotes of men who were unable to acquire power owing to their failure to follow the correct procedure in the quest.

Happy Dave heard about the cave where power is acquired. He went there, but he did not want to go inside the cave. He tied his horse

> above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river and bathe and put i·bi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee) 756 787 159 [751]

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death. 756 787 [768]

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power. [775]

> Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

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The eldest son does not always get the power. There is no rule, because the power always decides who is to be a shaman. Several doctors here [Pyramid Lake] inherited their powers. One woman has her father's power. She is as strong a doctor as he was. (Dick Mahwee)

In the old days, a shaman before his death did not give away his power. A son or daughter got the power after the shaman died. A few years ago a woman at Walker Lake gave her power to her daughter before she died. I do not think this was done in the old days. (Rosie Plummer)

My father had power from the otter. After he died, I dreamed about the otter and his songs. I never saw my father in my dreams. He did not decide that I would get his power. The otter decided that. Sometimes a shaman can tell before his death which child will inherit the power. One child will talk in his sleep and try to sing. The songs are not plain enough to be understood. Then the doctor knows that the child will have his power after he dies.

When my father was dying, he wanted to give me his doctoring outfit. But I knew about the danger and I did not take it. I knew it would make me sick. If I had taken his outfit he would have wanted his rattle and eagle-feather with him. He [his ghost] would come back to get these things. Then I would have got sick and died. (Joe Green)

Cases of shamanistic power being transmitted to a child while the parent is still alive are also known. In this event, both parent and child are regarded as practising shamans.

Sometimes a man will get his power from his father who is a doctor. Both can doctor at the same time. The father will tell the son how to doctor. When a boy starts going into trances, his father knows that some day his son will be a doctor. A woman can inherit power the same way. (Annie Dick)

One informant, Rosie Plummer, inherited her power from her father. He in turn had been the heir to his brother's power. Her account gives the typical beliefs for this way of acquiring shamanistic power.

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When my uncle was dying, he told my father to take his power. He wanted my father to have the power to doctor. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions for doctoring that way. The next day my uncle died. Soon after that my father began to have dreams. My uncle would appear in these dreams. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father did not like the dreams. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away [so he would die]. My uncle, before he died, had given my father a little piece of lead with a hole in the center. The hole was filled with eagle

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> down. My father buried the lead and the eagle down. Then his brother's 756
> ghost did not bother him again. That lead and the feathers represented 787
> my uncle's power. After that my father became a powerful shaman. 778
> His power told him to catch rattlesnakes. They did not bite him. He 159
> was told to put sage-brush in his nostrils so the snakes would not hurt him.
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> Rattlesnake was my uncle's power; then my father had rattlesnake 756
> for his power. Now the snake gives me power. Rattlesnake came to 787
> my father in dreams. That is how he learned to treat snake-bites. 825
> Rattlesnake told him to catch rattlesnakes and take two fangs from 159
> each. He was to do this until he had ten fangs. Then he was told to take ten stone beads that were colored like rattlesnake eyes. He strung the beads and the fangs together. He used this string of beads to treat rattlesnake bites. He could also cure people who were sick.
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> Sometimes my father caught rattlesnakes and put them around his waist. He used to ride home carrying rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me. He told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me, but it did not bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.
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> My father died about twenty years ago. Nearly fifteen years later, when I was about fifty, my father began to come to me in dreams. He brought his power to me. He told me to doctor. I dreamed about him three or four times before I believed that I would doctor. After a while the power started to come to me when I dreamed. Then I stopped dreaming about my father. The rattlesnake told me what to do. The snake helps me doctor now. It comes to me when I dream. Several times it has told me to catch snakes, but I have not done it. This has not yet made me sick.

It is difficult to state what proportion of shamans at any one 756
time have inherited powers. Nearly everyone has or had either close or distant kin with shamanistic power. There seems to be a general feeling that at least one child of a shaman will inherit powers. On the other hand, there is good evidence that in many cases a shaman's powers are lost at death. It also seems evident that inheritance here is but a variation on the theme of acquiring power through dream-experience.

Related to the practice of transferring power before death to the son or daughter is the idea that it can be shared with another. However, when a shaman gives his power to some member of his family, usually that person has already been set apart from others as having a predisposition to acquire power. This is exhibited early in life by dreams and by talking while asleep. Transfer in this

756 fashion appears to happen frequently, for it was described by a number of informants who knew of several shamans who had acquired power from a parent during the lifetime of that individual. On the other hand, sharing power with any person not so disposed is not a common practice. Only one incident of transferring power in return for property or other considerations was recorded.

There are, then, three general ways in which the Paviotso may acquire power, but all depend fundamentally upon the same type of experience. In spite of the many opportunities thus afforded for acquiring power, it is evident that relatively few people actually become shamans. The explanation doubtless is to be found in the danger involved in both the acquisition and the use of supernatural power.

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171 Another point that emerges from these accounts is the extreme simplicity of the voluntary power-quest. Essentially, it is little more than the deliberate seeking for the usual dream-experiences accompanied by rather simple tests of the candidate's courage. The long and arduous physical exertions that characterize the Plateau quest and the fasting and self-torture of the search for power on the western Plains are totally unknown to the Paviotso. It is as though the deliberate quest for power here were lightly superimposed upon an older basic pattern in which shamanistic power was derived from dream-experiences alone.

Loss of Power

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688 A shaman is never secure at any time in the possession of his power. Careless treatment of paraphernalia or the flouting of instructions given by the spirits may deprive the shaman of his ability to cure disease. Moreover, careless or malicious acts of others may endanger the shaman's power. If a spectator at a curing ceremony does not carry out the precise requests of the practitioner in handling food, painting the face or body, maintaining silence at specified times during the performance, or other special forms of behavior demanded of those present, harm in the form of failure to effect a cure as well as sickness for the shaman is likely to follow. Frequent instances of illness and loss of power among shamans were attributed by informants to these or similar missteps or to abuses in utilizing the special powers conferred upon these people.

Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman 756
suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not 698
only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

Paraphernalia

The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indi- 756
cation of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip 778
himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird, stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[18]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámakɔ^{ewi}'odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another.
The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it [178]
is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer 756
hooflet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The 778
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[18] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

756 second type is made by scraping the skin clean of hair, soaking it
778 in water, and sewing together the edges. Sand is packed inside,
534 and the skin is allowed to dry until it is hard and stiff. Then the sand is removed and a handle of greasewood or willow about eight inches long is put through holes made in the center of the two pieces of skin. The handle projects an inch or a little less on one side of the rattle. It is fastened in place firmly with sinew. Small pebbles, usually gathered on an ant-hill, are put into the drum, and the opening is closed. Nowadays, circular pieces of deerskin frequently take the place of the skin from the ears. A variation in this rattle is produced by fastening two containers of pebbles together at one end of the handle, making a double-headed rattle.

The other type, the deer-claw rattle, is similar to the rattle used in girls' adolescence rites by a number of tribes in northern California. Anywhere from fifteen or twenty to fifty or even more deerclaws are used, depending upon the number available. A hole is made in the tip of each hooflet and a short piece of buckskin thong knotted at one end is put through the hole from the inside. The hooflet is then fastened by the thong to a willow or greasewood handle. The knot inside the hooflet prevents the buckskin from pulling through the hole. The claws dangle in a bunch an inch or two from the handle, which is usually eight or ten inches long.

Both types of rattles are known as wisábaya. The choice of the type of rattle to be used by each shaman is dictated by his power.

756 The tail-feather contained in the shaman's paraphernalia has a
778 piece of buckskin thong about ten inches long tied to the quill. Down is also fastened to the thong and one or two beads of bone, shell or stone are strung on it close to the feathers. When the shaman doctors, the tail-feathers, together with the down and the beads, are fastened by the buckskin to a dressed willow stick three or four feet long. The pointed end of this stick (puhátumadápuipi) is placed in the ground beside the patient's head. The stick may be painted with red or white bands. The design of the painting is revealed to the shaman by his power. A fresh stick is used each time a shaman cures. The particular kind of feathers used by the shaman does not indicate his source of power. A shaman might have power from an animal and keep an eagle-feather in his outfit. In

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from 756
any other bird. 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

/ The shaman's pipe (tɔ́ιc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden 756
stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of 778
the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, 276
few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for [178]
social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ́ιc).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence [841]
of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions. /

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in 756
their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as 778
bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of 534
eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

756 struments are used by some shamans at the beginning of the
778 curing performance in order to call the powers. They are little used
534 today, however, and it is doubtful that they were formerly commonly included with the paraphernalia. It was reported that a shaman uses a whistle only if told to do so by his power. When the whistle is not in use, it is stuffed with feathers.

756 A bone or wooden tube six to twelve inches in length, used in
778 sucking out the disease, might also be included in the outfit if required by a shaman's spirit. When not in use, such a tube is filled with feathers. Commonly the shaman sucks the cause of disease
[755] from the patient by applying his mouth to the part of the body where, according to the diagnosis, the pain is localized. Some shamans, however, suck the disease from the patient through these tubes.

Paraphernalia in excess of the common standard equipment does not give a shaman stronger or even special powers. Nevertheless, unique or unusual additions are not looked upon as nonessential elaborations of the shaman's equipment. Everything in the kit is important and has a meaning, for if only a single feather is missing, the shaman faces sickness and supernatural impotence. All paraphernalia must be carefully preserved and used only in accordance with the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. When power is secured from several sources, say from several species of birds and animals, each spirit is represented in the shaman's paraphernalia. If part of the outfit is lost or disposed of, the particular power thus offended will cause the shaman to be sick, but he will be deprived of only that part of his power bestowed by the outraged spirit. The shaman may not lose all of his powers through the anger of a single spirit. It is reported that Abraham Mahwee, a shaman at Pyramid Lake, formerly had power from the bear in addition to the powers ascribed to him today. Grieving over the death of his wife a number of years ago, he threw away that part of his paraphernalia which had been collected at the command of the bear. Soon after, he became seriously ill and had to call in another shaman to doctor him. Since his recovery, he has not been able to get the bear to help him in doctoring, although he has not lost the powers given him by other spirits.

753 sorcery, dreams, ghosts, and animals, as well as the illness of shamans resulting from mistakes or disobedience either of the practitioner or of others.

753 Dreams (nɔsi) are commonly the cause of sickness. That is, the
787 dream itself is directly responsible, not prophetic of, illness. The
experiences in such dreams usually are connected with ghosts of
the dead or visions of sickness and death. Often the dreamer will
not suffer the ill effects of his dream, but a relative or a member of
the household is the victim of the illness so caused. These disease-
causing dreams seem to be entirely involuntary; one dreams—with
no conscious desire to cause harm—that another is, or will be, ill;
and shortly thereafter that individual becomes sick. Thus, illness
among children is commonly believed to result from the dreams of
parents. A father will dream that his child is ill; a few days later
● [754] the child is stricken and a shaman must be called in. If the shaman
is not called very soon after the first manifestation of the sickness,
the child will die. Visitors, as well as the parents, may bring about
the illness of children as the result of dreams. In the summer of
753 1934, one such incident caused some excitement on the Pyramid
787 Lake Reservation. As several informants reconstructed the affair,
678 the following incidents led to a threat of murder.

> Joe Overall was visiting Rawhide Henry. After they ate at noon, Joe fell asleep at the table. When he woke up he said that he had dreamed about Rawhide's grandchild. He said that in the dream the girl was sick and weak. She was very sick. She was almost dead. The girl's parents told Joe to do something to take away the dream. Otherwise it looked bad for the girl. The girl's mother asked Joe to wash the girl and pray so the dream would go away. He did not want to do it. He told them that she would be all right. In a few hours the girl was sick. They called in a shaman to doctor the girl. The next day Rawhide's family wanted to kill Joe. Joe was a shaman a long time ago, but he lost his power. They think that he may have a little power left and that he used it to make the girl sick.

753 The contents of the dreams which result in sickness are varied.
787 A relative may be seen to be ill or dying; voices may speak of sickness, or the dreamer may experience aches and pains. Apparently, in these dreams spirits or ghosts are not seen.

> Dreams about sickness just come natural. There do not seem to be any spirits that cause them. The dream just comes and then soon after you are sick. (Nick Downington)

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753 dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of
[774] the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts (sa'ab') and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however, may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes of illness.

775 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate
● 756 with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity
753 from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appearance of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause immediate and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to counteract their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirl-
[785] wind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in preventing the sickness that frequently follows such an experience.
[782 The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be
751] forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the morning.

775 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of
753 the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls
774 from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the
756 journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness resulting from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover, soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls re- 775
stored by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these 753
cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must 774
be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation fre- 756
quently given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point.

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. 753
When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is sud- 756
denly awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. 774
Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisi- 753
tion of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness 756
at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of 787
shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso.

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that 754
all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. 756
According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is al- 755
ways a public performance, with spectators participating to a
certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices
are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans.
The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the [796
only other important public ceremony.[13] The Paviotso shaman 224]
gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power,
nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is
not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an im-
portant public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious [796]
activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso 756
shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

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[13] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890
were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both move-
ments, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they [796]
had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the
Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance.

756 instructed sons and daughters in curing practices. It is reported that in some instances when a shaman is invited to treat his first patient, he may ask an older experienced man to help him the first night. The instructor initiates the curing and carries it on for nearly half the night. The younger shaman then takes over the performance and goes on unaided. This is entirely a personal affair between shamans, as there are no organizations or societies of shamans. Usually, instead of mutual interests and aims bringing shamans together, rivalry and jealousy, manifested by attempts to poison one another, are typical of their feelings and behavior. [578]

755 In curing, each shaman is thought to derive his particular procedure from the supernatural power which directs his efforts. Therefore it seems perfectly consistent to the Paviotso that no two shamans will go through the curing performance in precisely the same way. There is, nevertheless, a general form of procedure followed by all shamans when they treat the sick. The characteristic features of this prevailing plan will first be described.

Curing always takes place at the home of the patient. In winter the mat-covered, dome-shaped house is the scene of the performance; in warm weather the shaman usually performs in the circular brush wind-break which serves as shelter while the family is away from winter quarters. Beyond sweeping the floor, nothing is done to the house in preparation for the arrival of the shaman and spectators.

The family of the sick person decides which shaman is to be called in to doctor. This decision may be made by the patient, if he is able to make his desires known. When the illness is quite serious, a shaman known to have unusually strong powers may be asked to doctor. Shamans of renown may be called in from another band, especially in serious cases, or after the failure of a local practitioner.

Shamanistic curing performances are attended by all who are living conveniently near. No public announcement is made when a shaman is about to cure, but the news of the coming event nevertheless circulates quickly. Often when a shaman is invited in the morning, everyone within walking distance has heard of the coming performance by nightfall. Consequently, a crowd never fails to gather for the curing rites.

The shamanistic performance is probably best looked upon as 755
a blend of the social and the religious. All who attend participate, [533]
at least in a small way, by singing, which is thought to be a powerful
aid in establishing contact through the shaman with the
supernatural forces. This in turn assists the shaman in gaining
control over malignant forces. When Paviotso shamanism was in
full swing, these performances, held in a small closely packed
house, must have been exciting and impressive. The singing and
the shaman's tricks appear to have excited the spectators to a
high emotional pitch which was followed by a relaxation of tension
attended often by a general feeling of satisfaction when control
of the sickness was demonstrated by the return of the soul or
the extraction of a disease-object. The social aspect of these
gatherings was and is today an important motive for attending.
There were occasions during the night for talk and gossip, an
opportunity never spurned by the Paviotso. The food provided
by the patient's family at midnight also held a strong social appeal,
for the religious tensions were largely relaxed for the moment.
Finally, in the absence of other important religious ceremonies,
these rites were charged with more feeling and emotion [781]
than any other type of community gathering.

At the present time, there is little specialization among shamans. 756
In aboriginal times, however, certain types of disorders were 463
treated by shamans known for their ability along special lines.
Shamans with power from the rattlesnake were believed to have
the greatest power for treating people bitten by that snake. Again,
only shamans who derived power from water-babies could treat
sickness caused by these beings. Shamans who secured their
powers from ghosts specialized in curing those whose illness resulted
from experiences with the souls of the dead. Still other
forms of specialization in curing seem to depend on the strength
of the shaman's power rather than upon its source. Some powerful
shamans are believed to be especially efficacious in curing the ill-effects
of dreams; others are famous for success in doctoring
wounds. On the Pyramid Lake Reservation at the present time,
one shaman is well known for assisting women in cases of difficult
labor, not because of any particular kind of power, but because
of a number of successful cures. As with this man, the renown of
shamans as specialists is based entirely on success in treating

756 certain types of afflictions. In still another form of illness, soul 463 loss, cures can be made only by shamans who have unusually strong power. Lost souls are restored not by virtue of power from a particular source, but rather by the aid of spirits far stronger than those possessed by the ordinary shamans.

755 The curing performance usually takes place at night. In case of a wound, a snake-bite, or very serious illness, a shaman may be summoned at any time of the day or night. In this event, the doctoring begins as soon as the shaman arrives. Apparently these emergency treatments take place infrequently. The performance at night which is thought of by the Paviotso as the orthodox form of doctoring is called tunʃku'hu (literally, singing). An emergency treatment which lasts about three hours is known as sɔgɔ́nəbu'ᵉ. The meaning of this term is not known.

It is customary for the shaman to doctor a patient for two nights. Several informants insisted that the treatment must be kept up for this length of time even though the patient shows signs of recovery after the first night. The shaman does not doctor two successive nights, however, but rests one night between the first and second treatments. When a patient is dangerously ill, two shamans may be called in, though usually they do not work together, but alternately. One performs the first night and the other the second, and so on.

A member of the patient's family summons the shaman, usually visiting the shaman at sunrise. The shaman is reserved and aloof during the consultation, slowly smoking his pipe while considering the summoner's invitation. The fee is briefly discussed and agreed upon; it may also be paid at this time. In former days, beads, 465 skins, blankets, and horses were paid for a shaman's services; nowadays the usual fee is three to five dollars. No doubt the shaman's remuneration varies considerably, the better-known practitioners charging even more than the larger sum mentioned.

756 It is said that shamans who overcharge their patients become ill. The explanation offered is that the shamans' powers determine the fee and if the practitioner asks for more the spirit will be angry and punish the offender. On the other hand, shamans are required by their powers to collect a fee for treating patients; the giving of free services would endanger the life of the shaman.

The only exception to this rule mentioned by informants is in 756
the case of illness in the shaman's immediate family, where he can treat the sick without exacting a fee and at the same time remain in the good graces of his power.

Shamans may permit their patients to defer payment of the charges for curing. If the debt is not paid in a specified time, however, the shaman will suffer a serious illness. This is believed to be the shaman's penalty for disobeying the injunctions of his power. Consequently, the shaman makes sure that he will be paid, usually demanding the fee in advance. In spite of these precautions, several instances of sickness among shamans, attributed to the failure to pay, were recorded.

Shamans rarely refuse to accept a case. It is generally agreed that shamans are required to treat the sick whenever they are asked. It is said that if a shaman refuses to go, his power will be angry, and sickness and loss of power will result.

When invited to doctor, the shaman asks few questions. He 755
does not inquire about the patient's symptoms, for his power is supposed to help him determine them. Yet he may briefly question the summoner about the patient's actions prior to the illness.

After gravely and quietly considering the request for assistance, the shaman announces that he will doctor that night. Then he directs the preparation of the stick (subínamadáʙu·inya) which is to be placed upright by the patient's head. The relative who summons the shaman cuts and prepares this stick, which is of willow and is three or four feet long. The shaman takes a feather from his kit (usually the tail-feather of the eagle) which, together with a bone or shell bead and down from the breast of the eagle, is attached by a buckskin thong to the blunt end of the stick. Red and white bands may also be painted on the wand. The precise way in which it is prepared and decorated depends upon the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. The relative now returns home, and the wand that he has prepared under the direction of the shaman is stuck in the ground beside the patient's head with the feathers and the bead hanging by several inches of string from the top of the stick. During the day the wand may be kept outside the house, but it is taken in and placed by the patient before the doctoring begins.

755 756 469 The shaman arrives after dark, usually about nine o'clock. He is accompanied by his interpreter or "talker," called poínab·.[14] The interpreter, like the shaman, receives a fee for his services; usually he is paid about half as much as the shaman. His function in the curing rites is to repeat, in a loud clear voice, everything that is said by the shaman. In the curing rites, the shaman mumbles and speaks rapidly in broken snatches. The interpreter sitting at his left listens attentively and repeats the words clearly in order that the spectators may understand. He also follows the songs that the shaman sings, repeating the words loudly to enable the spectators to follow them easily and join in the singing. The interpreter learns only through practice, as he does not have supernatural power to aid him. A shaman always uses the same interpreter, who becomes familiar with his songs and way of talking. Several people stated that formerly the interpreters were not numerous, that shamans outnumbered interpreters. It is also said that in earlier days only men acted in this capacity, but nowadays women also interpret for shamans. One informant asserted that the interpreter also "prays" to the source of the sickness during the course of the curing. According to this statement, before the shaman starts to doctor, the interpreter seats himself by the patient and addresses the "sickness" with some such words as these:

> Our doctor is here. He is a good doctor. He is a strong doctor. You are poisoning this man. This doctor will find out about you. He knows you. Go away and leave this man alone. We do not want him to be sick. Go away and do not come back again. (Joe Green)

This informant stated that later in the performance, when the shaman had diagnosed the cause of illness, the interpreter again prays. This time he addresses the shaman. He might say,

> Cure this man. Make the sickness disappear. Make this man well. Suck out the sickness that is inside him. Show us the sickness that you suck out. Then he will recover.

Other informants did not confirm this function of the interpreter. The general opinion seems to be that the interpreter's duties consist only of repeating the words of the shaman and leading the spectators in singing his songs. Qualifications for this posi-

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[14] It may be noted that a chief and the head man of a communal undertaking are also designated by the same term.

tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing 755 756
throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be 755
noted. This is the dancer (wütádᵃ). The dancer is always a woman 535
and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous. She may be either married or single. This performer carries a
bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This [534]
type of rattle (wədákətⁱ) is held close to the front of the body and jerked up and down in time to the dance step. The dancer follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction. Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short,
quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee [765]
equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for 755
if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means that in the summer the curing does not get under way before ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are
also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One [756
may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his 787]
clothing in a particular way.

755 clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own [302] style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left; the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range themselves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if [841 843] they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

● 756 533 The number of songs and their length vary with different shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated 757
with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of 515
shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies
that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its
use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place [177]
in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[14]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His 756
failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic 756
performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks 789
when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

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[14] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

756 789 These few tricks are about the extent of the shaman's legerdemain. It is evident that sleight-of-hand forms no important part of the shaman's stock-in-trade. Moreover, only a few shamans at any time employed such means to demonstrate their powers.

756 533 The small number of songs that were recorded have not been analyzed, but several general observations can be made. The words of a shaman's song often refer to the source of power. The songs are short; frequently they are not more than four or five words in length, with meaningless syllables often incorporated. The three shaman's songs published by Gilbert Natches illustrate these points. The songs are short, and mention curing or other attributes of the shaman's power. The words of one song, "the soul pursuing, the person's soul bring back," obviously refer to restoring a soul that has been lost.[17] The words of a single song are repeated as long as the shaman cares to continue, usually ten or fifteen minutes, sometimes even longer.

Shamans claim that they are not familiar with their songs before actually engaging in the performance of the curing rite. As we have seen, songs come to the practitioners from their powers when they are needed and cannot be recalled the next day. In the course of recording songs, three otherwise quite willing informants insisted that they were unable to recall their own songs, although they could remember those of other shamans. Evidently, shamans' songs differ from those sung at the round dance and for the hand-game, although there appears to be little difference in words. A number of informants unhesitatingly identified curing songs when reproduced on the phonograph, but authorship was not always recognized, and property rights in them never.

755 The following two accounts of shamanistic curing will illustrate several points in the procedure outlined above.

> Jackson Overton's father, Natches Overton, doctored my mother one time. I was sitting with my uncle. Natches smoothed the ground in front of us. Then he drew three circles in a row in the dirt. He said that he wanted a man to take off his shoes and stand with a foot in each of the end circles. My uncle took off his shoes and stood where Natches told him. After a while Natches told him to sit down. Then Natches sang. When he finished his song he told my uncle to scrape

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[17] Natches, *Northern Paiute Verbs*, 259.

> away the dirt in the circles. In the dirt of the first two circles he found 755
> nothing. In the third he found a small hard object that looked like a piece of copper. It was about the size of a ten-cent piece and there was a hole in the center. Natches then said, "I think this woman will recover." He told them to tie the small object to the top of my mother's head with her hair. He said that she must keep it there for ten days. The next morning she felt better. In seven or eight days she was almost well. On the tenth day she got up and walked. (Joe Green)
>
> Captain Dave was almost dead. His mind was gone. Two shamans were doctoring him. They quit because they could do nothing for him. People brought Bull Tom to doctor Captain Dave. Bull Tom said, "I am going to lie down here. I am going to find him. His mind is already gone. Maybe I cannot find him. I do not know how long he has been gone. Maybe it is too long." Bull Tom was in a trance for a long time. Then he was heard talking softly. He was still a long way off. We heard him say, "Do not be afraid. We are going home. We are going back to your home. We will go from here over to that mountain. Your boy, your daughter, your wife are all there. We are going back and see all of them there. Do not look back. Bad animals are back there. Do not go back; we will be home soon." Then Bull Tom came out of his trance. He told Captain Dave's family to blow on the top of Captain Dave's head. Captain Dave woke up. He recognized all the people around him. Bull Tom turned the doctoring over to the other shamans then. Captain Dave recovered and lived for many years. (Joe Green)

Shamans cure wounds and injuries as well as illness. The treat- 756
ment is substantially the same for all. Usually shamans suck out 752
arrowheads and bullets. In case of internal injury they draw off the blood which is believed to prevent recovery. Certain shamans, such as Wovoka, are credited with unusually strong powers for curing the injured and the wounded. No particular source of power is associated with this form of practice; such shamans also cure disease.

War parties are often accompanied by at least one shaman. He 756
takes part in the fighting, and only when hostilities are over does 726
he treat the wounded. The shaman utilizes his power while on 752
the war-path solely for purposes of doctoring. The only exception is the shaman whose power not only enables him to cure but also makes him invulnerable. Invulnerability is occasionally exhibited in peace-times simply to demonstrate the shaman's mastery of supernatural spirits. It is not probable that these public exhibitions were ever very common.

● 756 726 752 Fighting and treating the wounded are the shaman's only functions on the war-path. He does not invoke the aid of his powers for the success of the party, nor does he prophesy the outcome of the venture.

Weather-Control and Clairvoyance

789 756 Although the shaman's function is chiefly to cure disease, control of the elements, the ability to foretell future events, and the discovery of lost articles, are all within the ability of at least some shamans. Usually shamanistic manipulation of the weather serves no practical need.[18] Often it is simply a means of demonstrating the control of supernatural power. By waving a feather or by singing, shamans may cause the clear sky to become cloudy, the wind to blow, or rain to fall. They can also stop wind and rain or banish the clouds that they have brought. Although the predominant motive in weather-control is this exhibition of power, shamans have been known in the past to manipulate weather for the benefit of the community. This weather-control is chiefly concerned with causing changes in the elements in order to bring about a badly-needed run of fish in the rivers. It is said that fish may be induced to go up the river in the spring by causing the ice to melt or by bringing about a wind that will force them to the mouth of the river. When ice covers the rivers late in the spring, delaying the run of fish from the lakes, a shaman known to have control over the elements is asked to cause warm weather and rain to melt the ice. Only a few shamans, however, have this power.

> During the winter the river was frozen over. The men could not fish. In the spring the people were hungry. There were no fish in the river. There was too much ice. It was cold. The people talked about it. They were talking about asking a certain shaman here (Pyramid Lake) who could help them. He had the power to bring a warm wind that would melt the ice. They sent two or three men to the shaman. They asked him to make the wind blow. The shaman sang and the ice was made to melt. Then the fish started up the river. The people caught many of them. They paid the shaman with fish. Everyone gave him fish. If the

[782] [18] A form of weather-control is practised at the social round dances. While the dancers are moving in a circle a headman, not necessarily one with supernatural power, walks around praying for rain in order to insure abundant wild products.

> shaman asked for beads, skins, or flint when he brought the wind, he 789 756
> would spoil his power. He would lose his power if he did not obey his
> spirit. (Joe Green)

Some shamans, but not all, are able to foretell the future. Ap- 787
parently even among those who are supposed to have the ability 756
to predict future events the power is not frequently exercised.
One shaman is reported to have foreseen the coming of the whites,
and others have foreseen several serious epidemics.

Sarah Winnemucca mentions the shamans' gift of prophecy. She describes a dream of her father's in which the killing of the Indians by the whites was predicted.[19] Although Sarah does not specifically make a statement about her father's power, there is evidence both in her account and from my field notes that he was a shaman. On still another occasion, future events were revealed to Sarah's brother in a dream. When he awoke from the dream, the people were called together and the prophecy was related.[20]

All informants denied that shamans exercise their clairvoyant 726
powers either on the warpath or on the eve of the departure of 787
the war-party. In fact, aside from their rôles in treating the 756
wounded and fighting shoulder to shoulder with other men,
shamans have no outstanding position in battle or the preparations
that precede it. On these occasions, the shaman's position is defi- [554]
nitely subordinate to that of the war-leader or chief. This official
may, however, owe his position to the possession of supernatural
power which makes him invulnerable, hence a daring and fearless
fighter, the qualifications for the leader of a war party. In Sarah
Winnemucca's account there is a suggestion, not borne out by
the above, that shamans previsioned the outcome of battles. At
least her father on one occasion and her brother on another fore-
told from dream experiences the outcome of impending conflicts
with the whites.[21]

In all these clairvoyant revelations, only harmful events such 787
as sickness, warfare, and death are predicted. There is no indica- 756
tion that successful undertakings or happy events are previsioned.
This characteristic of Paviotso clairvoyance may be related to

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[19] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 14–15.

[20] Ibid., 80.

[21] Ibid., 14, 80.

787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.

756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or
stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with
other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not
widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of
these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were
not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking
clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced
belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

ANTELOPE SHAMANS

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic
life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured
by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a
[222] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope.
A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is
responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

[796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life,
are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites
that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely
simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The
shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the
success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic per-
formance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of
the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one
of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only
men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may
enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the
antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the
[776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice,
but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the ani-
mals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

puhágəm or tunápuhágəm (tuná, antelope; puhágəm, shaman). 224
If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756
is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124]
memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423]
shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is fre- 224
quently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756
string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was re- 533
ported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

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756 across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for
[533] the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the
curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of
[422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding
an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

224 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together
237 with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup[1], and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

224 The "Kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[24] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days.
[534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[25]

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756 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an important place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

THE POSITION OF THE SHAMAN IN THE SOCIAL ORDER

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's
[182] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

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622 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

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[24] Ibid., 56.

[25] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304–305.

stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the 756
past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also 622
possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, [668]
was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was re- 756
sponsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence 622
of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with 178
the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of 756
Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and 554
accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, [424]
the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

756 mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and
554 influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner.
It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization
or society through which the shaman's religious and
social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman
acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position
[578] only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence
points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common
interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies
and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

756 In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who
are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and
carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather
[462] seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted
to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth
acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The
[432] idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to
the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing,
and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the
daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

756 The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his
157 fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke,
laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious
when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual
[525] gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social
dances if he so desires.

756 More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain
556 wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are
acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value,
however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans
are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others,
but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive
resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is
not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a
large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in
[525 the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The
422] property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then,
be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Largely because of this popular form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [457]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear,
the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may
be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect
felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general
feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with
supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's
death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of
such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths
among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the
weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the
dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

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792 preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e.,
[787] they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals. Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because
[756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for their curative abilities.

668 The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to recon-
792 struct on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests,
756 however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in
[622] fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an impor-
[622] tant and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief
[556] and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a 756
wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not [556]
relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In
short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to
gain marked economic privileges.

SUMMARY

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is 755
the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public
participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional
crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely
lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire cere- [796]
monial life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of or- 756
ganization, Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several
features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in ac-
quiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt
acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all [754]
shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indi-
cate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be re-
garded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in
emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity
of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel com-
binations of practices found widely over western North America, [171]
the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are
unique.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. [731] At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. 237 The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis,* was made into ornaments. 301 Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. [226] [262] [439] The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. [756] Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787] The abalone, *Haliotis,* is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata,* are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivalvis* are also called potE. [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[49] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahapa, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wûp.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?,* seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, sawapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wâ pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[49] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

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182 even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and
571 nonpeyotists|are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street.

*795 The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this
[648] acculturation study. To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also
N aided the diffusion.

W As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely
182 advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have
755 to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty
*795 cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward re-
N covery.

W Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans con-
[648] tributed to this belief in peyote. Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much
[756] as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times. Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is
N more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is
W better than Protestantism, although similar.

761 Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that
*795 peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told
828 me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond
N Bishop) in Owens Valley.

W
158 When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

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*795 The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

See Appendix III for statistics.

Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

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[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

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[171]
[484]

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	179 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

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273
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563

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

● [756] [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. The Wadátkuht also
439 262 traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Wadátkuht

also quite likely that the individual did not realize that 821
he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to
become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends [626]
and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to
the sun at sunrise. To pray was nanishtuhai, and one had to [782]
pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the
evening.

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost 775
of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take
his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the [753]
story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht
camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking
sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid
that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp
had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could
still hear them if one was to go around that place.

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with 776
certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. [756]
Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary
babies except that they had long hair.

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north 756
of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there 778
was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain
was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was
a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father,
Nunu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in
order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to
keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter
of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was
Wadátkuht.

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

Wadatkuht

obtain power, or whether they had a place nearer home. 756 778

At Nabogin men slept on top of the rimrock but "if you have a weak heart you will wake up thinking the rock is falling into the water below. If you have a strong heart you never wake, you have good dreams, get something; that's what they claim".

Ike's father began to be a doctor at Nabogin and later he had to learn doctoring songs. "He could cure smallfox (smallpox) pretty easy. He knew about many diseases but couldn't cure them. He lost his flint rock (an ovoid chipped stone knife) and lost his doctoring power". He kept smallpox away from his camp, according to Ike. [533]

Another place where power could be obtained was at a mountain located about three or four miles out of Dayton, Nevada, on the way to Fort Churchill. This mountain was called Muhan°, "Moon Turn". Located in this rocky peak was a cave in which young (?) men stayed overnight to try to get doctoring power. If the person did not become afraid and leave he could get power from his night's stay. In the morning as the man left the cave his power was put to a test when a boulder came crashing down from above. If the man had found power from his overnight stay he could avoid being crushed by the boulder.

Again it was not specifically stated whether any Wadátkuht men took advantage of this cave to obtain power. However, it seems likely that the pattern of obtaining power was one that the Wadátkuht men would follow. It is possible that Tommy Tucker Cave, Nummota, was used as such a place. At least the cave was not used for ordinary domiciliary purposes (cf., Riddell, 1956).

In 1953 a young woman (from Nixon?) was being bothered by dreams and was being called to go to Muhan° to obtain songs and power. She tried to fight it off because she did not want to become a doctor, but she would have to give in, especially if she became ill. Apparently women as well as men got doctoring power from visiting these lonely places and remaining all night for dreams and instruction. Additional data given in a following section tend to corroborate this.

Types of Shamans. The Wadátkuht name three types of shamans: 1) Numuhgumuhd, 2) Nutaigut, and 3) Nuhpud. The 756

Wadatkuht

756 [755] The first type cured such minor things as headaches and used massage as a major means of making cures. The second type seemed to be closely related to the first since he also used massage, but in addition rubbed medicine into the patient. The third type had a more complex method of curing. To become a Numuhgunuhd (and presumably a Nutaigut) a person might dream for several years that it was necessary for him to become a doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as he did not want to become a shaman, for being a doctor entailed considerable responsibility and effort as in our own society, but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The Numuhgunuhd, however, did not have to go out alone to some wild and lonely spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the Nuhpud, did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he tried out being a Numuhgunuhd. If he was not too successful as this type of doctor he had to try to become a Nuhpud.

[755] Gladys was treated once by a relative, Tsudi ("Judy"), for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a Nuhpud and used an eighteen inch long arrowcane to suck a clot of blood from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's dreams. It is also said that the mother probably wished her
[428] dreams to her daughter. This would suggest that doctors tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a shaman Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both a Numuhgunuhd and a Nuhpud.

753 [775] [754] 753 828 Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a sorcerer, who "poisons" (puha') people. It has also been shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a call to become a doctor. Unpleasant dreams made people sick; also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be applied to the Wadatkuht, these dreams could have crippling effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a cave in which she was trapped. To escape she had to walk over the

WadatKuht

752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup^{a}. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^{a} to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] __Weather__ __Control__. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, Kukwa^{P}ta, if one knew the correct words.

821 [789] [177] __Eclipse__ __of__ __the__ __Sun__. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^{b} - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 513 825 __Sleeping__ __Charm__. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

Wadatkuht

539 776 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon. It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 **Petroglyphs**. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai, "magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy, had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy
● said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them
on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an
[756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that
petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to
[881] themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in
any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 **Headmen**. Little information was obtained with respect to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains" and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the same time and seem to have had an equal status within the group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times", and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them
to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They
[692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within
the band. The situation of having other people work for them
[177] as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

Wadátkuht

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., 622
Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). [177]

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated 421
elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come,
first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was
picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no
ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be
told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they
could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as
the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal [648]
boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a
neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have
to be given.

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said 428
that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed
anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all [764]
the personal possessions of a person were buried with him,
and in the old days a man's horse was even killed.

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example [756]
of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in
question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin
family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi,
in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor,
apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It
will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor.

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most 762
often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People
also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse
too fast, or by any other likely method.

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself,
was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so
unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently [757]
ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got
some cream for her to drink.

000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343 515 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pouring water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*töpínaBàgia*) was constructed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat, but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side; Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates [782] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was accompanied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge [178] in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory "*naBárinana*." Here also the rocks were put on one 515 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both 757 sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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[1] Matthews, 227.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.

[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 75.

would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *náskugariñgeu*. 000

MISCELLANEOUS.

Paviotso.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving. 262

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:— 538

> Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.[1]

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them. 356

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame. 854

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache. 757

Wind River.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing. 000

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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[1] Mooney, 770 f.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N
A
345
515

● N
A
● [707]

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	A
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
732. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	.	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
748a. Optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
749. Smoking while bathing	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
751. Women used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
752a. Up to 7	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
752b. 10 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
753. Use as clubhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
[423]

Miscellaneous Houses

N
A
343
[341]
N
[764]

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	A
760. Dog house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Small, domed willow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Special grinding house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
763. Menstrual house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	.	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
763c. Burial in caves	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

N
246

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	A
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
765. For general gatherings only	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
766. Circular	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Brush fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768a. E	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768b. Any direction	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
770. Fires around fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NAVIGATION

N
W
A
501

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	A
772. Pole or log raft	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
774a. 4 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
778a. 8-12	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
779. Prow curved up	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
780. No. of persons held: 2	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p.380]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Ha	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
															N W
2579. To spirit (sunpipö)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	782
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2588. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															N W
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N ●
Nonshamanistic Curing															W A
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	757 ●
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)															N W
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	W
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
2609a. Specularite (yadüpi) sprinkled to nullify	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	787
"Muipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	276
DANCES															N W A
2614. Circle Dance (nügava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[789]

[p. 415]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [84] 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DW described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

N [525 777] N 782

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. K1: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. K1: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-nûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 ([illegible])]

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba*, doctoring power; *madaiya*, [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba*, sorcery power. All of these are thought
to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who
have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are
thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment
for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The
doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ba*, are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit
helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect
a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their
power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very
common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from
rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were
bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected
by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush.
Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that
they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and
talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to
attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [554
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224]
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men
went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 753 775
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood
gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old
blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the
blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but sometimes 757]
he calls in a doctor.[4]

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very
ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is
responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the
fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the
family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although
he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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[4] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases.
Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists.
In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient
and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending
[757] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological
treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied
externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may
[782 pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he
776] splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the
sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting,
757 paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the
operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if
new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or
protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's
immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and,
if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected
and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after
sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on
which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or
with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The
relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor
756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to
[753] work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of
becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a
755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the
756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a
pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays,
when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

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[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753
ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757]
The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a
strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164]
that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again,
an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774]
may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of
breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [698]
their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish
among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787
dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755]
intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient.
Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754]
sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's
account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114]
cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated 757
with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of 515
shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies
that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its
use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place [177]
in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations
with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[16]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His 756
failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a
sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic 756
performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks 789
when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

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[16] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

Wadátkuht

that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem 881
that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologi-
cally for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch [413]
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eli- 881
gible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening. [574]

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in 165
camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie
Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small
because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so
severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred
lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly
burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white 177
people came there were no old people, everyone was young and
there was little sickness. The name for small pox was
tasi'yub^{a}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medi- 757●
cinal properties but it was not always possible to make
botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications
are not complete.

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds. [752] [232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 [182] [124] Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 [683] Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

Wadátkuht

frightened and ran away. Just as the buckboard was passing over a bridge the vehicle's tongue broke and both boys were thrown into the dry creek bottom. The two severely injured boys were taken into camp and a Pyramid Lake woman doctor worked on them. They were laid on the ground side by side with a can of eagle feathers between them, and each boy was separately encircled by a horse hair rope. The doctor, Tsudi, "Judy", Kitty's father's cousin, sprinkled water on the boys' heads, and also sprinkled black pigment in powder form on their heads. White chalk was mixed with water and given to them in a spoon. Two rings were drawn on each boy's chest with red paint, and a red circle was drawn on each boy's forehead. Since the eagle feathers in the can moved and did not droop the shaman got the sign that the boys were going to recover. The term for trying to bring a sick person back to health was tumánog. 755

A number of years after the accident Tsudi doctored Gladys' brother again, this time for headaches presumably stemming from his previous serious injury. Kitty, Gladys and Gladys' brother went over to Nixon for the treatment. The patient was very weak. Kitty asked Tsudi if she would take the case, and the asking had to be done before sunrise, since that was the traditional time to ask. Tsudi accepted. 757 755 [821]

Gladys did not entirely trust Tsudi, so watched her carefully. The shaman told them all to go outside if they did not have strong stomachs, and to leave her alone with the patient. Gladys started to leave with the others but turned back in order to watch out for her brother. The shaman had assured everyone that everything would be all right when she sent them from the room.

The doctor felt around on the patient's head until she found a vein to open. When she cut the vein with a knife chipped from bottle glass dark-colored blood spurted out. When the blood looked better, more red-colored, she put a quid of chewing tobacco from her mouth on the cut. Later a second quid replaced the first one - it was a "clean" one. After this second wad of tobacco was put on it was tied in place with a horse hair rope and then with a rag. Gladys' brother got better and was never bothered again with the headache.

The knife the doctor used was chipped from bottle glass by striking off flakes with a stone. She "cleaned" the knife with tobacco "juice" (spittle), mud and water. She [413]

Wadátkuht

757 also rubbed the knife with sand just after she had finished chipping it.
755

When a patient was taken to a doctor who was already doctoring someone the term was natzata. Apparently the shaman would treat both patients at the same time.

755 [821] Doctoring a Sick Person. As noted above, a doctor had to be called in early in the morning before sun up, that is, he had to be asked if he would take the case at that time. He was usually given a gift at the time of asking.

The doctor worked on the patient for four days, usually in a darkened room where everyone had to be quiet. Smoking was not allowed except when the doctor lit up; then everyone lit up. This was prayer time.

The patient lay on the floor and the doctor sat beside him and blew smoke into his face (this action was called hahi), prayed and then began his song (this last action was called tumanagi). An eagle feather was put upright in a can at the patient's head (this action was called tubihi). This was a specially prepared feather as it had down around its base, and the doctor had a decorated eagle feather in his hair. There was money for the doctor in the can with the eagle feather. Putting the money in the can was called astuwunai.

The doctor sang his song and everyone present sang it with him. He sang and prayed for about three hours.

The shaman had an arrowcane stick, or tube, he put against the patient's body to suck out the sickness, an act he did several times. Sucking out the sickness was called pumu' tumuhamuhn, "something to touch with your lips". The doctor sucked during the period when he sang and prayed. He had to clear his own throat of the "sickness" sucked from the patient and spit it out into a pan. It usually consisted of phlegm and clotted blood, and sometimes a worm. The act of spitting out the "sickness" was called ci'ihn.

A close relative of the doctor saw to it that the doctor's rules were carried out. This person "thought the world of the doctor", and was the one who took the pan outside and dug a hole a considerable distance away and buried the sickness that the doctor had extracted from the patient and had spit into the pan. The duty of the helper was to tumaiyoho',

Wadátkuht

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). 622 [177]

421 Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. [648] Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given.

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed. 428 [764]

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor. [756]

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method. 762

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink. [757]

doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her 754
power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This
time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, [755]
and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not
name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was
obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter
family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with 754
a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move 578
the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the
sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the
family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to
get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They
said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to
each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and
Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry [753]
had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her
by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according
to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters
felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better
educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men.
Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter
because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was
probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey.
Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed
her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the
family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M.
girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public
opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm [652]
Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and
no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had
relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I 578
would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts 758
I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet 157
terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of
the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has
had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

578 she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the
758 father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with
157 whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated
[684] that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

[554] Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[a]

[756] When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie
758 was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and
157 was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen,
[754] Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

[a] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing
her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that
she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal
motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power
which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swell-
ing, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally
known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments,
and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was
feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to
have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power,
some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have
some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established
fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease
which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized
irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would
have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want
her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the
living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's inde-
pendence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her
breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that
it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [684]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to
her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that
by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried
to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being
punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents pre-
ceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass
a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members
of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
[presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787
sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the 756
poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753
not generally recognized:

Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul 756
is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761 ●

When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[234] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755
required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^{a} (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752
once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Piudy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

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[234] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. A [846] AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was N [774 ● 761] hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be N [842] deformed. A deformed child called nayla dŏköpö ("gopher ate some off").

N 836 847 684 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). AE: At first menses girl dances A [881 535 533] 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard

[p.442(A)]

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagnosis.
[755] Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter
again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on
him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sickness
[776] one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have
seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to
Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she
worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[3] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It [761] ●
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[4] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the daytime or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[3] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[4] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

753 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts.
775 In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards
with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became
stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her
breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
[761] was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A
woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse.
While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his
mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts
of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died.
He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had
looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he
was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came
to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
[755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie
Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased
and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt
the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden
bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an
attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will
not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attributed
[761] uted many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

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[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.

[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

such power ran in his family, and it seems as if he shared the reputation because 754
he was married to Mrs. Porter. He was said to have power in sea gulls. In the account of the death of Polly, reported in the previous chapter, it is interesting that some accused him of the act, and some accused his wife, but everyone agreed that one or the other was guilty. Mrs. Porter's power was in snakes and it was said that all the victims of her power saw snakes or felt them on their bodies. It was also stated by the community that all the Porter children would probably be just like their parents, mean, bad, and dangerous.

In determining how Mrs. Porter got the reputation for sorcery, the first fact which seems important is that her family were already marked as mean people. [157]
Although none of them seem to have been in such an uncomfortable position as Mrs. Porter, they certainly were not popular. The two types of behavior attributed to her father and remembered with disapproval were winning at games too frequently, which was attributed to using his power to cheat, and spitting in other people's food. This latter behavior was attributed to jealousy and the wish to have the food for himself.

Seven different people were said to have been killed by Mrs. Porter. I have 754
reconstructed the chronological order of these cases as accurately as possible as it 761
seems important in determining how a reputation is built up. One of the first sicknesses blamed on her was that of a young child. It is stated that during the doctoring of this child, which Mrs. Porter attended, she could not sit still and the doctor stated that her power was responsible for the child's condition. Evidently Mrs. Porter was very nervous and did not challenge the accusation as the doctor is said to have worked on her and with her consent taken away her power. One would surmise that she was in a bad position or she would not have accepted the blame. It may also be that she was young at the time and more sensitive to criticism than she became in later life.

Three other accusations were leveled against her which date from about this period. She is said to have killed her own uncle, a man who specialized in helping women who had trouble in childbirth; and she is also reputed to have killed her own niece. The evidence against her in this latter case was quite damaging as several people are said to have seen a snake crawling around the young girl's neck; one man tried to pull it off but did not succeed until the girl was already dead. The third offense was explained as revenge for theft. Sophie is said to have stolen Mrs. Porter's' beads. Sophie's mother died soon after this episode and Mrs. Porter was held responsible for her death.

About 1930, when the Porters were living in Fort Bidwell, the accidental death [626]
of their son precipitated the accusation of sorcery already discussed in the previous chapter. This accusation was backed by the entire community. The circumstantial evidence was damning. The Porter's had publicly blamed the Simms for the death of the Porter boy and in their uncontrolled anger had theatened the family. Soon

754 761 after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

[626] Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen
[753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 684 761 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

764 761 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 208] In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion. It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

155 157 when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

578 The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

754 578 The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[8] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which [574] Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent [753 761] against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case [155] has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

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[8] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

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182 even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and
571 nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street.[illegible]

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced
*795 by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this
[648] acculturation study.[illegible] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and
attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions
to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic,
even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure,
we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion
formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals
that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every
explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition.
They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic
reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also
N aided the diffusion.

W As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely
182 advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have
755 to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty
*795 cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging
from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping
cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray,"
reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

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W Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans con-
[648] tributed to this belief in peyote.[illegible] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much
as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[illegible] Most protracted illnesses
[756] for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans.
Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in
others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe
Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings,
and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is
N more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is
W better than Protestantism, although similar.[illegible]

●761 Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that
*795 peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told
828 me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's
crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond
N Bishop) in Owens Valley.

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158 When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

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[illegible] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[illegible] See Appendix III for statistics.

[illegible] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[illegible] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[illegible] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

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Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[60]

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That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[61] Except when persistently

[60] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[61] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to
● [761] peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[illegible]

[743] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. [648] Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. [826] Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.
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• 771 787 *795 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[illegible] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[illegible] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[illegible]
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171 276 *795 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[illegible] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[illegible]

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178 771 *795 Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[illegible] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. [797] Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns
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[illegible] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[illegible] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[illegible] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[illegible] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[illegible] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[illegible] La Barre, 72.

[illegible] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

[766] times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much.
764 He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money." Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for
[428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog." If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

[351] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

2 ● 762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community
would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his person- [754]
ality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, [762]
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-
five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation center- [657]
ing around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be
turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the
family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next
chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more
frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the
family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of
bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions
husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses.
As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
595 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in
the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently
or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate
physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately,
thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect
check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation
for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give
rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because
she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another
informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother,
however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[157] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience
and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community.
Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were
deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink
and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the
oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members
of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward
is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

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three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance 152
was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning 762
the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered
that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

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aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women.
578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

573 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

762 154 578 155 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 867] In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

Wadátkuht

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., 622
Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). [177]

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated 421
elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come,
first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was
picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no
ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be
told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they
could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as
the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal [648]
boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a
neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have
to be given.

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said 428
that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed
anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all [764]
the personal possessions of a person were buried with him,
and in the old days a man's horse was even killed.

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example [756]
of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}sua's husband, also, was a doctor.

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most 762
often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method.

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself,
was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so
unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently [757]
ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got
some cream for her to drink.

Wadátkuht

762 [557] Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her. As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to drink some cream and saved her life.

561 192 Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded: baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi; young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman, biawuhb.

838 [177] Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment, however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white standards.

648 [754] Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however, and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean". Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one) in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

each. He thought that a family averaged between six and eight children, but most of them died in infancy; "sometimes nearly all died." 163 Minnie said that in the old days a woman did not have more than three or four children; she may have been counting only those surviving. [842] However, she remarked in jest, "Nowadays they have too many children. They eat hogs and chickens; hogs have lots of pigs and chickens have lots of eggs. I guess that's why they have so many babies now."

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The haircut showed camp visitors that a person had lost a relative—mother, boy, daughter, or wife—without his actually having to tell about it (JB).

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[766] No grave was dug; a few rocks were removed and the body deposited in the cavity. As Joshua put it, "Just hide him away in the rocks." Sometimes a man's moccasins and bows were placed alongside. One informant,[211] reported cremation for certain cases. "Some-

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[211] JB.

764 Sometimes a widow would cut off her leggings and throw them into the
fire. Husband or wife was expected to remain unmarried for a year after
765 the spouse's death. A woman would burn up the whole lodge in which
768 her husband had died with everything pertaining to it; a mourning
husband also burnt up the lodge. If there were horses left, the deceased
man's brothers would come, speak to the widow, and kill all except one
gentle horse, which they left for her. Sometimes no horse was spared,
at other times one would be saved for the father or a brother. The
Uintah put their dead into ditches, covering up the corpses with dirt
and rocks piled on them. Some mourners clipped their hair short.

763 To Mrs. John H. Molineux, for some years a teacher among the
[115] Uintah, I am indebted for the following account of a funeral at Whiterocks.
James was the son of John Duncan, one of the chiefs. When it
was known that he would probably die, he was placed in a tent near his
764 father's wooden house. After his death the old women painted him and
dressed him in his best clothes. Mrs. Molineux took the older school
765 children there and all who were in any way connected fell on the bed,
which was on the floor, and wept or howled one at a time and chanted
alternately. The rest stood very still and looked on. Mrs. Molineux
was permitted to have the Indian school children sing hymns and to
take them to the burial on the following day. The site of the grave was
in as remote and inaccessible a place as possible. The father had purchased
a coffin at Vernal and the boy's horse, dogs, saddle, blankets, and
other property were all assembled by the grave ready to be put in with
him. The older people sat on the ground at the edge of the pit that had
been dug, weeping and moaning. Charlie Mack, a chief, rose and delivered
a speech, saying how good a boy James had been, how sorry all the
Indians were for his parents, and that now he was going to the Great
Spirit. Mrs. Molineux was next asked to speak and read the Episcopal
service, with the children singing the chants and placing the earth on top
of the coffin. Then David Van rose and said that James was a good boy
and that the white people also liked and respected him, that the Sun too
was sorry since he did not shine that day for it was dull and rainy.
Then all the boy's property was put in and there was a debate as to
killing the horse and dogs, but Mrs. Molineux dissuaded them from
doing so on the ground of James's own preference. The Indians covered
up the earth in a crude way, never expecting to visit the spot again. Mrs.
766 Molineux adds that as late as 1912 babies were wrapped up with their
853 dead mothers since the Indians thought there was no way of feeding a
child except with the mother's milk.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF	
															N W
2579. To spirit (sunpipo)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	782
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2588. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															N W A
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
Nonshamanistic Curing															W A
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	757
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)															N W
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcunava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	W
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	787
"Maipo" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	276
DANCES															N W A
2614. Circle Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[789]

[p. 415]

868 881 At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

868 881 841 [343] When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.[a] The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. Girls are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

DEATH

763 764 When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

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[343] [a] Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

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[211] JB.

[766] times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much.
•764 He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other
informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including
clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money."
Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If
this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for
[428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at
death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had
a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so
as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog."
If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut
the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to
the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

[551] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt

At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians 764.
(Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of them "in any old way"[1] the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the Lemhi.[2] The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration; relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom, furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse, some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration. When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms, her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our de- 765
ceased friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was buried she would weep." When her uncle died, the widow and also 765
Sarah's parents clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and 302
legs, this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The (304)
widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower like- [587]
wise cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length[3] and her face was not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other

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[1] Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

[2] Lowie, 215.

[3] A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
A
343
515

N
A
[757]

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	.	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	–	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
748a. Optional	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
749. Smoking while bathing	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
751. Women used	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
752a. Up to 7	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
752b. 10 or more	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
753. Use as clubhouse	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N
[423]

N
A
343
[341]

N
[764]

N
346

Miscellaneous Houses

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
760. Dog house	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
761. Small, domed willow	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
762. Special grinding house	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
763. Menstrual house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	.	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
763c. Burial in caves	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
765. For general gatherings only	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
766. Circular	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
767. Brush fence	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
768a. E	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
768b. Any direction	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
770. Fires around fence	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N
W
A
501

NAVIGATION

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	TO	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
772. Pole or log raft	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
774a. 4 or more	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
778a. 8-12	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
779. Prow curved up	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
780. No. of persons held: 2	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p.380]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
881

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2351. Scratching stick of wood	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2352. Single	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+

MENSTRUATION (pamadrarai)

N
W
A
841

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2354. Seclusion	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2355. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2356. Until flow stops	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2357. Special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2359. Attendant: grandmother	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2365. Cooking forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372. Avoid hunters	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2374. Fishing forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2378. Husband must hunt	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

BOY'S PUBERTY
(See also 369-374.)

N
W
A
881

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2379. Confinement 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2380. Head scratcher used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
2384. Mother washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2384a. Father washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+

DEATH CUSTOMS

N
W
A
764

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2395. Tracks of dead covered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	-	+
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

N
W
A
[767]

[p.411]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N W A 764

N [766]

N W A 768

N W A [766]

N W A 765

N W A 764

N W A 756

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2399. Purified by washing	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2404a. West	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2412. Cremation	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2413. All deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2416. Witches	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
2417. Cremation in house	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2418. In pyre	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2419. On pyre	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2420. Bones buried afterward	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2421. Funeral speech by old man	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2425a. House torn down, moved	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2426. House burned	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mourning														
2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2433. Burn hair clippings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2434. Throw away hair clippings	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
2437. Gash legs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2438a. Smear faces	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2439. Abstain from washing	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2440. Months before remarriage: any number	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2443. Throw away hair clippings	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
2444a. 3-12	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2446. Abstain from washing	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2447. Months before remarriage: any number	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2447a. 12	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2447b. 24	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
2451. Permanent	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
2452. Only in presence of kin	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
RELIGION														
Shamanism (poha'g'amö)														
2469. Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.412]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
137 Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc.
222 My informants insisted this was in pre-white
262 days.
483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt.
[278] unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called the same plant suŋu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [262] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

N [249] 509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] N ● [764] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

A [764] 2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt.

A [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Kl: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283).

N 784 2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Kl: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p 443 (A)]

754 761 [626] after, Jane Simms' sister, who had been standing beside her at the funeral, died. The Porters were driven out of Fort Bidwell.

Arriving in Burns, the family was already under suspicion and it would have been very strange if they had not been accused sooner or later of using their sorcery power again. Several informants explained to me that they knew it would happen [753] because the Porters would get sick if they did not use their power. It was said that they both had been sick at different times because their power had told them to kill and they had not obeyed.

754 684 761 The first incident which was interpreted in terms of their power was the death of a Chinese man in the town of Burns. It was known that he made sexual advances to Mrs. Porter's daughter. One day Mrs. Porter caught him putting his hands on her daughter's breast. She evidently scolded him and threatened him. I imagine she felt safe in doing this as the Indian community would hardly blame her and no one would be motivated to retaliate. When he died some months later, all agreed that she had sent her power after him. The story was told that she had hit him with a pebble which contained her power. It was also stated that the Chinaman had swollen up before he died just as if he had bitten by a snake.

● 764 761 The death of Mr. M. has already been discussed; after it the Porters were accused and forced to leave Burns. It was also seen that Mr. M. was Mrs. Porter's own cousin and that she had been very fond of him. The circumstances preceding his death pointed to the fact that she had been angry with him because he would not take her to Drewsey when he went camping. There is also evidence that Mrs. M., perhaps out of jealousy and perhaps to protect herself, or for both reasons, saw to it that Mrs. Porter was accused. As a result of this incident the Porters were taken to Warm Springs.

They had been in Warm Springs about two years when this field work was done. I asked if they had used their power up there and several informants stated that they thought they had been better and were getting over their power.

[155 208] In summary, Mrs. Porter's reputation seemed to grow in a snowball fashion. It started with the community's expectation that she would be mean like her parents. Undoubtedly her personality was formed both by her parents and by the community's reaction to her as the child of mean parents. The treatment she received probably made her over-aggressive. It obviously made her a good scapegoat. The suspicions and gossip about her were stamped by public approval after the Porter-Simms case, and the fact that the Porters left Fort Bidwell was interpreted as a confession of guilt. As a result they were open to any accusation of sorcery and had no protection against retaliation. When Mrs. Porter was accused of killing Mr. M., although the evidence was very flimsy, some people even saying that she was not guilty, she did not dare face the storm and she and her family left Burns.

754 Next to the Porters the T.'s were considered the most dangerous couple. In the

868 881 At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

868 881 841 When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.[a] The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. [343] Girls are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

DEATH

763 764 When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

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[343] [a] Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764
eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry. The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177]
try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768]
the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765
mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726
Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766]
in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768
dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775
of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

[P.7]

342 second circle of willows was put into place. Although this circle was only about face high it crossed the door opening. The second horizontal brace drew the house in slightly. When the third row of reinforcing willows was added, the top of the house frame was pulled in abruptly. The frame was very sturdy now. No attempt was made to close the top, as this was left for a chimney or smoke hole.

When the frame was completed, three willow sticks about five feet long were laid on the ground. Cattails were spread evenly over these and three more willows laid on top. Using strips of cloth, the bottom willows were tied to the top willows, care being taken to include some of the cattails in the loop. This was done to leave the holes in the mat as small as possible where the ties were made. When the mat was finished, it was laid against the frame of the house and tied into place. More and more mats were made in the same manner. When each was finished, it was tied onto the frame. The first row of mats was placed around the house at the bottom. The second row overlapped it on the outside for good drainage. An extra mat was made to cover the doorway. Nine mats in all were used.

A house of this size, Wezzie said, would be used for a sweat house or a play house or perhaps for one person. The larger houses, which were built for families to live in, would last five years or more. In the fall new mats would be made to [764-768] add an extra layer and cover the holes caused by weather and wear. A fire for cooking and warmth would be built in the center. In the old days when someone died in these houses they were burned.

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755
683

> There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764 ●
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

> When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A
[752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds.
[232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

● 764 Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be
obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because
[182] the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because
of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part
[124] of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have
been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after
death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place.
Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to
death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two
[683] other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the
head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

Wadátkuht

When anyone died his "camp" (house) was burned.

764 Personal Names. Men's and boys' names included the following: Sagwúda, "Porcupine"; Muhu'^{k} dosa, from muhu'^{a}, "owl", and dosa, which had no meaning, but was an ending a little boy put on the word for owl to name himself; Pongádz, 551 "Mouse", because he looked like a mouse when he was a boy; Wádanatzi, a Paiute name for a Pit River (Atsuge) shaman which may have had reference to wada (Suaeda depressa) and nátzi, "boy"; Baba kuhku^{a}, "Big Feet"; Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}, "Feces to Wipe"; Idzákad, "Loose"; Kwidu'^{u}, so-named because he constantly broke wind; Wŏhudi'^{i}, "To Carve"; Matad^{u}, "Crawler"; Wawa'^{a} bob, "Stranger Bob"; Tupaskima skia, "Mouth Crooked"; Tabök, "Cottontail"; Kubuts, to grind one's teeth; Nana'^{a}, "Younger"; Baba'yu dzim, "Big Jim"; Numunana, "Indian Man"; Tusi^{yu}naná', "Little Man"; Kasi no uhd^{a}, "Train Haul"; Nunu'kai, possibly from nunu', "snake", and kai, "no".

Women's and girls' names included the following: Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl"; Nunu' biawuhb^{i}, "Snake Old Lady"; Kwidapino'^{ya}, "Feces Carrier"; Kaiyaguht, "Never Cry"; Ptaitnat^{yu}, "Thin"; Atsábona', "Woodpecker Old Lady"; Tunuhpiuts, "Nighthawk"; Soiyeza biawuhb^{i}, "Soldier Old Lady"; Babayu sait', "Big Pit River"; Bababui, "Big Eyes"; Udōyu biawuhb^{i}, "Tall Old Lady"; Kwiduk^{w}ti'^{i}, "Excrement Shoot"; Tsí tsi, ("Sissie"?) she was called this because she was about ten years old before she stopped nursing; Wukwits'^{i}, "Throw", so-named because this fat woman had considerable movement in her posterior as she walked; Muid^{i}, from muhibi, "fly" (insect).

Some personal names, as demonstrated in the above lists, tended to be derived from physical traits, while others stemmed from some episode in the individual's life. Others were obviously meant to convey the humor of some action or situation. The informants also gave a number of names for which they had no translation.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

821 The sun was of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht and his religious expression, since it was common to find instances in which the individual in times of stress prayed directly to the sun for aid. Repentance of guilt might be [782] made in prayers to the sun. Guilt feelings in an individual [626] appeared often to be associated with strong social pressure for the person to "repent" and admit his "guilt". It is

Wadátkuht ....,

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). 622 [177]

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated 421 elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. [648] Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given.

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said 428 that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed [764] anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed.

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example [756] of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'^{k}zua's husband, also, was a doctor.

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most 762 often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, haki^{nukpa}. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method.

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently [757] ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink.

163 each. He thought that a family averaged between six and eight children, but most of them died in infancy; "sometimes nearly all died." Minnie said that in the old days a woman did not have more than three or four children; she may have been counting only those surviving. [842] However, she remarked in jest, "Nowadays they have too many children. They eat hogs and chickens; hogs have lots of pigs and chickens have lots of eggs. I guess that's why they have so many babies now."

DEATH OBSERVANCES

765 ● When a person—man, woman, or child—died, his friends and relatives gathered, and cried, and wailed. Both men and women cut their hair short as a badge of mourning and buried the hair or "just threw it away."

The haircut showed camp visitors that a person had lost a relative—mother, boy, daughter, or wife—without his actually having to tell about it (JB).

If a person felt very badly he might take an arrowpoint and slash his face, forearm, upper arm, and thigh, but not his chest. This was done in mourning an adult. Sometimes mourners threw ashes on their faces; sometimes they did not bathe for "a long time." The face was not painted black, nor was there any mourning necklace, but both of these traits were known as Achomawi customs. Minnie said that mourners took a sweat-bath, otherwise the children of the deceased would die. A person in mourning refrained from hunting a couple of days, but he was free to eat the first game he captured. Mourners were told, "You have children; you had better try to live."

763 An expiring individual was not moved outside to die, nor was a corpse removed by a special exit. The body was not washed before interment, nor was it oriented in any particular fashion. 764 It was wrapped in "good tanned deer skin" and carried on horseback or, in the old days, by two or three men. Formerly it was not taken far away and the camp was moved; but with the advent of horses, it was taken well into the hills. There seems to have been no marked fear of contamination, as persons handling the body were not required to bathe or to change their clothing.

[766] No grave was dug; a few rocks were removed and the body deposited in the cavity. As Joshua put it, "Just hide him away in the rocks." Sometimes a man's moccasins and bows were placed alongside. One informant,[111] reported cremation for certain cases. "Some-

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[111] JB.

[766] times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much.
764 He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other
informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money."
Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If
this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for
[428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at
death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had
a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so
as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog."
If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut
the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to
the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

[551] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

● 765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A 765 woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if [587] the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife.

Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; 597 "somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her.

GAMES AND PASTIMES

The Gidū'tikad^a had the usual assortment of games, and although 524 they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not 525 develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212]

Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One 777 was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called pabe'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used:

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

Football.—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer 526 by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

Stones were heated near-by and placed to one side in the lodge, "otherwise there would not be enough room for two persons." Before water was applied, the rocks were allowed to stand a few minutes, lest the inmates be scalded. If the heat of the steam became unbearable, a little cold water was put on the head, or else the head was poked out beneath the lodge covering for a moment's respite. One informant said that young sagebrush was broken and that the sweaters dipped it in water and whipped themselves with it. 343 515

Cold water following the sweat bath was optional:

> Old men who like it, jumped in the cold water. You might catch pneumonia. Too much steam made you weak.

Sweating was principally by men, although a few women are said to have sweated occasionally. "Sometimes a woman would go in with her husband, but not often. Perhaps three or four women would go together. Young girls never sweated." At the present time sweating as an active institution is indulged in by a few of the older men. I found no evidence for de Angulo's assertion[265] that "even now the custom is not well established and that some of the older men frown upon it." In fact, nowadays sweating seems to have rather strong religious associations which quite outweigh the medicinal or purely social functions, although these two factors do figure.

> In the old days they sweated whenever they felt like it and before they went hunting. It made the body strong. Some say they went there to cure, but I do not think so.[266]

Mourners occasionally sweated, but this custom seems to have been neither general nor well established. [765] ●

When sweating, a person prays to the sun, composing his prayer to suit his needs. He usually asks for health and for success in the chase. A prayer is said to be somewhat as follows: [782]

> My father, the Sun, help me a little. Make me strong. Give me deer meat. Help me kill deer and antelope.

If a person is not in good health he prays thus to the sun:

> I like this country. Make me well; make me strong. I do not want to be sick.

I do not know if an address of this sort is repeated indefinitely or if a person has a whole series of such prayers. I happened within earshot of a sweat-house which was in use and the praying was continuous, in a monotone that almost approached a chant.

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[265] P. 318.

[266] "Sweating is good for rheumatism and things like that" (P). And also p. 198.

At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians 764 (Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of them "in any old way"[1] the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the Lemhi.[2] The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration; relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom, furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse, some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration. When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms, her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our deceased 765 friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was buried she would weep." 765 When her uncle died, the widow and also Sarah's parents 302 clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and legs, (304) this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower like- [587] wise cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length[3] and her face was not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other

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[1] Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

[2] Lowie, 215.

[3] A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.

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women until relieved of these restrictions by her father-in-law or mother-in-law. Sarah mentions signal-fires used to announce the death of a chief.[1]

A Wind River Indian who died was dressed up in his best clothing, painted, carried to the mountains, and deposited in a cleft or cave, which was blocked up lest the corpse be attacked by animals. This practice continued until recent times. Formerly the mourners would go off to one side and stay in a rude shelter. The women cut their hair short, gashed their legs, and removed their leggings for several days. When the hair had grown long again, the mourner returned home and the mourning period ceased. If a man died, one of his horses was taken to the grave and killed there so that his soul could ride away on it. Corpses were taken out by the door. If a person died in a house, the house was abandoned. A tipi was either buried with the owner or appropriated by a friend not related to the owner, for if a relative kept it he would die from the same cause. It was believed that if one member of a family died of some special cause, e.g., disease, the next would die for the same reason; for example, if one child was killed, all children would be killed. If a Shoshoni had been killed by the enemy, the people tried to recover his body; if they had slain an enemy, they would drag the corpse away and leave it exposed.

Wilson also describes cleft burial as the normal form. He speaks of a specific case in which a boy was mourned by the whole camp for five days. The corpse was put into a crevice together with bedding and various utensils, and three horses were killed and buried with the deceased.[2]

BERDACHES.

A Shivwits informant recollected hearing people speak of a man who never hunted and though not dressing like a woman acted like one and had a feminine voice. He would lead the women with a basket when they went seed-gathering and roasted seeds like them. He was married to two men, sleeping with each on alternate nights. In myths such persons are called *maai-dï'pots*.

Among the Southern Ute Panayüts remembered hearing his father tell of a berdache (*tüwásawits*), who owned a great many horses. Possibly as many as half a dozen boys would stay there and have him cook for them. One morning when the berdache rose early one of the boys was lying on the side as she was stirring the ashes and "'she" touched his

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[1] Hopkins, 21, 41, 66, 70, 120.
[2] Wilson, 85, 195.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N W A 764

N [76[illegible]]

N W A 768

N W A [766]

● N W A ● 765

N W A 784

N W A 756

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2399. Purified by washing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2404a. West	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2412. Cremation	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2413. All deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2416. Witches	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2417. Cremation in house	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2418. In pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2419. On pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2420. Bones buried afterward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2421. Funeral speech by old man	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2425a. House torn down, moved	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2426. House burned	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Mourning

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2433. Burn hair clippings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2434. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
2437. Gash legs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2438a. Smear faces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2439. Abstain from washing	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2440. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2443. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2444a. 3-12	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2446. Abstain from washing	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2447. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2447a. 12	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2447b. 24	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
2451. Permanent	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
2452. Only in presence of kin	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

RELIGION

Shamanism (poha'g'ami)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2469. Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.412]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A
[756 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from
dream of frog.
787] 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great In-
N dian "doctor" who could make it rain at will.
756 Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago,"
789 he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not
sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him
to take free some wild hay.

W 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wil-
[756] son's power to control weather, but no Washo
shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning
the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were
extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of
him as soon as I mentioned control of weather,
others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned
his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had
power to control weather.

N 2554. To: See note 2549.
754 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
756 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did
683 other people, yet they used power for evil in-
stead of for good. A good shaman could detect
a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poi-
soner was killed and cremated. To: Death is
caused by foreign object sent into victim by
poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out
and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old
Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she
caused the death of Susie's son just a few months
before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 2569. K2, Tö, Sa: In old days shaman's fee
755 was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans
756 do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless
[177] of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made
until patient is well.

A 2570a. At: See note 2477.
[755] 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenom-
N ena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds,
which functioned as personal powers of shaman—
776 the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha).
A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it
would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The
one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated
by saying, "This water in lake is for both of
us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A
great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also
dangerous.

N 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by
782 sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and
by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401,
To.)

N 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and
782 other things, sprinkled on the ground while old
765 man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't
want you."

2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401,
[782] To.

[p. 444(A)]

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764 eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry. The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177] try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768] the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765 mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726 Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766] in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768 dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775 of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

each. He thought that a family averaged between six and eight chil- 163 dren, but most of them died in infancy; "sometimes nearly all died." Minnie said that in the old days a woman did not have more than three or four children; she may have been counting only those surviving. [842] However, she remarked in jest, "Nowadays they have too many children. They eat hogs and chickens; hogs have lots of pigs and chickens have lots of eggs. I guess that's why they have so many babies now."

DEATH OBSERVANCES

When a person—man, woman, or child—died, his friends and 765 relatives gathered, and cried, and wailed. Both men and women cut their hair short as a badge of mourning and buried the hair or "just threw it away."

The haircut showed camp visitors that a person had lost a relative—mother, boy, daughter, or wife—without his actually having to tell about it (JB).

If a person felt very badly he might take an arrowpoint and slash his face, forearm, upper arm, and thigh, but not his chest. This was done in mourning an adult. Sometimes mourners threw ashes on their faces; sometimes they did not bathe for "a long time." The face was not painted black, nor was there any mourning necklace, but both of these traits were known as Achomawi customs. Minnie said that mourners took a sweat-bath, otherwise the children of the deceased would die. A person in mourning refrained from hunting a couple of days, but he was free to eat the first game he captured. Mourners were told, "You have children; you had better try to live."

An expiring individual was not moved outside to die, nor was a 763 corpse removed by a special exit. The body was not washed before interment, nor was it oriented in any particular fashion. 764 It was wrapped in "good tanned deer skin" and carried on horseback or, in the old days, by two or three men. Formerly it was not taken far away and the camp was moved; but with the advent of horses, it was taken well into the hills. There seems to have been no marked fear of contamination, as persons handling the body were not required to bathe or to change their clothing.

No grave was dug; a few rocks were removed and the body deposited in the cavity. As Joshua put it, "Just hide him away in the [766] rocks." Sometimes a man's moccasins and bows were placed alongside. One informant,[311] reported cremation for certain cases. "Some-

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[311] JB.

● [766] times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much. 764 He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money." Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for [428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog." If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

[551] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt

764 Sometimes a widow would cut off her leggings and throw them into the
fire. Husband or wife was expected to remain unmarried for a year after
765 the spouse's death. A woman would burn up the whole lodge in which
768 her husband had died with everything pertaining to it; a mourning
husband also burnt up the lodge. If there were horses left, the deceased
man's brothers would come, speak to the widow, and kill all except one
gentle horse, which they left for her. Sometimes no horse was spared,
at other times one would be saved for the father or a brother. The
Uintah put their dead into ditches, covering up the corpses with dirt
and rocks piled on them. Some mourners clipped their hair short.

763 To Mrs. John H. Molineux, for some years a teacher among the
[115] Uintah, I am indebted for the following account of a funeral at White-
rocks. James was the son of John Duncan, one of the chiefs. When it
was known that he would probably die, he was placed in a tent near his
764 father's wooden house. After his death the old women painted him and
dressed him in his best clothes. Mrs. Molineux took the older school
765 children there and all who were in any way connected fell on the bed,
which was on the floor, and wept or howled one at a time and chanted
alternately. The rest stood very still and looked on. Mrs. Molineux
was permitted to have the Indian school children sing hymns and to
take them to the burial on the following day. The site of the grave was
in as remote and inaccessible a place as possible. The father had purchased a coffin at Vernal and the boy's horse, dogs, saddle, blankets, and
other property were all assembled by the grave ready to be put in with
him. The older people sat on the ground at the edge of the pit that had
been dug, weeping and moaning. Charlie Mack, a chief, rose and delivered a speech, saying how good a boy James had been, how sorry all the
Indians were for his parents, and that now he was going to the Great
Spirit. Mrs. Molineux was next asked to speak and read the Episcopal
service, with the children singing the chants and placing the earth on top
of the coffin. Then David Van rose and said that James was a good boy
and that the white people also liked and respected him, that the Sun too
was sorry since he did not shine that day for it was dull and rainy.
Then all the boy's property was put in and there was a debate as to
killing the horse and dogs, but Mrs. Molineux dissuaded them from
doing so on the ground of James's own preference. The Indians covered
up the earth in a crude way, never expecting to visit the spot again. Mrs.
766 Molineux adds that as late as 1912 babies were wrapped up with their
853 dead mothers since the Indians thought there was no way of feeding a
child except with the mother's milk.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2404e. West	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2412. Cremation	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2413. All deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2416. Witches	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2417. Cremation in house	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2418. In pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2419. On pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2420. Bones buried afterward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2421. Funeral speech by old man	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2425a. House torn down, moved	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2426. House burned	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Mourning

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2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2434. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
2437. Gash legs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2438a. Smear faces	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2439. Abstain from washing	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2440. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2443. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2444a. 3-12	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2446. Abstain from washing	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2447. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2447a. 12	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2447b. 24	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
2451. Permanent	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
2452. Only in presence of kin	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

RELIGION

Shamanism (poha'g'amö)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2469. Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 412]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WH	Ki	AE
2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2472. Any time	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2473. Power inherited from father	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2474. From mother	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2475. Before relative's death	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2476. After relative's death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2477. Source of power in natural dreams (unsought)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2478. Sought in mountains	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2481. Shaman interprets vision	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2483. Power may be refused	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2484. One doctor has several powers	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485. Vision gives: songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2486. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2487. Paraphernalia	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2488. Paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2489. Methods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2490. Doctor's assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2492. Feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2493. Eagle down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2494. Fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2495. Clay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2496. Deerclaw rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496a. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
2497. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2498. Flute	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2500. Curing Performances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2502. In house	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
2503. Doctor sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2504. Audience joins song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2505. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2507. Pipe passed to right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
2507a. Left (clockwise)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
2508. Doctor talks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2509. Assistant interprets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2510. Doctor dances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Doctor walks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Doctor sucks out of patient:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2513. Blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Snake	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
2515. Flint	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2516. Stick	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
2517. Worm	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2518. Other or various objects	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519a. Bone	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
2520. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
2522. Feather	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
2523. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	·	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526a. Rubs object on hand	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2527. Doctor blows away disease	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
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[p.413]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

A [764] 2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt.

N [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Kl: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283).

N 784 2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Kl: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[P 1443 (A)]

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755

> There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had 683
> made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people
> could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people.
> He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives
> to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was.
> About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part
of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit
of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease
with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

> When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764
eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry.
The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites
show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other
than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The
body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback
from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried
in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the
body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no
marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he
customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some
informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with
the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around
the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177]
try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a
house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some
informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768]
the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite
horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated
that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the
grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and
is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765
mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726
Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766]
in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768
dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775
of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

754

> After a shaman poisons one person, he cannot stop. When the first victim is dead, he tries to poison others. Then he always wants to make people sick and kill them. (Joe Green)

If he has sufficient power, a shaman who has been the victim of a sorcerer may extract the cause of disease and without the aid of another practitioner cast off the ill effects of his enemy's magic.

As sorcerers are believed to cause so much of the illness afflicting the Paviotso, they are greatly feared. Anyone suspected of sorcery is treated with every respect and consideration in order not to arouse his wrath and ill-will. It is said that any request or demand made by a known sorcerer is never refused out of fear of the revenge that might be taken through witchcraft. Those who fear a particular shaman will, if possible, avoid accepting anything from him or touching his person.

754 In aboriginal times, sorcerers were put to death when detected 683 in frequent killings. Their guilt was established then as now, by shamans who determined not only the nature of sickness but also the person responsible. An accusation of this sort by a shaman of standing was probably tantamount to conviction. When a sorcerer claimed several victims, the entire group became concerned and demanded the death of the guilty person. The execution was carried out by several men appointed for the task, or a large number of people fell upon the sorcerer and killed him. The usual practice [766] was to burn the house over the murdered sorcerer; otherwise the body was buried in the usual manner.

If a sorcerer had not become notorious, members of a victim's family might take it upon themselves to avenge the death of a relative. The sorcerer, known to them from the shaman's diagnosis, was stabbed, clubbed, or shot. As in the communal execution, the house was burned with the corpse inside. As far as can be learned, the sorcerer's family rarely attempted retaliation for these murders. In so far as pre-Caucasian conditions can be determined from the memories of living people, it can safely be said that the fear of sorcery was easily the chief source of intra-tribal strife and violence; that the charge of witchcraft more frequently [578] than anything else led to the killing of one Paviotso by another. Suspicion of sorcery is in itself sufficient to endanger social relations and even life.

Largely because of this popu-
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store 556
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an [452]
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been men-
tioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear,
the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may
be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect
felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general
feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with
supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766] ●
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's
death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of
such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths
among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the
weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these move-
ments. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the
dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remem-
bered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds. [752] [232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 [182] [124] Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

● 766 [683] Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

4: Stewart K-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2351. Scratching stick of wood	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2352. Single	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+

N W A 881

MENSTRUATION (continued)

	Te	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2354. Seclusion	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2355. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2356. Until flow stops	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2357. Special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2358. Attendant: grandmother	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2365. Cooking forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372. Avoid hunters	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2374. Fishing forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2378. Husband must hunt	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N W A 841

BOY'S PUBERTY
(See also 369-374.)

	Te	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2379. Confinement 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2380. Head scratcher used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
2384. Mother washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2384a. Father washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+

N W A 881

DEATH CUSTOMS

	Te	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2395. Tracks of dead covered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	-	+
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

N W A 764

N W A [767]

[p. 411]

[766] times an Indian was vicious; he fought, stole, and talked too much.
764 He didn't know what was right. Then they burned him." Other
informants maintained that cremation was unknown.

● 768 Relatives burned all personal possessions of the deceased, including
clothing, blankets, harness, saddle, arms, and "a little money."
Household equipment used by him received the same treatment. If
this were neglected the deceased might come back at night looking for
[428] his things. The thoroughness with which property was destroyed at
death virtually eliminates the problem of inheritance. If a man had
a horse or dog, they "took it somewhere and killed it; just any way so
as to get rid of it. It made them feel badly to see that horse or dog."
If a man owned two or three horses, they killed the best ones and cut
the tails and manes of the remainder. These and buckskins went to
the widow, who traded them with someone for other property.

The dwelling might be burned, or the tule mats burned and the frame moved. The house seems to have been moved more frequently than burned, but this may be a modification correlated with the use of more permanent structures. I was shown a very substantial house at the Bidwell camp which had been moved about twenty feet following the death of a child; but I noted another instance in which a family continued living in their summer camp in spite of the death of a small girl. Even nowadays most persons are reluctant to live in the house in which a death has occurred. They usually move to the house of a friend or relative and remain several months.

[551] Persons avoided speaking the name of the dead; "they just forgot all about him." The taboo was only moderately developed, and if necessary, they would mention the name. Although individuals were unlikely to share the same native name, I was told, "If somebody else had that name, they had to call him by it; they couldn't help that. He would not change his name." Today there seems to be little hesitancy at speaking the name of the dead. In fact, when asked concerning the taboo, one very good informant said, "We don't do that. Ochiho was our chief; he died; we have to call him that."

762 Suicide was rare; the accepted mode seems to have been, by eating the root of wild parsnip. A person might kill himself if rebuked. Sometimes a deserted or abused wife took her own life. One case of this came to my notice. There is also an instance of a young girl's committing suicide because of continual quarreling between her mother and stepfather. Suicides received the same burial as others.

765 A bereaved spouse was not required to remain unmarried until the hair grew long, but might remarry at any time. A person who felt

115 Skinny Dave, or Parviano, the "Küpa chief," proved to be an unsatisfactory informant. He had unlimited self esteem, but very meager knowledge.

Annie Lowry (AL), age 69, half-breed Küpa, has lived always at Lovelock. She was one of Lowie's informants for myths and had a ready answer for most questions. I asked her particularly about traits concerning women. She had lived too much with white people to be extremely well informed, and some of her information was obviously colored by European concepts.

101 131 5, To, Toe-dökadö, "tule eaters," possessed Carson Sink, Carson Lake, and lower Carson River; now found on Stillwater Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, Indian Colony.

115 Informants.—Bob Springer (BS), age ca. 70, born at Stillwater and always lived there. Parents were Toe. He seemed very active and his sight and hearing were unimpaired, but he was not a willing worker. Although Lowie had used him, he refused to do systematic work with me. He seemed to know sufficient English to be a good informant without an interpreter. I spent four or five hours with him.

Little Pete, or Kupida (LP), age ca. 70, has always lived at Stillwater, as had his parents. LP could hear and see sufficiently, but his English was limited. His knowledge of aboriginal conditions was certainly not the best. He was aided by his wife (a Toe), who also acted as interpreter. About twenty hours were spent with them.

101 131 6, Tö, Tövusi-dökadö, "grass-nut eaters," in Smith and Mason valleys and upper Walker River in SW Nevada.

115 Informants.—Maggie Wright, or Tugövino (MW), age ca. 75, born at Wellington in Smith Valley. Both parents Tövusi. MW's hearing, sight, and memory were good. She had lived much of the old culture and also had heard about it, and was well informed, but needed an interpreter.

Goggles Wright, or Povawotso (GW), age ca. 85, born near site of Fort Churchill; MW's husband. Father was Agai, mother was Wada of Honey Lake, but GW had lived most of his life at Smith Valley, where he had been a famous hunter. In spite of his age, his sight, hearing, and memory seemed good, and he was willing to tell all he knew. His knowledge supplemented MW's, and their information is combined in the element list. He also needed an interpreter.

Interpreter.—John Wright, age 39, son of MW and GW. John had traveled considerably, having been two or three years in Oklahoma and more than a year at Fort Hall, Idaho. He lauded the Peyote cult as the "Indian New Deal," but, although he desired to, he could not start it at Stillwater, because he did not have a drummer and the fire. Of all the Indians I met the Wright family seemed to be the most active participants in the old Paiute culture. They had just moved their house and taken up new land because of a death on the previously occupied farm. Old Paiute superstitions and charms were carefully observed. The family lived at Stillwater. I spent three days with them.

● [768]

[[illegible]-363 (R)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
764

N
[762]

● N
W
A
● 768

N
W
A
[766]

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ah
2399. Purified by washing	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2404a. West	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2412. Cremation	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2413. All deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2416. Witches	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
2417. Cremation in house	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2418. In pyre	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2419. On pyre	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2420. Bones buried afterward	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2421. Funeral speech by old man	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2425a. House torn down, moved	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2426. House burned	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
765

Mourning

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ah
2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2433. Burn hair clippings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2434. Throw away hair clippings	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
2437. Gash legs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2438a. Smear faces	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2439. Abstain from washing	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2440. Months before remarriage: any number	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2443. Throw away hair clippings	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
2444a. 3-12	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2446. Abstain from washing	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2447. Months before remarriage: any number	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2447a. 12	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2447b. 24	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
2451. Permanent	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
2452. Only in presence of kin	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2455. Annual Mourning Ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
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764

RELIGION

Shamanism (poha'g'and)

N
W
A
756

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Ks	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ah
2469. Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.412]

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [772] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

A [764] 2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt.

A [766] 2416. Ku: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Ki: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

● N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. KU: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283). N 784

2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Ki: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. KU: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

753 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts.
775 In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards
with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became
stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her
[761] breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A
woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse.
While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his
mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts
of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died.
He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had
looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he
was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came
to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
[755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie
Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased
and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt
the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden
bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an
attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will
not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attrib-
[761] uted many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

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[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.

[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764
eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry. The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177]
try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768]
the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765
mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726
Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766]
in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768
dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775
of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

[P.7]

342 second circle of willows was put into place. Although this circle was only about face high it crossed the door opening. The second horizontal brace drew the house in slightly. When the third row of reinforcing willows was added, the top of the house frame was pulled in abruptly. The frame was very sturdy now. No attempt was made to close the top, as this was left for a chimney or smoke hole.

When the frame was completed, three willow sticks about five feet long were laid on the ground. Cattails were spread evenly over these and three more willows laid on top. Using strips of cloth, the bottom willows were tied to the top willows, care being taken to include some of the cattails in the loop. This was done to leave the holes in the mat as small as possible where the ties were made. When the mat was finished, it was laid against the frame of the house and tied into place. More and more mats were made in the same manner. When each was finished, it was tied onto the frame. The first row of mats was placed around the house at the bottom. The second row overlapped it on the outside for good drainage. An extra mat was made to cover the doorway. Nine mats in all were used.

A house of this size, Wezzie said, would be used for a sweat house or a play house or perhaps for one person. The larger houses, which were built for families to live in, would last five years or more. In the fall new mats would be made to [764-768] add an extra layer and cover the holes caused by weather and wear. A fire for cooking and warmth would be built in the center. In the old days when someone died in these houses they were burned.

> above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river and bathe and put i·bi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee) 756 787 159 [751]

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death. 756 787 [768]

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power. [775]

> Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

> A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
> He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
> [presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787
> sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the 756
> poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had
> to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim
> would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

> Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753
not generally recognized: 756

> Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

> When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[234] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755
required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^a (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752
once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Piudy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

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[234] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

121 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 131 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. [226] [262] [222] [224] Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit [621] [548] or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. [527] The big festival dances held in the spring and fall and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. [755] Shamanistic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

771 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among 755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. 754 Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. 756 There is a feeling among most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. 182 Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

869 756 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 577] On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disadvantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[771] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The [131] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of 128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture were recorded from informants belonging to each of these localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso 756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances [782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to
[761 peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[78]
[743 Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the
[648 chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood.
[826 Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure
N better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuc-
W cessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members
● 771 said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at
787 least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[79] Peyote visions of
*795 dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[80] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new
N peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious
W aspect of the cult.[81]

171 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function
276 also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero
*795 as peyote's principal virtue.[82] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[83]

N Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious
W grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First,
178 peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, re-
771 sisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral
*795 speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[84] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is
N implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal
W guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meet-
[797 ing he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[78] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[79] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[80] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[81] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[82] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[83] La Barre, 72.

[84] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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W
peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[illegible] thereby angering the 178
missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians. 771

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey 795*
Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because [797]
no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more N
charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders. W

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[illegible] Don James (W,2) 178
and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their 273
families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while 276
drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most 795*
peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[illegible] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify N
whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use W
rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations con- [787]
vincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[illegible] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, N
"Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit." W

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or 276
at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former 578
members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs 795*
were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and [786]

[illegible] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active
members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.) [832]

[illegible] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[illegible] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a *few* peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[illegible] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The *fact* that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the *fact* that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(–)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				–	+					–	+		•–	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	–		–	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

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[171]
[574]
[276]

343
515
It is considered especially fit that one sweat on Sunday. This interesting secondary association is so firmly entrenched that I was asked if white people talk to the sun on Sundays as do the Indians. Association of the sweat-house with the sun might be worth tracing.

[177] Regarding the origin of the sweat-house, de Angulo[267] states, "But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. 'It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians' is the reply I have received from many people." He does not make it clear to just which tribe the statement applies—his Pit River, Klamath-Modocs, or Paiutes—but presumably it refers to the latter. In that case, forty years seems rather too low an estimate. Although I questioned virtually every informant upon the point, Piudy was the only one who had ever heard that sweating was other than indigenous. He said:

> I heard that the sweat-house came this way from far in the northeast on the edge of big water. This was long ago, before my time. Before the Paiute learned to sweat they just bathed in the river.

[773] Other informants invariably declared that the Gidü'tikad^{u} had always sweated, and a number attributed the practice to Coyote or otherwise linked it with myth. When Dr. Sam was asked concerning the origin of the sweat-house, he related the following tale:

> In the old days birds were persons. Eagle was hunting deer. They killed nothing. Then they spoke to a little bird like an owl, called topi'.[268] Eagle told him to heat rocks. Then they all sweated in a sweat-house that the little bird built. And the next time they killed many deer. That is how they learned to sweat. Talk to the sun while you are in the sweat-house; that is your god.

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[267] P. 318.

[268] This term is of interest because of its possible connection with topi'-nava'gia, sweat-house. The suggestion is obvious: either the tale results from secondary association, or the translation of topi'-nava'gia as rock-bathe is a folk etymology.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no
acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from
their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in
Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of prepering, 251
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boil- 252
ing mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the
ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals
in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted
it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized
religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious
forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite
well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he
positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the
world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [776]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the
Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

237
The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner.

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which
George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently
found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

193 15. That's my knife and that's your knife
ni-Ka Kwibi-s imi Kwibi
I-of knife-and your knife

16. I cut it with your knife.
īmi Kwibi-ma nī a-TsKya
your knife-by I it-cut

17. Cut it! *a-TsKwa·*

18. I am cutting it. *ni. a-TsKay·-win*

19. I am cutting all the time. *nī a-TsKya·-win aTo'e*

20. I chopped it with the axe.
KuTsan·o-ma nī a-KuTsa'
axe-by I it-chop

21. The dog drank all the water.
saTi'ī Pa· biBiu nooqo
dog water drink altogether

22. The dogs drank all the water
mī saTi'ī Pa· biBiu nooqo

23. I saw a dog and a coyote together.
saTi'ī-noqo iza'a nī u-Ponne
dog-with coyote I him-see

24. Everybody went to fight the forest-fire.
qaso-no naqoya nooqo neim·ī
fire-with fight all people

Episode from the Coyote-Wolf Cycle.

193
539
773
1. *iza'a na PaBe'e ica'a noBe Tya'yu*
Coyote with elder Wolf camp had
brother (house)
Coyote lived with his elder brother Wolf.

2. *ha i BaTsa'TaBī PaPa'Bau KiDī*
? you kill very big ground-hog
" How do you manage to kill such big ground-hogs ? "

iza'a a-TīBin Tī-PaBe'e 3. *TciPi*
Coyote him-ask elder brother Rocks
Coyote asked his brother. "(I call :) Rocks.
i-Tima'biK KiDī i-Tim[illegible]iK
you + me-roll ground-hog me-roll
roll down on me " and ground-hogs roll down on me.

193
539
773

PaPa'Bau *ʒï'ma* *ni* *q'oi'* 4. *Pis u*
very-big only I kill He
I kill only the big ones". Coyote

mia'o *iʒa'a* 5. *ooPï* *i-Tima'biK*
depart Coyote rim-rocks me-roll
went to the rim-rocks "Rocks, roll down on me!"

6. *KiDï* *u-Tima'biK* *u-PaPa'Bau* *ʒï'ma*
ground-hogs him-roll him-very = big only
Ground-hogs rolled down on him and he killed

q'oi' 7. *qae* *ini* *na* *q'oi'*
kill not hard and kill
only a big one. "That's easy hunting".

8. *ni skwana* *naPia'* *TiKa'-s* 9. *naPia'*
I wish here eat-and here
I might as well eat it right here". And he

TiKa' 10. *u-Kema'BaT* *usu'* *mia'*
eat he-move the go
ate it there. He oved to another place.

11. *ooPi* *i-Tima'biK* *KiDi* *u-Tima'biK*
rim-rocks me-roll ground-hogs him-roll
"Rocks, roll down on me." Ground-hogs rolled down on him.

12. *naPia'* *TiKa'* 13. *u-Kema'BaT* *usu'*
there at he-move he
He ate right there. He moved to another

mia' 14. *ooPï* *i-Tima'biK* 15. *ooPi*
go rim-rocks me-roll rim-rocks
place. "Rocks, roll down on me." Nothing but

yaic *u-Tima'biK* *naTa'winai-c* *Kwasi'* *Taq'aa*
only him-roll jump-and tail cut
rocks rolled on him this time. He was jumping around but his tail was cut off.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [501] 773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kü: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tö: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tö: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [177] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kü: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kü: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tö: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians."

● N [772]

[p. 431(A)]

Washo NT20

N
805
822
grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha); "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "groundhog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W
[805
822]
2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N
821
789
2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N
751
2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N
787
2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N
522
● 773
2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

It appears that the spirit of the coyote was never a source of 756 776
power, although Coyote is the most prominent character in 825
Paviotso tales. [773]

> Shamans never got power from Coyote. According to the old stories the Indians tell, Coyote always spoils everything. Coyote is bad. Sometimes he tries to get the soul of someone. He says, "I am going to get you and when you die, I will eat you." The coyote cannot be heard to say this, but when he has said it, it makes the victim sick. (Joe Green)
>
> Shamans do not get power from Coyote. Coyote causes sickness. Dogs are almost like Coyote. When a shaman doctors, dogs are kept away, otherwise he would not be successful in curing the sickness. (Rosie Plummer)

Fear of the wrath of water-babies and water-serpents noted in 756
accounts above is not held for other spirits, save those of the 776
elements, particularly the thunder. There seems to be no danger in ridiculing or showing lack of respect for the spirits of the animals and birds.

> The Indian doctors know the wind, clouds, and rain. A shaman talks 756
> to them. They are just like people, and they come. Anyone who makes 776
> fun of the thunder will be killed. One time a man at Schurz heard the 821
> thunder, and said, "That is nothing. I am going to fight that thunder." He went outside the house, and the thunder was heard overhead. He was hit by lightning and killed. (Tom Mitchell)

There is only one shaman who is reported to have had power from such a source. Wovoka, the prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance, is said to have had power from two clouds.

> One was a straight high cloud. This was for snow. The other cloud was dark and close to the ground. It was for rain. Wovoka could see a man's arm sticking out of the white cloud. One time the arm would be pointing north. Another time it would be pointing south, east, or west. (Joe Green)

This statement could not be verified, but there is evidence that the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement had power from several sources, including the wolf.

Another aspect of the supernatural spirits which are the source 756
of shamanistic power is their invisibility to all but the shamans. 776
Only the shaman can see the spirit or spirits from which he derives his power. Even when he invokes his supernatural aids at a doctoring, they are visible to him alone. Their presence is known to the others only through the shaman's account of his conversa-

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida. Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the [193] nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material culture of the Northern Paiute. 825 For example, when Natches described the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 773 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipö or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

Wolf and Coyote

The chief theater of action of Wolf and Coyote in the story to follow was in the Shoshone creek region. Once when a boy, Natches had visited the place, going by horseback. He made some rough sketch maps, recalling as best he could the location. 133 773

There was a cave in the mountain range next east of the Stillwater range, from which one could look across a basin and see several columns of stone. The basin is undoubtedly Humboldt salt marsh into which Shoshone creek empties. On the west side of the marsh, a mile or so from the mouth of Hare canyon, there are known to be hot springs (no. 3, pl. 68). Hence there is a high degree of probability that the stone columns are situated here, they being a deposit of lime from the springs. If this supposition is correct the cave would quite likely be to the southeast of the marsh on Willow creek, the water seepage of which would account for the presence of trees which are mentioned. The entire basin in Pleistocene times formed a fair-sized lake without outlet.

All the people from Carson sink and Humboldt lake, in fact all the people from the Pine Nut mountains (Stillwater range) and all those to the west, came to fight Wolf and Coyote. It would appear that Coyote was the younger brother and was considered too young to fight, so Wolf shut him in the house while he went out to fight alone. The people stayed on one side of the basin, while Wolf fought them from the other side. He killed some of the people. They can be seen to this day as rocks, some standing and some fallen just as they were when killed across the basin from where Wolf's house is situated. The people were clothed in robes made of twisted strips of skin from the mud hen, woven together with thongs of buckskin. There were scattered about over the ground fragments of black rock, looking just like the skin of the mud hen. 773

Wolf himself was killed in this engagement and his head cut off. You can see his headless form and his entrails all scattered about (no. 5, pl. 68). Meantime Coyote was a prisoner in the house, but he made repeated attempts to get out by climbing up through the smokehole. At last he succeeded in getting out just as Wolf was killed. When Coyote saw what had happened, he fell over and rolled down the slope, pretending that he was dead, and for further deception he also made some weeds grow out of his head. He can be seen there now with the weeds, which are trees, growing around him. The house

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

[103] After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] [133] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 [114] The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. All mention of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

[411] Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

600 obtained through dreams. Long ago the Shoshoni would go to the hills or rocks in the mountains where there was "a kind of writing." There they would sleep for from one to three nights in quest of a dream, but without fasting; in the morning they went back home. Some animal or person might appear to the would-be visionary and tell him he was to be a physician. Not all the shamans used the same form of treatment, but all sang some songs. They made different marks near the fireplace and perhaps stuck a feather up by the mark. The shaman (*púhagant*) would place a feather on the affected part of the sufferer's body and suck at the other end, then blow away or vomit the disease. Only the doctor himself saw what he vomited. If a shaman cures his patient, he gets $5 or possibly a horse. Once a white man cured by an Indian doctor gave him $20 or $25. If there is no cure, there is no fee. My informant had never heard of evil shamans trying to kill personal enemies. The shaman administers no drugs, though all Indians have knowledge of certain medicinal roots or weeds, which is not acquired through dreams. Nowadays medicinemen get power by dreaming while at home. One informant had heard of a shaman who doctored gonorrhoea, like Tumodzo of the Lemhi,[1] by suction; this probably made him bald-headed. His treatment was based on dreams and he never used roots.

Some people claimed to receive power from dwarfs called *nü'nümbi*, who are described as only from two and a half to three feet in height but with big muscles. This would fit the dwarfs of Crow mythology, but these are uniformly benevolent, while the *nü'nümbi* are regarded as generally of evil disposition, killing people with bow and arrows so that the Shoshoni are still afraid of them. They are always naked.

The Wind River Indians owned medicine bundles, especially for war-like purposes. These were composed of bear claws, otterskins, etc. Most of them contained eagle feathers as part of the sacred aggregate. The bundles were generally kept on a tripod behind the tipi, being only taken inside when it rained.

775 When one informant was a boy he heard that there was one part in
774 the human being called *mūgua* different from the body and surviving it.
171 Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi[2] and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity.

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[1] Lowie, 228.

[2] Lowie, 226.

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A [846] 2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

N ● [774 761] 2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be deformed. A deformed child called nayla dököpö ("gopher ate some off"). N [842]

N 886 847 684 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). AE: At first menses girl dances 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard A [881 535 533]

755 he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

[774] When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

[264] About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

756
755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

[815] Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

752
755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

of diagnosis, sometimes part of the cure, and sometimes for both. In one instance, 755
Dr. Damin sucked at the top of Dick Jonas' head when he sought to discover his
ailment. Dick was unconscious at the time and Dr. Damin diagnosed the case as
"loss of breath." In another case, Dr. Thomas sucked a snake out of Ellen and
stated that a ghost was responsible for the illness. On the other hand, in several
cases when the patient had a localized pain, the doctor cured the illness by sucking
out some foreign object.

Sometimes the "laying on of hands" or the touching of the patient's body
with a feather seems to be directly related to diagnosis, at other times to curing.
Although the singing and appeal to the power seem to be most often solely for
diagnosis, in one case it was stated that the doctor's songs drew the bad power
from the patient's body.

It is possible to deduce several generalizations concerning the method of
curing certain diseases. When the doctor decides that an illness is caused by sorcery, [754]
he does one of three things. He may discover the identity of the sorcerer, and
persuade him to repent and to call off his power by bathing and praying to the
sun; or he may suck the diseased object sent by the sorcerer out of the patient's
body and cure him without the aid of the sorcerer; or he may exorcise the bad
power by song alone without sucking, or by both singing and sucking.

When the disease is found to be caused by the patient's own power several [753]
things may be done. The doctor may take the power away from the patient either
by sucking it out or in some other way, thus permanently removing the power; or
he may take the power out, "fix it up" and restore it to the patient. If the doctor
finds that the patient has failed to obey the power, he determines the unheeded
orders and instructs the patient to carry them out in the future. If it is found that
the patient is suffering because of the loss of his power through theft, the doctor
can discover the thief and see that the power is returned. Lastly, if the patient is
suffering because he has lost part of his paraphernalia, the doctor can, with the
aid of his own power, find the lost object, or he can make a copy of it for the
patient.

When the diagnosis is ghost sickness, as a general rule the doctor does not [775
suck. He identifies the ghost who is trying to steal the patient's breath and attempts 753]
to drive it away with his power songs, or he prescribes rituals, such as sprinkling
ashes around the house or putting bunches of wild rose by the door, to keep the
ghost away in the future. If the ghost has already made off with the patient's
breath, the doctor can cure him only by pursuing the breath. A doctor who special- [774]
izes in breath-catching has a formalized procedure. He dances until his breath
begins to leave him, then he either falls or lies down beside the patient. Often
he has his assistants cover both him and the patient with the same blanket. According
to native theory, the doctor is like a dead man when his breath goes up the
Milky Way after the patient's breath. His voice travels with his breath and reports

755 [774] his experiences as he wanders around searching, and the audience can hear him talking to the patient's breath when he finally finds it. Then the two breaths return to earth and to the bodies which have been lying rigid. Often the assistants have to lift the bodies to aid them back to life.

When the ghost sickness is caused by bad dreams, cures are sometimes effected by finding out the content of the patient's dream. In some cases when the patient has fainted or is "out of his mind," the doctor sprinkles water on him. One informant explained that a doctor did this only when he caught the ghost sickness before it was "in the blood."

The procedure described above is the Paiute theory and ritual of diagnosis and cure. To understand how the doctor actually decides which type of disease is causing the sickness it is necessary to probe deeper. Such an analysis will reveal the significance of the concepts of power and the theories of disease in the social life of the Paiutes.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753 ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757] The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164] that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774] may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [698] their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787 dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755] intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754] sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294-295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114] cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

> People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different 753
> ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person 787
> dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be heard telling the dreamer to do certain things. Other people dream that a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'abᵃ), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the
bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady
has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782]
recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not
remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then over- 753
come the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755
The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787
on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775
cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753
Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774
in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ́yəp, or numəmugu'ᵃ.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

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[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

775
753 dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of
[774] the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his
mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing
stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for
the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts
(sa'ab^{u}) and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however,
may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the
camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family
of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the
dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who
were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These
ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and
in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore
evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes
of illness.

775 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate
756 with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity
753 from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appearance
of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause immediate
and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to counteract
their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirl-
[789] wind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction
and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You
are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other
way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in preventing
the sickness that frequently follows such an experience.
[782 The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be
751] forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the
morning.

775 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of
753 the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls
774 from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the
756 journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness resulting
from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering
from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but
by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his
powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover,
soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls re- 775
stored by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these 753
cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must 774
be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation fre- 756
quently given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point.

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. 753
When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is sud- 756
denly awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. 774
Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisi- 753
tion of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness 756
at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of 787
shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso.

After singing for a time, the shaman gets up and walks or hops 755 slowly around the fire in the center of the room. If he employs a dancer, she follows him around the room each time he makes a circuit. He always moves around the room counter-clockwise. In describing this part of the performances, one informant volunteered the remark, "The whirlwind always moves in that direction too." Unfortunately, I neglected to question others on this point.

When the shaman sits down, he takes up his pipe, already 755 filled by the interpreter, takes several puffs, and then passes it 276 around among the spectators, always in a counter-clockwise direction. Everyone must take one or two whiffs of smoke, the number varying according to the shaman's instructions. The singing continues while the shaman smokes and during the time the pipe is being passed around. If anyone refuses to smoke, the shaman stops the performance until that person can be made to conform to his request. Otherwise the curing will not be successful, and the shaman will suffer from the annoyance of his power. The pipe is usually circulated among the spectators at intervals ranging from half an hour to an hour as long as the curing rite continues, customarily until morning.

The nature of the disease determines to some extent the general 755 plan of procedure. If the patient is unconscious and appears to [774] be dead, it is obvious that he is suffering from soul loss. It is then imperative for the shaman to go into a trance (yáika)[15] as quickly as possible in order to find and return the soul before it has strayed too far. On the other hand, when disease results from other causes, the shaman may go into a trance in order to diagnose the illness and to confer with his power on the treatment. Whether or not the shaman goes into a trance for the latter purposes is said to be dependent upon the strength of his power.

The procedure for entering a trance varies considerably from 755 one practitioner to another, but the following statement will serve 787 to give an outline of generally accepted forms of practice. The shaman who goes into a trance first details five men to catch him as he staggers about the fire singing. They lower him to the ground

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[15] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, gives the term *mugwamanaq'* for this shamanistic trance. My informants were not familiar with this word.

Largely because of this popu- 756
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [457]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear, the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

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Rheumatism was a common and a dreaded ailment, but there were a few remedies. Susie Archie knew of persons who had whipped the affected parts with nettles, and after the inflammation subsided, the rheumatism was gone. She had been urged to try this, but could not steel herself to do it. The sweat bath, it was said, helped rheumatism as did also the "hot bed" made of heated stones covered with juniper boughs and blankets.

A drink made of the boiled roots of tüba'süp or of oha'nazagodidi[255] (*Berberis repens* Lindl.) was taken for venereal disease; a drink from the boiled roots of do"sa^{aba}, for tuberculosis.

SOUL, ABODE OF DEAD, GHOSTS

●775 When Nora and Piudy were asked concerning the human soul, they conferred and said, "They name it the same as the breath, soñü'p^a." However, when Joshua was questioned, he called the soul mu'gwa, which agrees with the terms recorded by Lowie[256] for several Shoshonean groups. Concerning the two terms, Joshua said:

> When a man dies his mu'gwa leaves and never returns. His soñü'p^a breaks up and goes when he dies. If a man is half dead his soñü'p^a is still there; his mu'gwa is half gone. The doctor tries to put it back.[257] When the mu'gwa leaves it hovers around. I do not know where it is in the body.

[821] At death the soul goes above; it travels south along the Milky way to the abode of the dead. I was asked at this point if white people also go above, because when the shaman searches for souls of half-dead people "he see only Indians there." The abode of the dead is unnamed; all Paiute go there regardless of moral character and mode of death. It is "like this earth, but there is lots of green grass there; people never grow old; and everything is nice."

A dead man is addressed thus, "Go off. Goodbye (native?). You have a good country there." A dead person sometimes returns looking for his things. There is particular danger of this if the relatives have been careless about burning his property. Charlie Washo said, "About twelve years ago someone died and came back. He came to the door, but I could not see him. I was not afraid though. Perhaps they had not burned his things." Charlie went on to tell of an experience he once had when visiting in Alturas. He was asleep and his blankets were pulled from him. He got up and rearranged them, but the

same thing happened again. "I was badly scared. I thought perhaps a dead man had come back; maybe there was something of his in there. I don't know." 775

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[255] Oha', yellow, having reference to the color of the peeled root.

[256] SE, 296; and NS, 226.

[257] By going into a trance and searching for the soul.

According to Joshua:

> I have never seen a ghost. They say you hear them. Once Charlie Washo and I were going up a hill looking for a pony. We came to a clump of service and heard a noise like singing. We stood still. Charlie said, "We had better run." He ran off. I stood there and I waved for him to come. He came but we did not go up to the bushes. I don't know what we heard.

On the other hand, I was told that a ghost appears only when someone is sick and about to die. If a person dreams of a ghost he will probably fall sick. He can, however, ward off the ill effects by using mushrooms or "a brown stuff which is found in the fields but does not grow there" (fungus?). Both of these are known as tsoü'p-bisha (tsoü'p, ghost; bisha, powder). The powder is taken from the center of the mushroom or from the fungus and is tossed upon one's head to frighten off the spirits. 775

The following suggests a distinction between ghost and spirit: 787

> Tsa'ab^{a} is nearly the same as tsoü'p.[238] I knew a man who was drunk. The ghost (tsa'ab^{a}) of his mother touched him on the leg. It swelled and the next day he was dead. Some might have cured him by sucking. 776

This suggests that tsa'ab^{a} may refer to a ghost proper; tsoü'p to spirits that were never in human body; but further examples would be necessary before one could be certain.

According to Piudy, when a person sees a ghost, he sees the individual himself, not his spirit or soul. In response to a question concerning dream experiences, he said, "I have never heard anybody say anything about what they saw in dreams. All they know is what they dream." About the same holds for one's reflection in water. Great hilarity resulted from a suggestion that it might be the soul. Piudy said, "They never say what it is they see but it is *not* the soul."

MISCELLANEOUS MAGICAL BELIEFS

There is a considerable series of beliefs concerning natural phenomena. The rainbow (piü'gtükwinüb) presages rain. A person did not point at a rainbow for fear of making his finger sore. Earthquakes were unknown in the old days but not so eclipses. Joshua had heard that in early times "the sun once stopped and everything was dark for a day or two. The people made a slow match and went 789 821

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[238] This term looks suspiciously like soñi'p^{a}, p. 198.

000 At Navaho Springs rabbit's feet with beads are said to be worn as charms, but the trader thought the idea had been stimulated by whites.

According to Annie Lowry, the Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son, as in the case of Coffee Charlie. The medicineman's soul leaves him when he doctors and goes into a trance, but the patient's soul remains in his body. The shaman's soul goes to the place of the spirits in order to get their aid. A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision. The paraphernalia of shamans differ,—some have an eagle tail, others a magpie tail, etc. The shamans also use a rattle.

Coffee Charlie was once doctoring his own boy, four years old, who was very sick and had been given up. The boy suddenly said, "Do you see a little bird on my head?" Coffee Charlie told him there was nothing there, but the boy insisted that a bird was there, chirping, and the bird was saying to him, "Little boy, you won't die, you will live." Coffee Charlie doctored him, and he lived. On another occasion Coffee Charlie doctored Annie Lowry's son, who had been given up by the white physician. Coffee Charlie used a stick about four feet long, carefully smoothed, and sprinkled with white clay, and with an eagle (?) feather at one end. This was set at the patient's head; the idea of the clay was that it would cause moisture all over the patient's body. The shaman went into a trance, then the boy was placed on him so that the pits of their stomachs were together, then the boy was taken away by his mother. Before this he shook his rattle; at first the sound seemed far away, but gradually it got closer and closer. The boy at first did not recognize his mother, but did a little later. He recovered.

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(683)
Mack Winnemucca said that the Paviotso killed sorcerers (*stai*^{vu} *puháγa*^{iyu}) who caused people's death. When a person "died," i.e., was very sick, the shaman would lie beside him and also "die" for several hours in order to bring him back. On the return trip, they heard talking about mountains. When the patient came to, his parents talked to him, asking whether he was well now, whether he wished for a drink of water, etc. They would give him water. The other Indians sat around both the patient and the doctor. At times it was necessary to keep up the treatment for three or four nights. Sometimes the doctor's spirit coming back unsuccessful was heard crying. During the doctoring the shaman did not move but lay stiff as a board till his return. This procedure is called *mugwămandą*^{i}, a word doubtless connected with *nō̆'mŏ mūgua*, human soul or spirit. A person who dies goes across a big body of water 775

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775 •
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are
up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking,
the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 191
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both
Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will 845
also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is 829
thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the 000
Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.
[2] Ibid., 12, 47, 48, 50, 57.

600 obtained through dreams. Long ago the Shoshoni would go to the hills or rocks in the mountains where there was "a kind of writing." There they would sleep for from one to three nights in quest of a dream, but without fasting; in the morning they went back home. Some animal or person might appear to the would-be visionary and tell him he was to be a physician. Not all the shamans used the same form of treatment, but all sang some songs. They made different marks near the fireplace and perhaps stuck a feather up by the mark. The shaman (*púhagant*) would place a feather on the affected part of the sufferer's body and suck at the other end, then blow away or vomit the disease. Only the doctor himself saw what he vomited. If a shaman cures his patient, he gets $5 or possibly a horse. Once a white man cured by an Indian doctor gave him $20 or $25. If there is no cure, there is no fee. My informant had never heard of evil shamans trying to kill personal enemies. The shaman administers no drugs, though all Indians have knowledge of certain medicinal roots or weeds, which is not acquired through dreams. Nowadays medicinemen get power by dreaming while at home. One informant had heard of a shaman who doctored gonorrhoea, like Tumodzo of the Lemhi,[1] by suction; this probably made him bald-headed. His treatment was based on dreams and he never used roots.

Some people claimed to receive power from dwarfs called *nü'nümbi*, who are described as only from two and a half to three feet in height but with big muscles. This would fit the dwarfs of Crow mythology, but these are uniformly benevolent, while the *nü'nümbi* are regarded as generally of evil disposition, killing people with bow and arrows so that the Shoshoni are still afraid of them. They are always naked.

The Wind River Indians owned medicine bundles, especially for war-like purposes. These were composed of bear claws, otterskins, etc. Most of them contained eagle feathers as part of the sacred aggregate. The bundles were generally kept on a tripod behind the tipi, being only taken inside when it rained.

•775 When one informant was a boy he heard that there was one part in
774 the human being called *mũgua* different from the body and surviving it.
171 Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi[2] and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity.

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[1] Lowie, 228.
[2] Lowie, 226.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
2579. To spirit (suvpo)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Guardian Spirits														
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nonshamanistic Curing														
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Destiny of Soul														
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)														
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2609a. Speculorite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
"Muipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)														
2613. Properties and name known	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
DANCES														
2614. Circle Dance (nügava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
776
782

N
W
A
787

N
W
A
757

N
W
775
763

N
W
A
787

N
276

N
W
A
535

N
W
[789]

[p.415]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop, which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). A [764] AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt.

A [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

● N [775] 2421. Ki: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." N 784 Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283).

2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Ki: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p.1443(A)]

Ghost Dance

535 668 775 2715. K2: Jack Wilson revived and stimulated the old dance but did not teach any new ones. At: The last Ghost dance at McDermitt was about 1893. The shaman prophesied a hard winter which would kill all the horses so that the dead would have them on which to ride back after the resurrection, to occur the following 4th of July. The people danced, the hard winter came, the horses died, and so the Indians congregated at McDermitt for the arrival of the dead. The old people did not return and so there has been little mention of the Ghost dance since. However, this is not strange because they were told to discuss the secrets and promises of the movements only while still on the dance ground following a dance. Ki: Kelly, 179, after saying "evidence on Ghost Dance is both meager and garbled," gives quotations which indicate that the Kidü were exposed to it, but never adopted the dance seriously.

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

805 822 2720. At: August, "rye-grass-ripe month" (yaia möhü); September, "piñon-nut month" (tuva möhü); October, "jack-rabbit-digging-roots-month" (tuhiwi mähü); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na möhü); December, "buck-deer-stands-for-week-on-south-side-of-canyon-month" (roa möhü); January, "tracks-threw-out-on-one-side-month" (tamünida'a möhü); February, "earliest-plants-push-aside-last-year's-stalks-month" (tokwinai möhü); March, "green-grass-growing-fast-month" (puiwaya möhü). The other 4 months' names could not be remembered. Seasonal names used for one or two. Sa: January, "jack-rabbit-urine-on-snow-month" (roa möha); February, "first-young-jack-rabbit-month" (sötwa'a möha); March, "everything-green-month" (puimöha); April, "buck-berry-leaves-out-month" (kwasinö möha); May, "flower-month" (totsi möha); June, "Indian-potato-month" (yaba möha); July, "summer-month" (tatsa möha); August, "rye-grass-month" (yaia möha); September, "piñon-nut-month" (töva möha); October, "autumn-month" (uva möha); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na moha); December, "winter-month" (tomomöha). (SL.) Wd: "First-green-shoots-through-snow-month" (poimaya müha); "grass-

[p.445(A)]

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a deceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account. 776 [775] 787

When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt him. [751]

Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well. [755]

One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to. 755

Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time. 825

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way. 756 787 776

756 Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several
424 informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about it so I am not a shaman."

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

> If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker
> ●[775] shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming
> [787] from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then her power tells her to be a shaman.

756 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the
789 parent is still alive.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

[778] *Power quest.*—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by
789 Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

> 159 There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this moun-
> [778] tain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams. I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots
of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked
to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and
then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and
forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick.
A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman.
A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hu!" The sick man was getting [755]
worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to
weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all
the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a
shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell
you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise [775]
you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it
and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when
this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what
to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777]
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises.
To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning
means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep
in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what
to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He
has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him
a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a
pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777]
through anything. That makes him lucky.

755 he sucked the disease out. He tells them that it hurt him and he went way up in the sky. Then he spits out something small, like a bug. He claims he sucked it out of the patient. Sometimes it looks like a small stone or a worm.

[774] When a man dies the shaman goes after him. If he can find the soul he brings it back and the man is all right. When the soul gets too far away, the shaman cannot find it and the man never gets well.

[302] Then the shaman tells the people to put white paint on the patient or to bathe him by sprinkling water over him with a green sage brush shoot.

[764] About midnight the doctor stops singing and food is provided for all, by the family of the sick person. After all have eaten the doctor resumes singing and again sucks the patient. This continues until daylight.

756
755 A shaman usually doctors for two nights but if the patient is much better after the first night the singing may be discontinued. The relatives of the sick person may call in another doctor for the second night if they are not satisfied with the first shaman. If one shaman cannot help the patient they call in another. No harm comes to a doctor who cannot cure the sick, but after a few failures his power is thought to have deserted him and he is no longer asked to sing for people.

755 *Examples of cure.*—I [Henry William] went to a doctoring in Smith valley. "Little Dickey" was the shaman there. He was singing for his own daughter. The mother thought the girl was dead. She cried. The doctor told her to stop crying so he could bring the girl back. He had a little bullet-shaped thing like lead that his power gave him. He put it in the girl's hand and closed her hand tightly. Then he said, "I am going to sing five songs." He walked around the fire twice while he sang each song. Then "Little Dickey" announced, "I can feel her coming back through the hole in the lead. It is coming nice and cool now." People then felt a wind start blowing. The girl opened her eyes and the shaman told them to give her some water. He started another song and sang until morning. "Little Dickey" lost the piece of lead after that. He never found it again. He died very soon. Nothing could help him.

[775] Daisy Lopez [in Schurz] was dead a whole day when she was a baby. A shaman came and sang for her. He sang all afternoon. He went into a trance and brought her back. He found her loitering among the flowers on the way to the land of the dead. Everything was tempting her and she did'nt go on the way to the dead very quickly. That is why the shaman could catch up with her and bring her back. When he came back with her about sunset we heard a low moaning first. Then the moaning got louder and louder as she got closer. Pretty soon the doctor came out of the trance and started to sing. Daisy was all right after that.

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755 *Doctoring snake bites.*—A shaman with power from rattlesnakes tells one who has been bitten by a snake not to eat for five days. If he eats anything he will die at once. The doctor puts white paint around the bite. Then he squeezes out the blood.

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets out to exterminate the common danger. 754 755 683

There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the usual way. [766]

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feathers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property. 764 775

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 756 533 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reservation until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick. 756 754 248

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate with such women. 841 855

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it necessary to avoid his glance. 756

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 756 114 787

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

The Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who [754
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own [776]
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775]
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's [787]
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. [756]
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish [755]
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake [787]
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[1] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It [761]
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally
broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[2] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made
Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by
sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well
which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to
capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the day-
time or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[1] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[2] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

753 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts.
775 In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards
with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became
stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her
breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
[761] was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A
woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse.
While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his
mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts
of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died.
He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had
looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he
was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came
to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
[755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie
Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased
and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt
the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden
bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an
attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will
not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attributed
[768] many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

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[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.
[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 753 775
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood
gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old
blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the
blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but some- 757]
times he calls in a doctor.[*]

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very
ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is
responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the
fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the
family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although
he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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[*] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

of diagnosis, sometimes part of the cure, and sometimes for both. In one instance, 755 Dr. Damin sucked at the top of Dick Jonas' head when he sought to discover his ailment. Dick was unconscious at the time and Dr. Damin diagnosed the case as "loss of breath." In another case, Dr. Thomas sucked a snake out of Ellen and stated that a ghost was responsible for the illness. On the other hand, in several cases when the patient had a localized pain, the doctor cured the illness by sucking out some foreign object.

Sometimes the "laying on of hands" or the touching of the patient's body with a feather seems to be directly related to diagnosis, at other times to curing. Although the singing and appeal to the power seem to be most often solely for diagnosis, in one case it was stated that the doctor's songs drew the bad power from the patient's body.

It is possible to deduce several generalizations concerning the method of curing certain diseases. When the doctor decides that an illness is caused by sorcery, [754] he does one of three things. He may discover the identity of the sorcerer, and persuade him to repent and to call off his power by bathing and praying to the sun; or he may suck the diseased object sent by the sorcerer out of the patient's body and cure him without the aid of the sorcerer; or he may exorcise the bad power by song alone without sucking, or by both singing and sucking.

When the disease is found to be caused by the patient's own power several [753] things may be done. The doctor may take the power away from the patient either by sucking it out or in some other way, thus permanently removing the power; or he may take the power out, "fix it up" and restore it to the patient. If the doctor finds that the patient has failed to obey the power, he determines the unheeded orders and instructs the patient to carry them out in the future. If it is found that the patient is suffering because of the loss of his power through theft, the doctor can discover the thief and see that the power is returned. Lastly, if the patient is suffering because he has lost part of his paraphernalia, the doctor can, with the aid of his own power, find the lost object, or he can make a copy of it for the patient.

When the diagnosis is ghost sickness, as a general rule the doctor does not [775 753] suck. He identifies the ghost who is trying to steal the patient's breath and attempts to drive it away with his power songs, or he prescribes rituals, such as sprinkling ashes around the house or putting bunches of wild rose by the door, to keep the ghost away in the future. If the ghost has already made off with the patient's breath, the doctor can cure him only by pursuing the breath. A doctor who special- [774] izes in breath-catching has a formalized procedure. He dances until his breath begins to leave him, then he either falls or lies down beside the patient. Often he has his assistants cover both him and the patient with the same blanket. According to native theory, the doctor is like a dead man when his breath goes up the Milky Way after the patient's breath. His voice travels with his breath and reports ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have 753 no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants 755 I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experience [754] which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore [756] arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness. Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is 775 usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is unconscious 753 or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath. This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household [158 were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and 273] the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity, which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work 155 she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that 758
the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her 157
that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed [754]
that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing
her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that
she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the 755
first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal
motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power
which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had [756]
symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling,
but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally
known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments,
and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was
feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to
have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power,
some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have
some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established
fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval [775]
and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease
which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized
irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would
have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want
her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the
living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence
would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her
breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that
it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being [684]
more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to
her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that
by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried
to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being
punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In 755
determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case 681
draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding
his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass
a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members
of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the 764
eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry.
The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites
show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other
than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The
body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried
in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the
body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no
marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he
customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some
informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with
the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around
the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family [177]
try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a
house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some
informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed [768]
the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite
horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated
that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the
grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and
is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, 765
mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. [726
Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die 766]
in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the 768
dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath 775
of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

It is in respect to the last activity that the shaman is an out- 756
standingly important member of Paviotso society. Although a 787
man can acquire supernatural power which will enable him to be a successful hunter or a lucky gambler, these ends may be accomplished more simply by praying to the sun, or before the hunt by dreaming where game is to be found, or by use of charms. The shaman may also have the power to control weather, but this is
not usually exercised for the good of the community. Rather, his [789]
demonstration of control over the elements seems to prove the shaman's *rapport* with powerful spirits, which give him power to cure the sick and heal the wounded. It is, then, the supernatural inspiration and assistance which enable one either to draw out the cause of illness or to go in search of the lost soul of a patient that is pre-eminent in the Paviotso mind as giving meaning and importance to the acquisition and exercise of shamanistic power. It should be noted that a shaman who has power to doctor the sick is called puhágəm. This term is not used to designate people who possess supernatural powers for hunting, gambling, or warfare. There is no term for such power or for the people who enjoy it. However, supernatural aid in these latter functions is of the same sort and from the same source—spirits of animals, birds, etc.—as that acquired by a shaman. All supernatural power is, in theory, of the same order, but it is the possession of strong power to be exercised in the function of curing that is important in Paviotso ideology. The other objectives can be, and in fact most frequently are, accomplished satisfactorily, without spirit aid. Only curing depends directly upon power.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

The spirit beings which are everywhere in the Paviotso world 756
are the sources of supernatural power. Spirits of the fauna, spirits 776
from certain mountains and of rocks, as well as the elements, bestow on individuals the power (puhá) through which sickness is controlled and cured. In addition to securing power from these
spirits, shamans also derive supernatural aid from ghosts of the [775]
dead (sa'abᵊ) and from the dwarf-like creatures called water-babies that live in certain water-holes, lakes, and water-serpents thought to inhabit the lakes.

> above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran 756
> up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the 787
> other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the 159
> wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by
> the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came
> up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he
> had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told
> Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river
> and bathe and put i·bi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify [751]
> both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result
> from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy
> Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is
> now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee)

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other 756
relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of 787
property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like
other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably [768]
destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of
the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death.

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the [775] ●
first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power.

> Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

> People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different 753
> ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person 787
> dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be
> heard telling the dreamer to do certain things.Other people dream that
> a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams
> are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'abᵃ), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the
bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady
has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782]
recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not
remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then over- 753
come the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755
The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787
on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775
cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753
Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774
in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ́yəp, or numəmugu'ᵃ.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

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[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

775
753 dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of
[774] the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his
mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing
stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for
the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts
(sa'abᵊ) and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however,
may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the
camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family
of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the
dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who
were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These
ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and
in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore
evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes
of illness.

775 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate
756 with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity
753 from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appear-
ance of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause im-
mediate and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to coun-
teract their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirl-
[789] wind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction
and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You
are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other
way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in pre-
venting the sickness that frequently follows such an experience.
[732 The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be
751] forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the
morning.

775 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of
753 the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls
774 from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the
756 journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness result-
ing from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering
from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but
by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his
powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover,
soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls restored by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation frequently given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point. 775 753 774 756

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is suddenly awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 753 756 774 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisition of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso. 753 756 787

Wadátkuht

also quite likely that the individual did not realize that 821
he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to
become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends [626]
and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to
the sun at sunrise. To pray was naníshtuhai, and one had to [782]
pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the
evening.

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost 775
of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take
his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the [753]
story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht
camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking
sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid
that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp
had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could
still hear them if one was to go around that place.

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with 776
certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. [756]
Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary
babies except that they had long hair.

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north 756
of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there 778
was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain
was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was
a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father,
Numu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in
order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to
keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter
of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was
Wadátkuht.

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

Wadatkuht

The

756 first type cured such minor things as headaches and used massage as a major means of making cures. [755] The second type seemed to be closely related to the first since he also used massage, but in addition rubbed medicine into the patient. The third type had a more complex method of curing. To become a Numuhgunuhd (and presumably a Nutaigut) a person might dream for several years that it was necessary for him to become a doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as he did not want to become a shaman, for being a doctor entailed considerable responsibility and effort as in our own society, but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The Numuhgunuhd, however, did not have to go out alone to some wild and lonely spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the Nuhpud, did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he tried out being a Numuhgunuhd. If he was not too successful as this type of doctor he had to try to become a Nuhpud.

[755] Gladys was treated once by a relative, Tsudi ("Judy"), for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a Nuhpud and used an eighteen inch long arrowcane to suck a clot of blood from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's dreams. It is also said that the mother probably wished her [428] dreams to her daughter. This would suggest that doctors tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a shaman Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both a Numuhgunuhd and a Nuhpud.

753 Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's [775] soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a sorcerer, who "poisons" (puha') people. [754] It has also been shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a call to become a doctor. 753 Unpleasant dreams made people sick; 828 also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be applied to the Wadátkuht, these dreams could have crippling effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a cave in which she was trapped. To escape she had to walk over the

same thing happened again. "I was badly scared. I thought perhaps 775
a dead man had come back; maybe there was something of his in
there. I don't know."

According to Joshua:

> I have never seen a ghost. They say you hear them. Once Charlie Washo and I were going up a hill looking for a pony. We came to a clump of service and heard a noise like singing. We stood still. Charlie said, "We had better run." He ran off. I stood there and I waved for him to come. He came but we did not go up to the bushes. I don't know what we heard.

On the other hand, I was told that a ghost appears only when someone is sick and about to die. If a person dreams of a ghost he will probably fall sick. He can, however, ward off the ill effects by using mushrooms or "a brown stuff which is found in the fields but does not grow there" (fungus?). Both of these are known as tsoü'p-bisha (tsoü'p, ghost; bisha, powder). The powder is taken from the center of the mushroom or from the fungus and is tossed upon one's head to frighten off the spirits. 775

The following suggests a distinction between ghost and spirit:

> Tsa'abᵃ is nearly the same as tsoü'p.[228] I knew a man who was drunk. The 787
> ghost (tsa'abᵃ) of his mother touched him on the leg. It swelled and the next
> day he was dead. Some might have cured him by sucking. 776

This suggests that tsa'abᵃ may refer to a ghost proper; tsoü'p to spirits that were never in human body; but further examples would be necessary before one could be certain.

According to Piudy, when a person sees a ghost, he sees the individual himself, not his spirit or soul. In response to a question concerning dream experiences, he said, "I have never heard anybody say anything about what they saw in dreams. All they know is what they dream." About the same holds for one's reflection in water. Great hilarity resulted from a suggestion that it might be the soul. Piudy said, "They never say what it is they see but it is *not* the soul."

MISCELLANEOUS MAGICAL BELIEFS

There is a considerable series of beliefs concerning natural phe- 789
nomena. The rainbow (piü'gtükwinüb) presages rain. A person did 821
not point at a rainbow for fear of making his finger sore. Earthquakes were unknown in the old days but not so eclipses. Joshua had heard that in early times "the sun once stopped and everything was dark for a day or two. The people made a slow match and went

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[228] This term looks suspiciously like soü'pᵃ, p. 198.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group. 262 251 252 417

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 796 756 [787]

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people. 881 [171]

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians. 773 [191] [774]

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that his own people very seldom made them that way. 276 [171]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
755

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ig	Wd	Ki	Ac
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2540. Sleight-of-hand	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Special Powers of Shamans														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2550. By sucking out snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
2557a. Female	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2559. Transforms self into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2560. Power of rapid travel	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2561. Invulnerable	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuherai	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2564. Power from various animals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2566. Power to foretell future	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2568. Killed for declining	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	.	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumaiyma)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2577. Offerings to "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2578. To ghost (tsaawu)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
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789

N
W
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N
[787]

N
W
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681
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● N
W
A
● 776
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Washo , NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kg	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ai	
2579. To spirit (sumppe)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	N W A
2580. To night	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	776
2581. Offerings of: food	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2581a. At spring dance	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	782
2582. Game	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
2583. Seeds	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2584. Tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2585. Shell beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2586. Offerings: at meals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2589. When hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Guardian Spirits															N W A
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															N W A
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	757
2596. Sweating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Ghosts or Souls (taaavu or mugua)															N W
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	775
2601. Shortly before death	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	
2603. Ghost audible	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2604. Ghost feared	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	W
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	A
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	787
2609a. Speculorite (yadüpi) sprinkled to nullify		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	
"Muipe" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	276
DANCES															N W A
2614. Circle Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	[789]

[p.415]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N W A 821
776
789
N W A 787
N W A 784
N 753
N W 172

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Whirlwind (pitommava)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	·	·	·	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2296a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	·	·	·	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	·	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
2745. Informants had only heard of them	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
2748. "Devil"	·	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

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Washe , NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).

301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.

172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).

1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).

A [301] 1333. Tö: Bought from California. AE: Only women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads on dress. Obtained from California Indians W of Achomawi.

1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung to wear were the only bone beads.

W [301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172] 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl. 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N 302 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).

177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.

N 302 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).

246 [172] 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."

A [135] 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill, SE of Alturas.

1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).

N [322] 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green and blue.

N [155] 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abundance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the material as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." ● N [776] I suspect it is the same as that listed by Steward as "galena," which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil spirits, especially bad dreams. A [439] Ki: Yadupi got from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 302 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of otter fur" (Curtis, 61).

1382. Ki: − (Kelly, 115, but she cites De Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).

1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed braiding style before white people arrived.

W [302] 1387. Wa: − (Smith, notes).

N [172] 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).

1396. Tö: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu'i¹-nö^e ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or W [226] trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no W [721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: N [423] Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. N 721 173 KH: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

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A
[756 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from
dream of frog.
787] 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great In-
N dian "doctor" who could make it rain at will.
756 Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago,"
789 he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not
sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him
to take free some wild hay.

W 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wil-
[756] son's power to control weather, but no Washo
shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 2554. To: See note 2549.
754 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
756 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did
653 other people, yet they used power for evil in-
stead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N
2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee
755 was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans
756 do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless
[177] of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made
until patient is well.

A 2570a. At: See note 2477.

[755] 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenom-
N ena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds,
which functioned as personal powers of shaman—
● 776 the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha).
A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by
782 sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and
by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and
782 other things, sprinkled on the ground while old
765 man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't
want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).
[782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

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756 parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured.
755 If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people,
787 but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a
776 person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses
[753] his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

756 Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they
787 have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related the following dream.

> I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness. I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick
> [755] people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical
[776] beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies." They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

[753] When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of sickness.

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a de- 776 ● ceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative [815] visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the 787 power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account.

When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt [751] him.

Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with [755] the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well.

One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the 755 snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to.

Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist 825 next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started 756 to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be 787 a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get 776 eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way.

787 While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their
776 spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have super-
[756] natural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

756 There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doc-
[787] tors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen be-
[754] cause he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life.

Interpreters.—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience.
[198] The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

755 *Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there
[776] all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

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157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

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158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N
[756]
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● [776]

"I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

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159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

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161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

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[712]

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

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163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER

THE role of sorcery in social control can be understood only in terms of the 756
concept of supernatural power. There are three main types of such power 754
recognized by the Harney Valley Paiute: *pu.ba,* doctoring power; *madaiya,* [776]
other types of good power[1]; and *pu ba.ba,* sorcery power. All of these are thought
to be bestowed on individuals by spirit helpers. In general, those individuals who
have certain special talents are said to possess good power, while those who are
thought to be "bad actors" are said to have sorcery power.

In general, the types of good power bestowed upon individuals by their 756
supernatural friends are useful in meeting those problems posed by the environment
for which no satisfactory realistic solutions are provided by Paiute culture. The
doctors,[2] the men who have *pu.ba,* are the only people who can diagnose and [755]
cure disease. Their ability to do this is completely dependent upon their spirit
helpers, who are invoked by them to discover the cause of the illness and to effect
a cure. In addition to the doctors, there are individuals who, by virtue of their
power, are able to practice certain minor therapeutic techniques. Some treat local [757]
aches and pains by letting blood; others specialize in treating trachoma, a very
common malady, by scraping the inflamed eyelids with rye grass.

Some of the unsolved problems were posed in the old days by dangers from
rattlesnakes and bears. Moccasins were poor protection, and many Paiutes were
bitten by rattlers. Most people are still extremely cautious even when they are protected
by heavy shoes, and women carry sticks with them when walking in the sagebrush.
Some individuals, however, do not fear rattlesnakes; in fact, it is said that
they are on friendly terms with them and even pick them up in their hands and
talk to them. Some of these people can cure bites and influence the snakes not to
attack their friends. In the old days some men had power over bears. They were [554
envied because they dared to hunt them and as a result procured skins which made 224]
more satisfactory blankets than those of rabbit skin. It is reported that these men
went into caves and killed the bears with sticks.

In former times some men had antelope power, and they led the communal 756
drives. They were said to be able to discover the antelope, to decide where the 224
corral should be built, and to lure the animals into it. They could tire them

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[1] Other types of good power are sometimes called *pu.ba* also, and not distinguished from doctoring power.

[2] The term *doctor* has been used here for the medical practitioner and *sorcerer* for a person who has bad power. Only rarely were doctors also sorcerers in Paiute society.

756 magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man mani-
[224] fested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411
726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

[832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

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756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

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162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

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756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

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[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

the memory of informants, are believed to have bestowed power on people: 776
waterbaby,[4] chicken hawk, robin, eagle, *kadi* (unidentified bird), antelope, otter, 756
weasel, mountain sheep, rain, fire, earth, whirlwind, cloud, lightning, thunder, rock,
ghost, *patibui* (unidentified berry), red beads, and gun.[5]

It is not always possible to deduce the kind of spirit helper a person has from the type of power he possesses. Some types of power, however, seem to come from one kind of spirit only. For example, the men who lead antelope drives always have the antelope as a helper, and people derive snake power from a particular variety of snake. Power to run fast comes from some animal that is swift moving, usually the antelope. In the old days, bullet proof men most frequently had power directly from rain, clouds, rainbow, or wind, or had a spirit helper who gave them control over these phenomena.

Sometimes the same kind of spirit gives different powers to different individuals. Waterbaby, for example, sometimes gives power to cure and sometimes power to ward off bullets; it may tell the person whom it befriends how to use the rain and the clouds to stop bullets or to diagnose disease. One man was both a doctor and bullet proof and had but the one helper. Of the five doctors who had the waterbaby as one of their helpers, several also had eagle and antelope, and there were many other spirits capable of bestowing the same type of power. In the majority of cases, however, only the doctors had more than one spirit helper, and one informant claimed that even they, if really successful, would have but one.

Snakes might give good or bad power. One sorcerer was befriended by a snake, another by a sea gull, and a third by black lizards.

The spirit appears to the individual in recurrent dreams and bestows power upon him. The dreams are thought to come unsolicited. In them the person meets his spirit helper, e.g., a chicken hawk, waterbaby, or gun, and is instructed in the nature of the power he is to have. The spirit usually tells him to carry some object at all times and to bathe on certain occasions. He teaches him a song and, if he is to be a doctor, some dances. The dream recurs until the individual becomes familiar with the instructions. Thereafter unless he carries them out in every detail, he will either lose his power or sicken and perhaps die.

The fact that these dreams are unsolicited is stressed and there are only a few 776
examples of behavior which might be considered comparable to the vision quest of 756
the Plateau. On the northern part of the Malheur Reservation there is a hill 787
known as Castle Rock. It is said that several men became bullet proof as a result of sleeping there for several nights. At the base of the rock there is a stream in which the neophyte bathed before ascending. During the night while he slept on

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[4] Waterbabies are mythical dwarfs who dwell in caves near water holes.

[5] This list is similar to that given in W. Z. Park, "Shamanism in Western North America" (*Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences*, II, 1938), p. 18.

776 the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he
756 did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also
787 said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In
general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and
while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to
follow.

756 Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above
787 theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of
power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice
and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and techniques.
[869] The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him
that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to
remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger
of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental
pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the
community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or
special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his
power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the
case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting.
[755] Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she
was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was
the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her
sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started
to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services
free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however,
began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise
had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm.
781 She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream
787 and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned
[755] Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill.
From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give
her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

756 A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community
787 is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and
unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant
behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick,
the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the
child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage
the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret
them in terms of power.

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

The Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who [754
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own [776] ●
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775]
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's [787]
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. [756]
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish [755]
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake [787]
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagnosis.
[755] Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter
again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on
him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sickness
● [776] one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have
seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to
Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she
worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own
power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew
thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an
unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a
result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times
because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were
forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a
result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and
when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of
the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to
Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases.
Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists.
In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient
and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending
[757] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological
treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied
externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may
[782 pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he
[776] splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the
sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting,
757] paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the
operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if
new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or
protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's
immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and,
if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected
and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after
sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on
which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or
with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The
relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor
756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to
work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of
[753] becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a
755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the
756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a
pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays,
when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

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[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

626 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve
627 as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts
183 they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think
of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man
cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears
close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual
involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas.
[685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her
cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom
she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money,
she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over
with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that
Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the
person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp,
and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the
[81] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she
was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to
support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and
added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have
taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of
what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a
deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer,
even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly
to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a
[208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the
channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person
[756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of
disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social
control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically
or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie
for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad
power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly
because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter
killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power
twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond
these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that
there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person
harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals.
[776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

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spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This 627
fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor 183
aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer. [776]

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of 681
sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, 626
assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the 627
fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents.
Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and
theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this
case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and [754]
the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the
form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the
accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which
is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the
person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed
to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed
to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make [756]
him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out
to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act [182]
as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is [155]
supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power
is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation
with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both
the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays
the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who
are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick
from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by
being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery,
his word gives authority to community gossip.

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of
shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-
informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others
requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by
both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen
or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary
material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Ne-
vada lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The
[131] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five
lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson
Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of
128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the cul-
ture were recorded from informants belonging to each of these
localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on
shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso
756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances
[782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for
relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to shamanistic beliefs and practices.

●776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings
unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

It is in respect to the last activity that the shaman is an outstandingly 756
important member of Paviotso society. Although a 787
man can acquire supernatural power which will enable him to be
a successful hunter or a lucky gambler, these ends may be accomplished
more simply by praying to the sun, or before the hunt by
dreaming where game is to be found, or by use of charms. The
shaman may also have the power to control weather, but this is
not usually exercised for the good of the community. Rather, his [782]
demonstration of control over the elements seems to prove the
shaman's *rapport* with powerful spirits, which give him power to
cure the sick and heal the wounded. It is, then, the supernatural
inspiration and assistance which enable one either to draw out the
cause of illness or to go in search of the lost soul of a patient that
is pre-eminent in the Paviotso mind as giving meaning and importance
to the acquisition and exercise of shamanistic power. It
should be noted that a shaman who has power to doctor the sick
is called puhágəm. This term is not used to designate people who
possess supernatural powers for hunting, gambling, or warfare.
There is no term for such power or for the people who enjoy it.
However, supernatural aid in these latter functions is of the same
sort and from the same source—spirits of animals, birds, etc.—
as that acquired by a shaman. All supernatural power is, in theory,
of the same order, but it is the possession of strong power to be
exercised in the function of curing that is important in Paviotso
ideology. The other objectives can be, and in fact most frequently
are, accomplished satisfactorily, without spirit aid. Only curing
depends directly upon power.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

The spirit beings which are everywhere in the Paviotso world 756
are the sources of supernatural power. Spirits of the fauna, spirits 776
from certain mountains and of rocks, as well as the elements,
bestow on individuals the power (puhá) through which sickness
is controlled and cured. In addition to securing power from these
spirits, shamans also derive supernatural aid from ghosts of the [775]
dead (sa'ab') and from the dwarf-like creatures called water-babies
that live in certain water-holes, lakes, and water-serpents thought
to inhabit the lakes.

756 Indians were put here on this earth with trees, plants, animals, and
776 water, and the shaman gets his power from them. One shaman might get his power from the hawk that lives in the mountains. Another may get his power from the eagle, the otter, or the bear. A long time ago, all the animals were Indians (they could talk). I think that is why the animals help the people to be shamans. Some strong shamans get their powers from the sun. (Joe Green)

Anyone can get to be a shaman by dreaming. In the dreams, spirits
[787] such as those from the eagle, bear, owl, snake, antelope, deer, mountain sheep, mole, or falling star appear. The spirit that comes in the dreams is the shaman's power. It helps him to doctor sick people. (Harry Sampson)

It is not altogether clear whether the animal spirits are conceived to be those of the species or of a single animal. One statement would seem to indicate that it is a spirit of the species that confers power.

> When a shaman gets his power from the otter it means that the spirit is from many otters. The chief otter spirit tells the man to be a good doctor. It is this main otter that cannot be seen by the common people. He is the one that makes a man a shaman. He lives in a certain place in the water. Only the shaman can see him there. He knows where the otter is. He dreams about the otter and after a while he learns where the otter lives. (Joe Green)

This point was not carefully checked with other informants, but it would seem that the above statement formulates fairly accurately the norm of Paviotso belief in the animal and bird spirits that bestow shamanistic powers.

Several informants described the water-babies that are also believed to be a source of supernatural power.

> Some shamans get their power from the water-babies. They are the only people who can talk to them. They tell the rest of the people not to make fun of water-babies. These shamans can take the water-babies out of the lake.
>
> The water-babies came to life by their own power. They formed themselves. Some water-babies live in water-holes, and these holes never dry up. People call these water-babies the "breath of the water-holes." There is a cool breeze all the time in the mountains where they live. They have the power to cause wind to blow, even a very strong wind. The wind is their breath.
>
> There are also women in the lakes where the water-babies live. These women are like the water-babies. They have the same power. Big ser-

> pents live in the lake, too. Like the water-babies, these serpents have strong power. They give power to some shamans. (Rosie Plummer) 756 776

A somewhat different statement of the source of shamanistic power, probably due to individual interpretation, was given by Dick Mahwee.

> The Indian doctor gets his power from the spirit of the night. This spirit is everywhere. It has no name. There is no word for it. The Indians hold this spirit so sacred that they are afraid if they had a name for it the spirit would be angry. No one has ever dared give it a name.
>
> Eagle and owl do not give a shaman power.[8] They are just messengers that bring instructions from the spirit of the night. Some doctors have water-babies for their messengers. They are called when the shaman doctors. They do not give him his power; they only carry messages from the spirit of the night. When the shaman is treating a patient he calls for the water-babies and they bring him instructions from the spirit.
>
> At the time that the spirit of the night gives power for doctoring, it tells the shaman to ask for help from the water-babies, eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear or some other bird or animal.
>
> When shamans get power it always comes from the night. They are told to doctor only at night. This power has nothing to do with the moon or stars. I knew one woman who used the sun, moon, and stars for her power. I saw her fill her pipe and just as the sun came up she puffed and started to smoke. I saw her do this several times. I watched her closely but she did not use matches. Her power lighted her pipe. [82]

A similar formulation of the spirit of the night as the source of power was made by Joe Green, also at Pyramid Lake.

> There are two nights. The second one comes behind the night that everybody sees. This second night is under the darkness. It tells the shaman where the pain is and what caused the sickness. When the second night comes it makes the shaman feel that he is a doctor. The power is in him to doctor. Only shamans can see this second night. The people can only see the darkness. They cannot see the night under it.

In other statements, Joe Green insisted that power came from the spirits of animals; and, as has been noted, his own power came from the otter. This view of the source of supernatural aid was

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[8] Other informants at Pyramid Lake claimed that Dick Mahwee received his powers from the ghost of a Pit River Indian, eagle, and crow. (See list of shamans and their powers given below.)

756 not held by lay informants at Pyramid Lake nor was it recognized
776 by members of any of the other Paviotso groups.

As has been suggested, personal interpretation may explain this deviant concept of supernatural power. It is clear that the views quoted harmonize at least in part with the basic pattern of individualized animal and other spirits giving supernatural aid, for here in one case we find these spirits acting as messengers; they are in immediate contact with the shamans, and in the other case power from animal and other spirits is specifically mentioned.

Spirits, then, are the sources of shamanistic powers. In theory, the number of these spirits or supernatural beings is unlimited. A list of shamans and their powers was compiled in the field and checked with several informants. Although there were discrepancies in the powers ascribed to some shamans—nor is it a complete list of present-day shamans—it will illustrate the actual sources of the powers of shamans living today.

Shaman	*Source of Power*
Dick Mahwee	Eagle, crow, and the ghost of a Pit River Indian.
Abraham Mahwee	A large spotted bird which lives on the lake (unidentified), and the ghosts of three Indians, the kind of people who live far away where nobody can see them.
George Calico	Lizard and two water-babies that live in the lake.
Frank Northop	The ghost of a Pit River Indian and horse.
Judy David	Eagle.
Jack Warwick	Two horses and the ghost of a man, the same kind of power that Abraham Mahwee has (see above).
Johnny Calico	Eagle and an unidentified bird.
Pete Toby	Horse and a horse-hair rope.
Eugene Frazier	Eagle and crow.
Hattie Whitehead	Water-babies and otter.
Mary Garvey	Crow and the big mountain fly.
Julia Robinson	Eagle.
Johnny Newman	Water-babies.
Blind Bob	Claims to have power from the magpie, but has never doctored.
Paiute Harrison	Antelope and eagle.
Mary Harrison	Eagle.
Jackson Overton	Bear.
Joe Green	Otter.
Tom Mitchell[4]	Eagle, weasel, small unidentified bird living in the mountains, and another spirit unknown to the informants.
Rosie Plummer	Rattlesnake.

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[4] This man is acknowledged as the most powerful shaman in recent years.

It appears that the spirit of the coyote was never a source of power, although Coyote is the most prominent character in Paviotso tales. 756 776 825 [773]

> Shamans never got power from Coyote. According to the old stories the Indians tell, Coyote always spoils everything. Coyote is bad. Sometimes he tries to get the soul of someone. He says, "I am going to get you and when you die, I will eat you." The coyote cannot be heard to say this, but when he has said it, it makes the victim sick. (Joe Green)
>
> Shamans do not get power from Coyote. Coyote causes sickness. Dogs are almost like Coyote. When a shaman doctors, dogs are kept away, otherwise he would not be successful in curing the sickness. (Rosie Plummer)

Fear of the wrath of water-babies and water-serpents noted in accounts above is not held for other spirits, save those of the elements, particularly the thunder. There seems to be no danger in ridiculing or showing lack of respect for the spirits of the animals and birds. 756 776

> The Indian doctors know the wind, clouds, and rain. A shaman talks to them. They are just like people, and they come. Anyone who makes fun of the thunder will be killed. One time a man at Schurz heard the thunder, and said, "That is nothing. I am going to fight that thunder." He went outside the house, and the thunder was heard overhead. He was hit by lightning and killed. (Tom Mitchell) 756 776 821

There is only one shaman who is reported to have had power from such a source. Wovoka, the prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance, is said to have had power from two clouds.

> One was a straight high cloud. This was for snow. The other cloud was dark and close to the ground. It was for rain. Wovoka could see a man's arm sticking out of the white cloud. One time the arm would be pointing north. Another time it would be pointing south, east, or west. (Joe Green)

This statement could not be verified, but there is evidence that the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement had power from several sources, including the wolf.

Another aspect of the supernatural spirits which are the source of shamanistic power is their invisibility to all but the shamans. Only the shaman can see the spirit or spirits from which he derives his power. Even when he invokes his supernatural aids at a doctoring, they are visible to him alone. Their presence is known to the others only through the shaman's account of his conversa- 756 776

756
776 tion with them. Supernatural spirits never appear to, nor are they ever heard by, anyone but those upon whom they bestow power.

ACQUIRING SHAMANISTIC POWER

756 Both men and women acquire and exercise shamanistic power. A shaman of either sex is a puhágəm. The power possessed by either a man or a woman is likewise known by a single term, puhá. The ratio of male to female shamans, as well as the proportion of practitioners to the total population, no doubt varied considerably from generation to generation. There are at present at Pyramid Lake, in a total population of nearly five hundred, eight shamans. Three of these are women. On the Walker River Reservation, where the population is about the same, there are seven shamans, five of them women, one of whom is a Shoshoni. In past generations, female shamans do not seem to have ever outnumbered the men.

756
162
562 In an attempt to arrive at some idea of the total number of shamans and the ratio of men to women practitioners, I asked informants to name all who could be remembered as possessing power for curing purposes. The results at best are only approximate, but some conception of the frequency with which men and women become shamans is suggested. At Walker River several people, after a lengthy discussion among themselves, were able to name twenty shamans who were living about 1900. Of these, five were women. Three of the men were said to have been much more powerful shamans than the others. No doubt the population was somewhat greater at that time than at present, but figures are not available. Joe Green was able to name nineteen shamans living at Pyramid Lake about forty years ago. Of this number, two were women. At that time the population on this reservation was nearly seven hundred.

All informants were certain that in former years the number of shamans was considerably greater than it is today. Consequently, these estimates may serve only as a clue to the proportion of shamans, perhaps in the order of twenty to seven hundred people, at the same time giving a rough idea of how many of the shamans were women. Obviously, these ratios must have shifted from decade to decade.

756 sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[7]

756 The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is
787 dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

756 Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children
858 were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green) [888]

756 Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

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[7] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*, 13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*. [776]

power may come at any time during life at the volition of the spir- 756
its or powers.

Power that comes unsolicited makes itself known through re- 756
peated dreams. The spirit which is the source of power appears re- 787
peatedly in these dreams to instruct the dreamer. 776

> A man dreams that a spirit of deer, eagle, or bear comes to him. The spirit tells him that he is to be a doctor. When a man first dreams this way he does not believe it. Then the dream comes again. He dreams this way for a long time. The spirit tells him to collect eagle feathers, wild tobacco, a stone pipe, a rattle, and other things. When he gets these things he becomes a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him. (Nick Downington)

The dreams, both in form and in content, conform to no rigidly fixed pattern. One person may see an animal or a ghost in his dreams; another may only hear the voice of the spirit which gives him his power. There seems, however, to be an emphasis on auditory experiences in dreams. Usually in the first dream, the prospective shaman only hears the spirit singing and talking. In later dreams the spirit is seen. This is not always the case, for some shamans had visual evidence of the presence of supernatural powers in their first, as well as in later, dream-experiences.

The instructions given the novice shaman in dreams are also 787
varied. One may be told to follow certain rules in eating or in other 756
daily habits; for another the details will be quite different. As was mentioned in the statements above, the dreamer is told also to collect certain objects to be used in doctoring. There is, then, a certain generalized type of dream through which power is acquired. Within this framework, the dreams of individuals are quite varied. Differences in instructions received by shamans in dreams are often given as the explanation of the variety of ways in which shamans doctor or perform their other functions. Several informants stated that no two shamans have precisely the same dreams. Consequently, there are numerous differences in detail in carrying out shamanistic practices. These differences are never ascribed to individual interpretation, but are attributed to the whims of shamans' spirits reflected in the instructions received from the supernatural helpers in dreams or at the curing performance. Moreover, individuals vary in the number of dreams that

755 instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient
painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These
prescriptions are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course
of the curing rites.

→ When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the
755 spectators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire.
535 The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round
dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with
the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten
or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire.
According to one description, at the end of the dance all must
shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is
believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the
● [776] house and these actions drive it away.

755 The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the
first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman
removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by
a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool
water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where
it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is
essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were
[825] to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness
and loss of power.

755 The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəp^{i}) and white (i·bi),
302 is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are
[388] secured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints
are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and
spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry
powder, and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted.
There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the
paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either
red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the
shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no
means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are
employed for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily
decoration with these paints is also common on social occasions.
Nevertheless, the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the
recovery of the sick.

787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.

756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

Antelope Shamans

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a
[622] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope. A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

[796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life, are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the
[776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice, but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

Wadátkuht

103 The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91,
361 and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[787] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more
[776] than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg° tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg°, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas [226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers [251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidū dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16 [412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said [231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that [417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadátkuht

also quite likely that the individual did not realize that he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to the sun at sunrise. To pray was nanishtuhai, and one had to pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the evening. 821 [626] [782]

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could still hear them if one was to go around that place. 775 [753]

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary babies except that they had long hair. 776 [756]

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father, Nunu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was Wadátkuht. 756 778

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

Wadátkuht

"carry out his orders", while he nuhpu, "doctors". 755

The doctor sucked several times then hummed, tunikihm, while all the other people sang his song loudly. When he stopped his singing to hum, the other people sang on. The humming indicated the approach of the spirit, nosihp. His nosihp talked to him while he hummed. His helper interpreted while he hummed. Meanwhile, the people continued to sing. [776]

The doctor sang different songs, very pretty songs with pretty words. He sang of the mountains, the sun, the moon, and of the springtime. It was a good sign if the patient broke into the doctor's song. [533]

The doctor eventually got up and danced; the women (and sometimes the men) got up and followed behind him. As they went around in a circle the interpreter got up and danced with them. "The dance was like a conga line." Everyone kept in step with the doctor's song. They circled to the left about three times around the patient while singing the doctor's song. The doctor began to stagger and spin in a circle, but before he dropped several men grabbed him and laid him down. [787] At this time he was stiff and unconscious, and while in this condition he spoke. He remained in this state for about one-half hour during which time everyone continued to sing his song. When he came out of his sleep the interpreter helped him sit up. He now talked about his dreams and how he argued with the devils and spirits for the patient's life, and sometimes he told the people that the patient was going to die.

As soon as the doctor awakened the people asked him such questions: Will the patient get well? What is bothering the sick person? The doctor gave instructions to the child's parents (or in the case of an adult patient, to some close relative) on the care of the patient. Usually the close relatives were to go to a spring and wash themselves and pray.

While the doctor was unconscious and the patient lying ill, everyone watched the eagle feather in the can. If it fluttered the patient would get well, if it drooped he would probably die. The feather usually took either course on the fourth night. [787]

Doctoring for a Rattlesnake Bite. The woman who doctored Joaquin when he was bitten by a rattlesnake was Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl", Tsudi's mother. The name of the plant whose 752 [278]

Wadátkuht

Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men. 832

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, sinup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^a nu^u maiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return. 224 789

Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands. 223 789

Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov[1], of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier. 539 776

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

Wadatkuht

539 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob
776 told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would
give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack
said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon.
It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or
vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater
than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai,
"magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they
meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her
sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy,
had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about
Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common
name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy
said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them
on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an
[756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that
petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to
[881] themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in
any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect
to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was
the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that
Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains"
and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the
same time and seem to have had an equal status within the
group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times",
and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them
to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They
[692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within
the band. The situation of having other people work for them
[177] as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

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the wind. Be sure to walk carefully. Watch the rocks where you step. Don't fall down or make a noise" (JB).

My father said, "You must watch the wind when you hunt so that the deer will not scent you. Track deer all day; then you will catch them easily. Get them early in the morning. Groundhog is the same way as deer. It is frightened if it scents you. But rabbits, ducks, and geese are not afraid; they do not smell" (CW).

A boy was not allowed to eat his first game, otherwise he would never become a successful hunter. When he had shot his first deer, or possibly antelope as an alternative, he was required to go through a set procedure, after which the food taboo was removed and good luck assured him. An account of this performance[17] follows:

A man told his son, "Do not eat the first deer you kill. Butcher it and hang it up. Then let me know. I will go with you to bring back the meat."

Once I killed a deer up above Lake City. My father came and asked me, "What kind of tree would you like? Service?" I said, "Yes, that is stout; maybe it will make me strong." Then we cut green service to make a ring. I pulled over the stem and my father cut it, saying "I cut you." Then he sliced thin meat from inside the ribs and twisted it around that service ring.

Then my father told me, "Take off your shirt, your moccasins. Take the beads from your neck." I took off my clothes. My father said "Step in this ring. Do it carefully; be sure not to touch it." I did that, and he lifted the ring up over my head and then let it down, and I stepped out. Then he put it over my head and pulled it down. I stood still. "Step over," he said. Every time my father did this he called all kinds of game—geese, swan, mountain sheep, bear, elk, and otter.

This is called natsa'tibi'aiu,[18] and afterwards a person will always be lucky. My father said, "You can eat this meat tomorrow." I wanted some that day, but I waited (JB).

The account given by Piudy was in substantial agreement with the foregoing but differed slightly in detail. A willow was used in lieu of service, and the meat was strewn on the ground and the youth required to step over it. At the conclusion of the performance, the boy was allowed to eat any part of the animal he wished. Although he had previously killed small game, such as rabbits, he had not been allowed to eat them.

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Success in hunting was a matter of luck and skill, but the former was not attributed to any particular factor. Continence, which seems to be a widespread requisite, was reported by one informant[19] but denied by others.[20] According to Piudy:

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[17] Cf. Hopkins, 50.

[18] I am not sure if this term applies to the whole performance, or to the ring, or to both. It is probably the first, as Piudy said, "It is the same way they call skinning an animal," a neat case of imitative magic.

[19] DB.

[20] NO, JB, P.

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777

I'm a deer hunter and I don't know any way to bring luck. Sometimes people dreamed of killing game and it brought good luck. I was a good hunter long ago when my eyes were strong, but I never had such a dream.

Charms were not ordinarily carried, but according to Daisy, "Sometimes they cut little things (fetlocks) from the legs of deer and carry them along. The deer can smell them a long way off and they come." In the old days a deer hunter took a sweat bath and prayed to the sun at dawn.[21] Nowadays persons who have hunted several days without success sometimes resort to the sweat-lodge.

ANIMAL FOODS

Deer (dūhū'te) and antelope (dū'na') were the two chief larger game animals. One informant had heard of buffalo (pagu'ts^{a}),[22] which he said were hunted on the other side of Eagleville. All informants knew of mountain sheep (koip^{a}), although none had ever seen one. They were not found in Surprise but occurred beyond Plush as well as this side of Gerlach, Nevada. The hunter sighted his quarry and attempted to sneak close enough to shoot. He occasionally wore an antelope disguise, but this seems not to have been usual. 224

Deer.—Deer were hunted the year round. They were sometimes stalked, but this method was used principally in the north, around Adel and Plush, and but rarely in Surprise. The hunter wore an antelope head with ears and horns attached, but no body disguise.

One or two men might organize a deer hunt and on the following day the party would go forth, eight or ten strong. When five or six animals were located in the brush, two men would go in and frighten them, the others shooting as the deer ran past. The two or three brought down were skinned and butchered on the spot. The hide went to the one whose arrow had killed the deer; the head and back sinews went to the "boss"; the meat was divided evenly. It was cut with a six-inch obsidian knife which was carried about the waist in the same sack with fire sticks.

Deer were never taken in nets but were sometimes captured in pitfalls.[23] A hole, five or six feet in width and the same in depth,

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[21] This point is of some interest as Dr. Lowie tells me that the Washo claim to use the sweat-lodge only in connection with deer hunting. Among the Wishram (Spier and Sapir, 180) men sweated preliminary to a hunt. The Navaho myth of the Mountain Chant (Matthews, 389–390) associates sweating with success in the chase.

[22] From pa, water. These Paiute have the belief that the buffalo comes from the water.

[23] The Achomawi are said to employ this technique.

765 [587] badly might wait five or six months, but some waited only a week. A woman returned to her relatives upon the death of her husband; if the latter had a brother she usually married him. The sororate was in vogue, although the woman's family was under no obligation to provide the man with another wife.

597 Orphaned children were not the charge of any special relative; "somebody always took care of them." Minnie Anderson was an orphan; she was taken by an aunt who kept her for some time, then put her in the keeping of another aunt. Nellie Townsend cared for her brother's orphaned child until a childless cousin of Nellie's mother asked to have her.

GAMES AND PASTIMES

524 525 The Gidü'tikad^a had the usual assortment of games, and although they seem to have indulged in a whole-hearted manner, they did not develop in this connection a complex system of precautions or luck-bringing devices. Only for the hand game was there any way of acquiring luck. Gaming bones were kept at home. A gambler did not fast, nor did he paint his face. Finding of blades was not auspicious.[212]

777 ● Two charms were thought to bring luck in the hand game. One was the horned toad (izipama'kaza'a), and the other, a shiny bluish-black insect "like a fly only about an inch long" called paba'-muhi'bi (big-fly). "You find this fly alive; if you want to play the hand game, that fly knows and comes to you. Maybe it lights on your shoulder" (NH). Because fraught with danger, these charms were seldom used:

> If one uses those charms while playing with a sickly person, that person might die. Both charms are dangerous; they are bad, at the same time they are good (NH).

526 *Football.*—Football (watsi'mu) was played in spring and summer by men, five to eight on a side. They wore only the breechclout and possibly light moccasins. Two goals (tubi'hi), each consisting of two willows four to five feet apart and bent together arch-like at the top, were set at the far ends of the field. The center of the course was determined by counting paces from the goals, and a slight depression made there. The ball (watsi'mu), about the size of a man's fist, was of deer hide, stuffed with deer hair or sagebrush bark. The ball was placed (not buried) in the central depression and two opposing players

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[212] As among the Klamath, Spier, 76.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

N
226 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens
227 Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. K1, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N
262 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were
825 starving.

A
297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it
[262] also had a special prognostic property. If a
sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit
A
it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not
[787] make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being
ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü´iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N
297k. Kl: Wood-rat skin was used to charm
[832] girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then
thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere
with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N
[501 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.
● 777 297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm
(medicine) for gambling and love.
832] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the
N
tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley
[136] before improved methods of hunting introduced by
white people caused its extinction. Kl: Elk
known to have existed in California, but seldom,
if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297x. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu´ts^{u}) hunted near Eaglsville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W
298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people
[26] were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 4-26(A)]

Achomawi N55

N
881 time to dance 5 nights." These dances are still held by Achomawi.

A 2306. Ki: + (Kelly, 162).

[881 2307. Wa: Confined 4 days.

535] 2309. Kü: Annie Lowry told me a special men-
583 strual hut was always known by Paiute, but she
N told Lowie "that even in her mother's day seclu-
sion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among
[343] her people" (Lowie, 273). Tg: Even today, nearly
all houses on Owyhee Reservation have special
"moon house" in rear.

2321. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2322. Wa: + (Curtis, 96).

2328, 2330. Kü: - (GN).

2330a. K2: At first menstruation girl is called "moon runner," because she has to run in a large circle, stopping 5 times to make a bed of young sagebrush. She lies on each a moment, then runs and makes new bed. "Moon runner" is accompanied by other adult girls and is followed by an old woman who carries a basket jug of water with which she bathes the girl at the end of the course. At the finish place a fire has been built by anyone. Here the old woman bathes girl and steams her as she stands over a smudge from green sagebrush. Hot rocks are mixed among the smoking sage so that steam rises when water is poured on. The girl standing straddle of the smudge and rock is bathed in steam. This ceremony takes place at dusk of first day of menstrual flow. At: Girl pulls 6 sagebrush and puts them on other brush before she takes wood home. Wa: Special dance held at first and second menses. Everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During 4-day confinement girl eats nothing. AE: See note 2304.

2331. Paviotso: Girl secluded 25 days, but had to pile 5 piles of wood daily (Hopkins, 48).

2332, 2339. Kü: - (AL).

2340. Kü: - (GN).

2341a. Paviotso: Girl took bath at end of each 5 days of her first menstrual seclusion of 25 days (Hopkins, 48).

2342. Paviotso: Sweatbath taken to cleanse self after 5 days (Lowie, 273).

2345. Ki: + (Kelly, 162): or clothes were traded. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2348, 2351. Kü: - (GN).

N 2354. Ki: + (Kelly, 163): but on page 164
841 she reports that woman did not have to retire
[343] to special hut if red ring was painted on wrist
or circle of red paint made in house; she also
mentioned that this practice of seclusion has
fallen into disuse.

A 2366. AE: If intercourse indulged in during
[881 menses, man will become impotent at early age.

842] 2371, 2377, 2378. Kü: - (GN).

2372a. K2: If a woman and her husband wish
to gamble during her menstruation, they paint
N a red circle around each wrist. Some think it a
777 luck time.

[p.442(B)]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

A [764] 2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt.

N [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Kl: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N ● [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283).

N 784 2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Kl: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p.443 (A)]

Achomawi NSS

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [34] 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 N [525 ● 777] N 782 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DV described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. K1: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. K1: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-mûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (D)]

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman. A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hü!" The sick man was getting [755]
worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise [775]
you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777]
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a
pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777]
through anything. That makes him lucky.

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753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his
[787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.
781] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild
[164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind and his daughter is blind.

753 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience
755 with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred
[756] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry
[777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

Wadátkuht

224 a baby rabbit in distress and caused grown rabbits to investigate the trouble.

Deer were hunted wherever they could be found but the informants named a number of specific places where deer were
[103] hunted. Those places named were Observation Peak (Toka kudzu'ni'), Cold Springs (Saib), McDonald Peak (Tunaí katud), the spring at the Shinn ranch (Saga patsóna), a section of Madeline Plains, at the High Rock ranch (Pagúshuhad), and at Hot Springs Mountain (Tusí katu').

The favored times for hunting deer were during the fall and the winter. One method of taking deer was by means of a fire surround (kopida) in which the hunters would contract their circle to bunch the deer for slaughter. Another method was for the hunter to strike antlers together (pusa' inya') to attract bucks who tended to be curious of the sound. Deer were also attracted to the hunter by cried like a fawn in trouble. The hunter made these similated cries of distress with his voice, not merely with his lips.

In butchering a deer the legs were cut from the body at the joints after the animal had been skinned. The informants did not say whether the deer was hung up for skinning and butchering, or whether it was left upon the ground. In any case the lower leg bones and hooves were left with the hide. The head was skinned out and the skin of the head not detached
[777] from the remainder of the hide. The back strap was stripped from the back of the carcass, and to avoid bad luck, care was taken not to cut it. After the back strap was taken off the sinew was removed and then the vertebral column could be cut,
[262] but not before the sinew was removed. The vertebrae were eventually torn apart and "eaten", presumably after being roasted.

[192] Skinning the carcass was called túsik^{ya}, and was done with a knife called numutusikyan ("people skinner"). To
[412] break a bone that had been roasted on hot coals to remove the marrow was tuhuk^{a}. The soft loin was taken out separately
[262] and given to the children to eat, and the remaining better meat was made into jerky. Ribs with meat attached were hung
[251] to dry to be boiled in the winter. The ribs were gnawed clean
[237] and then used, if so desired, as knives for scraping hair from hides. To gnaw meat from bones was called kutsí'wi',
[192] from the word si'wi', to gnaw. It was common practice of the Wadátkuht to gnaw all bones to get as much from them as possible.
[264]

usually he has a song, in which event he does not carry the token. 756
Every shaman dreams his own songs. They are his exclusively and 787
are not sung by another.

Piudy thought that a dying shaman did not will his spirits or [778]
paraphernalia. The latter were destroyed upon his death; sometimes
they were burned, sometimes buried with him. Joshua thought that [424]
a shaman might will his power to his son, or daughter, or to his wife,
but he thought that they had to dream too. In other words, the
transfer was not automatic. According to Joshua, "Charlie Washo's
father was a doctor. When he died he left his things to his wife. She
was nearly able to doctor when her husband died." Dr. Sam stated,
"Four old doctors who were childless taught me. They taught me
when I was a little bit of a fellow. I dreamed of things and they
helped me cure people." This suggests that a shaman might teach
his son. Billy Peanuts, whom, by the way, some do not regard as a
full-fledged shaman, is assisted by his son.

A doctor's equipment consisted of beads, eagle feathers, a stone 756
pipe, and a deer-hoof rattle. These were carried in a sack about the
waist, nowadays in a suitcase. The beads were used "to see how the 778
pain worked." Piudy thought that "eagle feathers were not always
used in doctoring. We learned to use them from the people north,
farther north than the Bannock." Two kinds of eagle feathers were
used: a long tail feather and down from beneath the wing. The latter
might be all white. Joshua said that eagle feathers were split and
twisted about a thong so as not to break. They were not dyed. Sometimes
the patient held the feathers; sometimes they were placed over
the afflicted part. Before a doctor sang, he filled his stone pipe with
tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') in order "to help his body." He removed
his moccasins before smoking lest someone think him afraid of flying
sparks from the fireplace.[230] The deer-hoof rattle was used only by
shamans, each of whom made his own. Its particular function in
healing is not clear, but it "helped."

It is of some interest that the usual correlation of the tambourine [534]
with shamanism does not hold for the Gidụ̄'tikad^{a}. This rather argues
for the late introduction of the drum and seems to bear out Piudy's
statement that the drum "came from the north and northeast when
the white people came."

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[230] Cf. Lowie, NS, 214 and SE, 215. Apparently the Cochiti practitioner removes his "shoes" before smoking, Curtis, 16:94. Miss Cora Du Bois tells me that the Wintu adhere to the same custom.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Te	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Af
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Chiefs (vokenavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2152. Chief's assistant	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (naveinadimi)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamuvoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2160. For hunting generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2161. For pine-nut trip	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2162. Village chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2167. Band owned fishing streams	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2169. Family owned seed plots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•−	•+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
2177. Captives	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2180. Domed willow house	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	+	•+	+	•+	+	•−	•−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•−
2181a. 30 ("month")	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2182. Ground warmed	−	−	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	−
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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[p.407]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 721 173 raided them and drove them out of the country (GN). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave (LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley. This explains why so many arrow and spear points have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The war against Sai is only one about which DW knew. "The Sai were from around Klamath River and raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands aided in battle. This happened three generations ago." W [721] Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger" was remembered by LR. One person was killed. Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe) only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War. The Indians showed generals how it could be done. They formed a circle around German trenches (JM). Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The Tagö had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Paiute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was A [721 173] generations ago, the other was in historic time and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit River Indians, WD's grandfather went around and killed all the girls who had been taken captive to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble at home. There were many people killed, "maybe 4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N 778 852 753 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered, mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin, the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm. It is dangerous to possess such a charm because it might enter one's body through a sore or something and kill owner. It causes sickness like blood poisoning. Tö: A mole charm is dan- N [755] gerous medicine. One made an Indian boy sick a little while ago, and he would have died if the Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was painted and father was forced to throw away his mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to be very dangerous.

N 844 [115] 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement 5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

[p. 441 (A)]

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack 756
of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the 182
old confidence in their powers.

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person 756
of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman 787
may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves.

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

> A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the [778] ●
eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer, badger, or coyote skin.

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sick- [753]
ness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the dreams.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish 756
to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when 755
a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do 787
as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 778

756 parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured.
755 If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people,
787 but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a
776 person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an
odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things
from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses
[953] his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

756
787 Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related the following dream.

> [755] I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness. I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

[776] In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies." They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

[953] When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of sickness.

756 424 **Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about it so.I am not a shaman."**

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

> [775] [787] **If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then her power tells her to be a shaman.**

756 787 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the parent is still alive.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

[778] *Power quest.*—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 787 The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

> 159 [778] There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this mountain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams. I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

The patient is always laid with

his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snake- [823]
bite.

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his
kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions
that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the
interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise. "It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipu-
lated by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman
sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing, and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter, what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The
shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

756 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of
114 the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2]
787 Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise
Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturi-
[191] ty, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers
from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary
755 in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only
191 mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor,
while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently
played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corrobo-
787 rated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise
Valley Paiute.[7]

756 The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back
the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is
[955] confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley
are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in
[224] detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley
Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used
● [778] in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco,
beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that
[191] employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens
Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*.; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagno-
[755] sis. Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter
again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on
him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sick-
[776] ness one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have
seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to
Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she
worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own
power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew
thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an
unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a
result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times
because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were
forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a
result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and
when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of
the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to
Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[2] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had [761]
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally
broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[3] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made
Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by
sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well
which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to
capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the day-
time or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[2] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[3] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

756 The first few dreams in which supernatural spirits appear can be
787 safely disregarded. But shortly, if the instructions received in the dream are not followed, it is necessary to call a shaman to doctor the patient. In the course of curing, the shaman tells the patient to do as he had been told in his dreams. Then, if the summons is obeyed, recovery is assured. Usually a person is reluctant to become a shaman, and assumes his powers and follows the spirit's bidding only when he is told by other shamans that otherwise death will result. Likewise throughout the rest of the shaman's life he must follow carefully all the instructions given him by his supernatural power. If any part of shamanistic paraphernalia
788 which has been collected at the behest of the shaman's spirit is lost or destroyed, the shaman not only loses his power, but, as has been noted, sickness also results. Death may also follow any other very serious breaches of the injunctions placed on the shaman by the spirits.

In addition to those who receive shamanistic power from involuntary dreams, there are individuals whose desire for power is sufficiently strong to cause them to undertake a voluntary quest. There are certain places, such as caves in the mountains, where power can be acquired.[8] Eight or ten such places are known today, and perhaps formerly there were still others which are now forgotten.

In some of these places, only power for certain undertakings can be sought; in others several kinds of spirit aid can be gained. The tests that are imposed upon the seeker differ also according to the place where the power is sought.

756
787
● 778

> Power is sought on a mountain near Wabusca. This power protects a man against bullets. It makes him a great warrior. When a man gets power at this place he must run down the side of the mountain without breathing. If he does not do this the power will not help him. This place is not like the other places where power is acquired. Here the noises of all the animals are not heard the way they are in the caves. Only power to be a warrior comes from this mountain. This place is called tágwan'. A long time ago men got power there. No one goes there nowadays.
>
> There is another place near Fallon where power is sought. The power

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[8] Lowie recorded that, "... in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision." *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294.

> to be a doctor can be acquired on this mountain. Big rocks roll down 756
> when a person goes there to seek power. If one steps out of the way of 787
> these rolling rocks, the power will not come. The rocks come within a 778
> couple of feet of the person who is seeking power and then disappear. That is the way the spirits test people who go there to get power. The mountain is called wayíkudagwa'. (Rosie Plummer)

There are no preparations for the power-quest. The man who 756
seeks a vision does not fast either before he undertakes the quest 787
or during his stay in the cave. Nor is the quest for power accompanied by self-torture or extended physical exertion.

Late in the afternoon, the man who seeks power goes to a cave where, he has heard, it is possible to acquire power. Food for a midnight and a morning meal may be taken along. Upon entering the cave, the aspirant for supernatural power asks for the particular kind of power that he desires. He then makes simple preparations for spending the night there. Power comes simply as a result of the aspirant's request and his concentration on the desire for power. One of the informants, Dick Mahwee, who sought and received his power in a cave, gave an account of his experiences.[9] His version will serve as a fairly representative statement of this manner of acquiring power.

756

> When I was a young man I had dreams in which I doctored people. 787
> I did not take those dreams seriously. My uncle was an Indian doctor. 159
> He knew what was coming to me. He told me to be careful in talking, not to speak harshly [in order not to offend the supernatural spirits]. I did not become a doctor from these dreams. Finally, I decided to go to the cave near Dayton. I was about fifty then. My uncle did not tell me to go there. I just decided to do this myself.
>
> I went into the cave in the evening. As soon as I got inside, I prayed and asked for power to doctor sickness. I said, "My people are sick. I want to save them. I want to keep them well. You can help me make them well. I want you to help me to save them. When they have died give me power to bring them back [return the lost soul]." I said this to the spirit in the cave. It is not a person. It comes along with the darkness. This is a prayer to the night.
>
> Then I tried to go to sleep. It was hard to sleep there. I heard all kinds of noises. I could hear all the animals. There were bears, mountain lions, deer, and other animals. They were all in caves in the moun-

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[9] It may be of interest to note that he related his experiences in detail each summer during the three seasons in the field. These accounts recorded a year apart agreed in all details.

> 756 787 The eldest son does not always get the power. There is no rule, because the power always decides who is to be a shaman. Several doctors here [Pyramid Lake] inherited their powers. One woman has her father's power. She is as strong a doctor as he was. (Dick Mahwee)
>
> In the old days, a shaman before his death did not give away his power. A son or daughter got the power after the shaman died. A few years ago a woman at Walker Lake gave her power to her daughter before she died. I do not think this was done in the old days. (Rosie Plummer)
>
> My father had power from the otter. After he died, I dreamed about the otter and his songs. I never saw my father in my dreams. He did not decide that I would get his power. The otter decided that. Sometimes a shaman can tell before his death which child will inherit the power. One child will talk in his sleep and try to sing. The songs are not plain enough to be understood. Then the doctor knows that the child will have his power after he dies.
>
> When my father was dying, he wanted to give me his doctoring outfit. But I knew about the danger and I did not take it. I knew it would make me sick. If I had taken his outfit he would have wanted his rattle and eagle-feather with him. He [his ghost] would come back to get these things. Then I would have got sick and died. (Joe Green)

Cases of shamanistic power being transmitted to a child while the parent is still alive are also known. In this event, both parent and child are regarded as practising shamans.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father who is a doctor. Both can doctor at the same time. The father will tell the son how to doctor. When a boy starts going into trances, his father knows that some day his son will be a doctor. A woman can inherit power the same way. (Annie Dick)

One informant, Rosie Plummer, inherited her power from her father. He in turn had been the heir to his brother's power. Her account gives the typical beliefs for this way of acquiring shamanistic power.

> 756 787 159 When my uncle was dying, he told my father to take his power. He wanted my father to have the power to doctor. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions for doctoring that way. The next day my uncle died. Soon after that my father began to have dreams. My uncle would appear in these dreams. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father did not like the dreams. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away [so he would die]. My uncle, before he died, had given my father a little ● [778] piece of lead with a hole in the center. The hole was filled with eagle

> down. My father buried the lead and the eagle down. Then his brother's 756
> ghost did not bother him again. That lead and the feathers represented 787
> my uncle's power. After that my father became a powerful shaman. 778
> His power told him to catch rattlesnakes. They did not bite him. He 159
> was told to put sage-brush in his nostrils so the snakes would not hurt him.
>
> Rattlesnake was my uncle's power; then my father had rattlesnake 756
> for his power. Now the snake gives me power. Rattlesnake came to 787
> my father in dreams. That is how he learned to treat snake-bites. 825
> Rattlesnake told him to catch rattlesnakes and take two fangs from 159
> each. He was to do this until he had ten fangs. Then he was told to take ten stone beads that were colored like rattlesnake eyes. He strung the beads and the fangs together. He used this string of beads to treat rattlesnake bites. He could also cure people who were sick.
>
> Sometimes my father caught rattlesnakes and put them around his waist. He used to ride home carrying rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me. He told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me, but it did not bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.
>
> My father died about twenty years ago. Nearly fifteen years later, when I was about fifty, my father began to come to me in dreams. He brought his power to me. He told me to doctor. I dreamed about him three or four times before I believed that I would doctor. After a while the power started to come to me when I dreamed. Then I stopped dreaming about my father. The rattlesnake told me what to do. The snake helps me doctor now. It comes to me when I dream. Several times it has told me to catch snakes, but I have not done it. This has not yet made me sick.

It is difficult to state what proportion of shamans at any one 756
time have inherited powers. Nearly everyone has or had either close or distant kin with shamanistic power. There seems to be a general feeling that at least one child of a shaman will inherit powers. On the other hand, there is good evidence that in many cases a shaman's powers are lost at death. It also seems evident that inheritance here is but a variation on the theme of acquiring power through dream-experience.

Related to the practice of transferring power before death to the son or daughter is the idea that it can be shared with another. However, when a shaman gives his power to some member of his family, usually that person has already been set apart from others as having a predisposition to acquire power. This is exhibited early in life by dreams and by talking while asleep. Transfer in this

Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman 756
suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not 688
only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

Paraphernalia

The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indi- 756
cation of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip 778
himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird, stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[10]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámakɔ^{swai}odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another. The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it [178]
is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer 756
hooflet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The 778
534

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[10] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

756 second type is made by scraping the skin clean of hair, soaking it
778 in water, and sewing together the edges. Sand is packed inside,
534 and the skin is allowed to dry until it is hard and stiff. Then the sand is removed and a handle of greasewood or willow about eight inches long is put through holes made in the center of the two pieces of skin. The handle projects an inch or a little less on one side of the rattle. It is fastened in place firmly with sinew. Small pebbles, usually gathered on an ant-hill, are put into the drum, and the opening is closed. Nowadays, circular pieces of deerskin frequently take the place of the skin from the ears. A variation in this rattle is produced by fastening two containers of pebbles together at one end of the handle, making a double-headed rattle.

The other type, the deer-claw rattle, is similar to the rattle used in girls' adolescence rites by a number of tribes in northern California. Anywhere from fifteen or twenty to fifty or even more deer-claws are used, depending upon the number available. A hole is made in the tip of each hooflet and a short piece of buckskin thong knotted at one end is put through the hole from the inside. The hooflet is then fastened by the thong to a willow or greasewood handle. The knot inside the hooflet prevents the buckskin from pulling through the hole. The claws dangle in a bunch an inch or two from the handle, which is usually eight or ten inches long.

Both types of rattles are known as wisábaya. The choice of the type of rattle to be used by each shaman is dictated by his power.

756 The tail-feather contained in the shaman's paraphernalia has a
778 piece of buckskin thong about ten inches long tied to the quill. Down is also fastened to the thong and one or two beads of bone, shell or stone are strung on it close to the feathers. When the shaman doctors, the tail-feathers, together with the down and the beads, are fastened by the buckskin to a dressed willow stick three or four feet long. The pointed end of this stick (puhátumadápuipi) is placed in the ground beside the patient's head. The stick may be painted with red or white bands. The design of the painting is revealed to the shaman by his power. A fresh stick is used each time a shaman cures. The particular kind of feathers used by the shaman does not indicate his source of power. A shaman might have power from an animal and keep an eagle-feather in his outfit. In

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from 756
any other bird. 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

/ The shaman's pipe (tɔ́ɩc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden 756
stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of 778
the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, 276
few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for [178]
social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ́ɩc).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order
to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence [841]
of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions. /

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in 756
their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as 778
bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of 534
eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

756 struments are used by some shamans at the beginning of the
778 curing performance in order to call the powers. They are little used
534 today, however, and it is doubtful that they were formerly commonly included with the paraphernalia. It was reported that a shaman uses a whistle only if told to do so by his power. When the whistle is not in use, it is stuffed with feathers.

756 A bone or wooden tube six to twelve inches in length, used in
778 sucking out the disease, might also be included in the outfit if required by a shaman's spirit. When not in use, such a tube is filled with feathers. Commonly the shaman sucks the cause of disease
[755] from the patient by applying his mouth to the part of the body where, according to the diagnosis, the pain is localized. Some shamans, however, suck the disease from the patient through these tubes.

Paraphernalia in excess of the common standard equipment does not give a shaman stronger or even special powers. Nevertheless, unique or unusual additions are not looked upon as nonessential elaborations of the shaman's equipment. Everything in the kit is important and has a meaning, for if only a single feather is missing, the shaman faces sickness and supernatural impotence. All paraphernalia must be carefully preserved and used only in accordance with the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. When power is secured from several sources, say from several species of birds and animals, each spirit is represented in the shaman's paraphernalia. If part of the outfit is lost or disposed of, the particular power thus offended will cause the shaman to be sick, but he will be deprived of only that part of his power bestowed by the outraged spirit. The shaman may not lose all of his powers through the anger of a single spirit. It is reported that Abraham Mahwee, a shaman at Pyramid Lake, formerly had power from the bear in addition to the powers ascribed to him today. Grieving over the death of his wife a number of years ago, he threw away that part of his paraphernalia which had been collected at the command of the bear. Soon after, he became seriously ill and had to call in another shaman to doctor him. Since his recovery, he has not been able to get the bear to help him in doctoring, although he has not lost the powers given him by other spirits.

N

276 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar
755 smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled
*795 with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in
N nearly all peyote ceremonies.

W Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used cere-
782 monially by a congregation of believers.

N
W

The Peyote Ceremony

*795 Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house
796 which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance;
[346] then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and pro-
[782] ceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[778] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared
[276] cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

W

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[8]

N The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-
101 Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[9] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few
563 Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute
*795 have embraced the peyote religion.

N

FIELD METHODS

W Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture
114 of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances
000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[8] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[9] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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[783]
[778]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	Mo C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	−		(−)		•−		•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		−	•+	−		+	+	+		−	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•−	(−)	+	•−	•−	−	•−	+	•+	−	+	+	+	•−
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	•−
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(−)		−		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+		−	+	−		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	(+)		−		+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	(−)	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•−	•+	+	−	−	

Wadátkuht

also quite likely that the individual did not realize that 821
he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to
become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends [626]
and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to
the sun at sunrise. To pray was naníshtuhai, and one had to [782]
pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the
evening.

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost 775
of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take
his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the [753]
story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht
camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking
sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid
that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp
had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could
still hear them if one was to go around that place.

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with 776
certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. [756]
Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary
babies except that they had long hair.

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north 756
of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there
was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain 778
was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was
a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father,
Nunu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in
order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to
keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter
of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was
Wadátkuht.

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

Wadatkuht

obtain power, or whether they had a place nearer home. 756 778

At Nabogin men slept on top of the rimrock but "if you have a weak heart you will wake up thinking the rock is falling into the water below. If you have a strong heart you never wake, you have good dreams, get something, that's what they claim".

Ike's father began to be a doctor at Nabogin and later he had to learn doctoring songs. "He could cure smallfox (smallpox) pretty easy. He knew about many diseases but couldn't cure them. He lost his flint rock (an ovoid chipped stone knife) and lost his doctoring power". He kept smallpox away from his camp, according to Ike. [533]

Another place where power could be obtained was at a mountain located about three or four miles out of Dayton, Nevada, on the way to Fort Churchill. This mountain was called Muhan°, "Moon Turn". Located in this rocky peak was a cave in which young (?) men stayed overnight to try to get doctoring power. If the person did not become afraid and leave he could get power from his night's stay. In the morning as the man left the cave his power was put to a test when a boulder came crashing down from above. If the man had found power from his overnight stay he could avoid being crushed by the boulder.

Again it was not specifically stated whether any Wadátkuht men took advantage of this cave to obtain power. However, it seems likely that the pattern of obtaining power was one that the Wadátkuht men would follow. It is possible that Tommy Tucker Cave, Numuota, was used as such a place. At least the cave was not used for ordinary domiciliary purposes (cf., Riddell, 1956).

In 1953 a young woman (from Nixon?) was being bothered by dreams and was being called to go to Muhan° to obtain songs and power. She tried to fight it off because she did not want to become a doctor, but she would have to give in, especially if she became ill. Apparently women as well as men got doctoring power from visiting these lonely places and remaining all night for dreams and instruction. Additional data given in a following section tend to corroborate this.

Types of Shamans. The Wadátkuht name three types of shamans: 1) Numuhgunuhd, 2) Mutaigut, and 3) Muhpud. The 756

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BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt. A [764]

N [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Ki: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283). N 784

2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97). W [769]

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Ki: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p 443 (A)]

Washo , NT20
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N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of nonacceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [756] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

N 756 2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

2495. Kü: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). Tö: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Kü: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

Curing Performances

N 755 2505. Tö: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Kü: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Ki: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. AE: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [755] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Tö: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 756 254[illegible]. To: - (LP).

2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

[p. 443 (B)]

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756
people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787
through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159
see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots
of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked
to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and
then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and
forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick.
A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman.
A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around
the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting [755]
worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to
weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all
the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a
shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell
you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to
guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise [775]
you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it
and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when
this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what
to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781
to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787
any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777]
bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises.
To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning
means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224
arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787
He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep
in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what
to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He
has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him
a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 535
gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787
sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a
pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777]
through anything. That makes him lucky.

776 the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he 756 did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also 787 said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to follow.

756 Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above 787 theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and tech- [869] niques. The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting. [755] Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however, began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm. 781 She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream 787 and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned [755] Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill. From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

756 A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community 787 is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick, the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret them in terms of power.

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that
she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpeted in terms of her
power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the
age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember
a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [754]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully
left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly
there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When
I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her
personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising
that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid
of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual
permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day,
two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out
with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and
swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit
helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the
dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and
punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began
to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream
which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream
only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When
an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

755
753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his
[787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.
788] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that
probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his
devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild
[164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his
blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind
and his daughter is blind.

753 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience
755 with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power
at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I
met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry
worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred
[756] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by
having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he
was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry
[777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he
went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south
of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood,
is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its possessor 756
employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punishment. 578
For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having
made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

The shamanistic performance is probably best looked upon as 755
a blend of the social and the religious. All who attend participate, [533]
at least in a small way, by singing, which is thought to be a powerful aid in establishing contact through the shaman with the supernatural forces. This in turn assists the shaman in gaining control over malignant forces. When Paviotso shamanism was in full swing, these performances, held in a small closely packed house, must have been exciting and impressive. The singing and the shaman's tricks appear to have excited the spectators to a high emotional pitch which was followed by a relaxation of tension attended often by a general feeling of satisfaction when control of the sickness was demonstrated by the return of the soul or the extraction of a disease-object. The social aspect of these gatherings was and is today an important motive for attending. There were occasions during the night for talk and gossip, an opportunity never spurned by the Paviotso. The food provided by the patient's family at midnight also held a strong social appeal, for the religious tensions were largely relaxed for the moment. Finally, in the absence of other important religious ceremonies, these rites were charged with more feeling and emotion [781]
than any other type of community gathering.

At the present time, there is little specialization among shamans. 756
In aboriginal times, however, certain types of disorders were 463
treated by shamans known for their ability along special lines. Shamans with power from the rattlesnake were believed to have the greatest power for treating people bitten by that snake. Again, only shamans who derived power from water-babies could treat sickness caused by these beings. Shamans who secured their powers from ghosts specialized in curing those whose illness resulted from experiences with the souls of the dead. Still other forms of specialization in curing seem to depend on the strength of the shaman's power rather than upon its source. Some powerful shamans are believed to be especially efficacious in curing the ill-effects of dreams; others are famous for success in doctoring wounds. On the Pyramid Lake Reservation at the present time, one shaman is well known for assisting women in cases of difficult labor, not because of any particular kind of power, but because of a number of successful cures. As with this man, the renown of shamans as specialists is based entirely on success in treating

Stones were heated near-by and placed to one side in the lodge, "otherwise there would not be enough room for two persons." Before water was applied, the rocks were allowed to stand a few minutes, lest the inmates be scalded. If the heat of the steam became unbearable, a little cold water was put on the head, or else the head was poked out beneath the lodge covering for a moment's respite. One informant said that young sagebrush was broken and that the sweaters dipped it in water and whipped themselves with it. 343 515

Cold water following the sweat bath was optional:

> Old men who like it, jumped in the cold water. You might catch pneumonia. Too much steam made you weak.

Sweating was principally by men, although a few women are said to have sweated occasionally. "Sometimes a woman would go in with her husband, but not often. Perhaps three or four women would go together. Young girls never sweated." At the present time sweating as an active institution is indulged in by a few of the older men. I found no evidence for de Angulo's assertion[265] that "even now the custom is not well established and that some of the older men frown upon it." In fact, nowadays sweating seems to have rather strong religious associations which quite outweigh the medicinal or purely social functions, although these two factors do figure.

> In the old days they sweated whenever they felt like it and before they went hunting. It made the body strong. Some say they went there to cure, but I do not think so.[266]

Mourners occasionally sweated, but this custom seems to have been neither general nor well established. [765]

When sweating, a person prays to the sun, composing his prayer to suit his needs. He usually asks for health and for success in the chase. A prayer is said to be somewhat as follows: [782] ●

> My father, the Sun, help me a little. Make me strong. Give me deer meat. Help me kill deer and antelope.

If a person is not in good health he prays thus to the sun:

> I like this country. Make me well; make me strong. I do not want to be sick.

I do not know if an address of this sort is repeated indefinitely or if a person has a whole series of such prayers. I happened within ear-shot of a sweat-house which was in use and the praying was continuous, in a monotone that almost approached a chant.

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[265] P. 318.

[266] "Sweating is good for rheumatism and things like that" (P). And also p. 198.

000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343 515 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pouring water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*tōpínaβǒgia*) was constructed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat, but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side; Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates [782] [178] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was accompanied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory "*naβárinana*." Here also the rocks were put on one 515 157 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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[1] Matthews, 227.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.

[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 75.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

		Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WR	Ki	AE
● N W A															
●782	398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
796	401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
	402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
	403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
	404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
	405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
N W A	Gathering														
	•410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
222	411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
252	413. Grinding in mortar (purana)	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
251	414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
	Miscellaneous Plants														
	433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	•434. Cactus fruit eaten (navu or mütsö)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
	436. Needles burnt off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
	437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
	438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
	439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	•+
N W A	•443a. Hooked pole (tsemu) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
	•445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	•446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
[462]	447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
	449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
	450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	•451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	451a. Piled on ground, covered	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
	452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
	453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	•453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
	455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
	456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
	457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
	•458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
	459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
	460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
	461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
	•462. Nuts ground on metate (mata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
N W A	463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	•464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	•466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
[H23	•467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
	•467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
262]	•467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
	•468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
	•470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

[p.374]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NSE

N
524
N
W
A
436

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1887. Poggun	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (kumitsa)	–	*–	*+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1893. With hand to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

N
W
A
276

Pipe

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	*–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
*1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1906a. Bone	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1907. Cane	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
1908. Elderberry	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
1909. Rosewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*1914. Cane filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
*1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

N
W
A
[756]
N
A
[782]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1921. Smoking any time	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	+
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	.	.	.	.	*+	*+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

*Tobacco (pui'pmo)

N
W
A
249
276

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	+	+	+	*+
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
755

	Ta	Kl	KlI	Kh	To	TD	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2540. Sleight-of-hand	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	.	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2550. By sucking out snake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
2557a. Female	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2559. Transforms self into bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2560. Power of rapid travel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2561. Invulnerable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharei	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2564. Power from various animals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2566. Power to foretell future	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2568. Killed for declining	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	.	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumaiypa)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2577. Offerings to "nature"	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2578. To ghost (tsaawa)	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
756
789

N
W
A
754

N
[787]

N
W
A
756
681
755

● N
W
A
776
● 782

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo , NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ac	
2579. To spirit (sunppö)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N W A
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	782
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															N W A
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	757
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaava or mugua)															N W
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	763
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	N
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	W
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
2609a. Specularite (yadüpi) sprinkled to nullify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	787
"Muipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	276
DANCES															N W A
2614. Circle Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[789]

[p.415]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

H
796 Next I went to the creek alone and took a bath.
262 After the ceremony my mother and father and I ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick." The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat his own game until after a special ceremony which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5 deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage and then sucked the boy's joints." He was supposed never to get tired after that.
A
[796
262] AE: Game killed by youth was taboo until after a shooting ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at. As soon as he hit the target, but not before, was the taboo lifted.

373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: - (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
[783] 396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: - (LP).

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401. To: - (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd: Had offering ceremonies similar to this one described by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the last morning of the big 5-day spring round dance. Just before dawn a half circle was formed at the west side of the dance place by basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each cup contained but one type of food, such as seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts, and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head man took each cup separately, danced around the circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all directions, and prayed for a good season for all things.
A
[782] AE: See note 25 AE.

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

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410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade or expedition from California, not important in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + insisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

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413. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians, or maybe God, made them."

N
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434. The use of cactus was denied only in

[p.427(B)]

N
436 insisted that bead money was very old among Pai-
177 ute. Kü: Shell beads obtained from California to
439 use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: -
W
[439] (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N
276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field
Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock
W Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes ob-
[135] tained in mountains near Topaz.
1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by
some informants that the elbow pipe was aborigi-
nal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe
N on her plate 32,b.
1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a re-
[177 cent introduction.
172] 1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).
W 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men
[276 smoked much in old days.
756 1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).
887] 1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).
N 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Moun-
[782] tain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Töt-
sikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and
Old Winnemucca.
N 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering
[756 of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the
782] pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa$^{\circ Pu}$.
249 1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.
824 1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita,
Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with
Nicotiana.

N

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).
1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians
W when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
[534] (Smith, notes).
N 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).
[172 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only
756] by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a
deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley:
N + (Steward, 278).
[178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).
1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line
N along a buckskin string; the string is wound
[281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.
1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his
informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on
[179 skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa:
759] Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the
Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that
time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

[p. 439(A)]

N
624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tö: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^1-nö^{c}ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or W [226] trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: – (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tö: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no W [721] war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discover- N [423] ers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. N 721 173 Aeries descended from father to son. Kü: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wi: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 2554. To: See note 2549.

754 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

756 653 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [177] 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

[782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [341] 2595. Ts: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it N [525 777] could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after N ● 782 digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Pa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DW described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-mûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444 (D)]

THERAPY

755 THE Paiutes believe that only a doctor can diagnose and cure major diseases.
Faced with illness, a person and his relatives depend upon these specialists.
In this chapter I will present the formal relations between doctor and patient
and a brief summary of the technique of therapy.

When a person becomes ill,[1] he may do one of a number of things depending
[753] on the nature of his ailment. If his symptoms are mild, he may try pharmacological
treatment, brewing for himself an herb tea or making an herb poultice to be applied
externally; or he may resort to private rituals. On arising in the morning, he may
782 pray to the sun. Standing, facing the east, he appeals to "our father sun" as he
776 splashes cold water on his face. Or he may visit the sweat house and pray to the
sun. For headaches or aches in other parts of his body, he may try blood-letting,
753 paying some member of the community, skilled in this practice, to perform the
operation.

If the pain continues for more than a day or two and increases in intensity, if
new symptoms appear, or if there is high fever, delirium, unconsciousness, or
protracted vomiting, the individual turns to the doctor for aid. The sick person's
immediate family and any close relatives who live nearby discuss the situation, and,
if they decide that action should be taken, they see that enough money is collected
and summon a doctor. Although the majority of shamanistic rites take place after
sundown, it is customary to summon the doctor before sunrise of the day on
which he is to work. The doctor's fees do not seem to vary from year to year or
with the nature of the illness, so there is no necessity of inquiring as to cost. The
relatives know beforehand how much money is needed and know that no doctor
756 will give credit. In every case a doctor is instructed by his supernatural guide not to
[753] work unless he first collects his fees. Should he fail to do so, he runs the risk of
becoming ill.

In the old days the charge for doctoring was usually a hide: a fawn skin for a
755 child, a doe skin for a woman, and a buck skin for a man. Each doctor dictated the
756 manner in which the hide was to be presented, some requiring that it be put on a
pole behind the doctor's house, others that it be placed in the rafters. Nowadays,
when money is used, the charge varies from three to five dollars a night and must be

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[1] Illness, as used above, does not include bodily injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and bites. There are specialists who treat rattlesnake bites and sties. These persons, however, are not called doctors. By virtue of their peculiar supernatural power, they can treat only one specialized type of ailment and one which is thought to be purely physiological and not caused by supernatural agents.

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[292]
and moccasins and occasionally a skin shirt. Nowadays the doctors wear American clothes. For some reason, however, American shoes are not allowed, and furthermore, doctors do not permit anyone to enter a house where a curing is in progress unless he wears moccasins.

[293] The doctor usually carries a pipe with special tobacco and a feather from the tail of an eagle or sagehen. Individual doctors may have other types of paraphernalia but the majority have only these items.

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[533]
The procedure differs somewhat from doctor to doctor but the underlying pattern is always the same. The doctor appeals to his spirit helpers by singing and praying and asks them to aid him in diagnosing and curing the disease. The men and women of the audience join in the songs after they become familiar with them. It is thought that they help influence the doctor's powers. A man, who is known as the repeater, leads the spectators in the singing and interprets the doctor's orders concerning procedure.

Sometimes the doctor asks his power to show itself in some way, so that he and the spectators may know of its presence. For example, a doctor with power in clouds might ask them to make known their presence by sending rain, or another might ask the lightning and thunder to come. Some doctors perform tricks to demonstrate the presence of their power. One doctor walked on live coals. Another was reported to have cooled a red hot stove with his body. As he danced around the stove, occasionally leaning his body against it, he told the people that if the stove cooled it was a sign that his power would cure the sick man.

The appeal to the power is always accompanied by vigorous dancing. While singing and between songs the doctor dances around the fire, pausing now and then to rest and smoke his pipe, which is passed among the spectators at other times. A few doctors have assistants who dance with them.

755 Water is often sprinkled around the room at some time during the ceremony. I do not know the explanation for this except that water is recognized as a purifying agent and is spoken of as being like the human breath.

Sucking is part of nearly every ceremony. The doctor often sucks out some foreign object and thus effects a cure. He spits the object out of his mouth and shows it to the people. He then mixes it with dirt in his hands, rubs his hands together, and the object disappears. Sometimes he vomits the object into a pan of earth to make it disappear. In the case of the bullfrogs, the doctor sucks them from the patient's body and then drives them out of the house.

This is the basic pattern which varies according to the special rituals of the doctor and the nature of the disease which is being treated. It is difficult to say just which part of the ceremony is for the purpose of diagnosis and which for curing. As in other aspects of the culture, the Paiutes did not make general statements and I was forced to deduce the theories from an analysis of the reports of the treatment of concrete cases. For example, sucking is sometimes for the purpose

115 provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary material on shamanism could be obtained.

621 Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada
lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The
[[13]] geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five
lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson
Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of
128 the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture
were recorded from informants belonging to each of these localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

771 The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso
756 is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances
[782] also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to shamanistic beliefs and practices.

776 The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

> People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different 753 ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person 787 dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be heard telling the dreamer to do certain things.Other people dream that a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'abᵉ), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782] recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then over- 753 come the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755 The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787 on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775 cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753 Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774 in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ́yəp, or numəmugu'ᵉ.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

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[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

775 753 [774] dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts (sa'ab*) and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however, may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes of illness.

775 756 753 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appearance of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause immediate and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to counteract their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirl-
[785] wind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in preventing the sickness that frequently follows such an experience.
[782 751] The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the morning.

775 753 774 756 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness resulting from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover, soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

753 It is believed that animals as well as ghosts can bring sickness to
825 man. Apparently, such sickness may result from a deliberate malicious effort as in the case of the coyote; with other animals it may be involuntary or the means of punishment.

> Once a man dreamed that three coyotes came to him. They said, "Tell us who is a good man. We will get him and eat him. If you do not tell us, we will come and eat you." The man believed them, so he told them about a woman. A few days after the man had this dream, the woman was sick. They got a shaman to doctor her. He sang for two nights before he knew what made her sick. Then he saw three coyotes in a cloud. Only the heads could be seen. He saw that they were coming to get the woman. He told the woman's family what the coyote had done. They were coming then. When they came close and saw the shaman, they were afraid. They went away and never bothered the woman again. The shaman told her to put red paint on all her joints.
> [755] She was to paint red and white bands around her joints. [Treatment in this fashion is customary in curing illness caused by dreams.] Coyote could see that paint when he was a long way off. He did not like it so he never came again. (Joe Green)

Other game animals, especially large game, such as antelope and mountain sheep, can also cause illness. The owl appears, prophetically perhaps, in dreams to bring sickness. Gophers, too are thought to be a sign of sickness and death, but it is doubtful that they cause either. When gophers are caught, they are skinned and the skin is spread over the belly of the carcass. Both are then hung up on the south side of a bush, tree, or house. Gophers may also be
[182] burned until only ashes remain. In the course of either operation, a prayer in some such words as these is recited: "You tried to give me bad luck. Now you will be destroyed."

754 Sorcery is an extremely potent source of illness. The sorcerer secures his power from the same sources and in the same way as the shaman who practices for the general good. In fact, to the Paviotso a sorcerer is a shaman who utilizes his power not in the socially accepted way but in a dangerous and anti-social fashion; he has corrupted potentially beneficial power in such a way as to cause harm. The sorcerer is frequently designated by the term for shaman, puhágəm. There is, however, another word for the sorcerer, numɔ́tukɔ́dᵊ (eater of people), but the former seems to be more commonly used.

756 Fighting and treating the wounded are the shaman's only functions
726 on the war-path. He does not invoke the aid of his powers
752 for the success of the party, nor does he prophesy the outcome of
the venture.

WEATHER-CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

789 Although the shaman's function is chiefly to cure disease, control
756 of the elements, the ability to foretell future events, and the
discovery of lost articles, are all within the ability of at least some shamans. Usually shamanistic manipulation of the weather serves no practical need.[18] Often it is simply a means of demonstrating the control of supernatural power. By waving a feather or by singing, shamans may cause the clear sky to become cloudy, the wind to blow, or rain to fall. They can also stop wind and rain or banish the clouds that they have brought. Although the predominant motive in weather-control is this exhibition of power, shamans have been known in the past to manipulate weather for the benefit of the community. This weather-control is chiefly concerned with causing changes in the elements in order to bring about a badly-needed run of fish in the rivers. It is said that fish may be induced to go up the river in the spring by causing the ice to melt or by bringing about a wind that will force them to the mouth of the river. When ice covers the rivers late in the spring, delaying the run of fish from the lakes, a shaman known to have control over the elements is asked to cause warm weather and rain to melt the ice. Only a few shamans, however, have this power.

> During the winter the river was frozen over. The men could not fish. In the spring the people were hungry. There were no fish in the river. There was too much ice. It was cold. The people talked about it. They were talking about asking a certain shaman here (Pyramid Lake) who could help them. He had the power to bring a warm wind that would melt the ice. They sent two or three men to the shaman. They asked him to make the wind blow. The shaman sang and the ice was made to melt. Then the fish started up the river. The people caught many of them. They paid the shaman with fish. Everyone gave him fish. If the

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[782] [18] A form of weather-control is practised at the social round dances. While the dancers are moving in a circle a headman, not necessarily one with supernatural power, walks around praying for rain in order to insure abundant wild products.

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276 755 *795 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

N W 782 Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

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THE PEYOTE CEREMONY

*795 796 [346] [782] Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[778] [276] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

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LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[8]

N 101 The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[9] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N 563 *795 A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

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FIELD METHODS

W 114 Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years 000

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[8] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[9] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

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*795 some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, 796 the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning 276 them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be ● [782] concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, [237] and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through N it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with W small feathers or dyed horsehair.[59] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string [824] buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief N drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

W Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any [533] peyote song they wish.[60] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[61] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With N a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, W eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

[783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[59] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One [534] Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[60] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[61] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T.	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 2	Win	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

(Concluded on next page)

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168. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 161). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

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785 x
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169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

N
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202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

Wadátkuht

When anyone died his "camp" (house) was burned.

764 Personal Names. Men's and boys' names included the
following: Sagwúda, "Porcupine"; Muhu'^{k} dosa, from muhu'^{a},
"owl", and dosa, which had no meaning, but was an ending a
551 little boy put on the word for owl to name himself; Pongádz,
"Mouse", because he looked like a mouse when he was a boy;
Wádanatzi, a Paiute name for a Pit River (Atsuge) shaman which
may have had reference to wada (*Suaeda depressa*) and nátzi,
"boy"; Baba kuhku^{a}, "Big Feet"; Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}, "Feces
to Wipe"; Idzákad, "Loose"; Kwidu'^{u}, so-named because he
constantly broke wind; Wöhudi'^{i}, "To Carve"; Matad^{u}, "Crawler";
Wawa'^{a} bob, "Stranger Bob"; Tupaskima skia, "Mouth Crooked";
Tabök, "Cottontail"; Kubuts, to grind one's teeth; Nana'^{a},
"Younger"; Baba'yu dzim, "Big Jim"; Numunana, "Indian Man";
Tusi^{yu}naná', "Little Man"; Kasi no uhd^{a}, "Train Haul";
Nunú'kai, possibly from nunu', "snake", and kai, "no".

Women's and girls' names included the following: Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl"; Nunu' biawuhb^{i}, "Snake Old Lady"; Kwidapino'^{ya}, "Feces Carrier"; Kaiyaguht, "Never Cry"; Ptaitnat^{yu}, "Thin"; Atsábona', "Woodpecker Old Lady"; Tunuhpiuts, "Nighthawk"; Soiyeza biawuhb^{i}, "Soldier Old Lady"; Babayu sait', "Big Pit River"; Bababui, "Big Eyes"; Udöyu biawuhb^{i}, "Tall Old Lady"; Kwiduk^{w}ti'^{i}, "Excrement Shoot"; Tsí tsi, ("Sissie"?) she was called this because she was about ten years old before she stopped nursing; Wukwits'^{i}, "Throw", so-named because this fat woman had considerable movement in her posterior as she walked; Muid^{i}, from muhibi, "fly" (insect).

Some personal names, as demonstrated in the above lists, tended to be derived from physical traits, while others stemmed from some episode in the individual's life. Others were obviously meant to convey the humor of some action or situation. The informants also gave a number of names for which they had no translation.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

821 The sun was of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht
and his religious expression, since it was common to find
instances in which the individual in times of stress prayed
directly to the sun for aid. Repentance of guilt might be
[782] made in prayers to the sun. Guilt feelings in an individual
[626] appeared often to be associated with strong social pressure
for the person to "repent" and admit his "guilt". It is

Wadátkuht

also quite likely that the individual did not realize that 821
he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to
become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends [626]
and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to
the sun at sunrise. To pray was naníshtuhai, and one had to [782]
pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the
evening.

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost 775
of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take
his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the [753]
story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht
camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking
sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid
that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp
had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could
still hear them if one was to go around that place.

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing numú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with 776
certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. [756]
Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary
babies except that they had long hair.

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north 756
of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there 778
was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain
was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was
a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father,
Numu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in
order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to
keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter
of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was
Wadátkuht.

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

SWEATING, AND SWEAT-HOUSES.

515 751 783 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America. There are two essentially different methods ; the steam method and the dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. [171] Typical Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say [343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found to- [177] day in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the [177] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the old men frown on it.

CLOTHING.

291 [171] The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative. There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men [177] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in [174] fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing nothing but a kilt.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piagi) eaten	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
339. Ants eaten	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
340. As food	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
341. As tonic	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nata) eaten	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kim) eaten	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (matata'a) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
354. Gathered in baskets	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
356. Roasted in pit	−	−	−	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
357. Ground on metate	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
358. Stored, buckskin bags	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	−	+	−	−	−	+	−		+	+	−			−
362. Deer heart taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
363. To young	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
369a. If trapped	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
376. To father	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
377. To mother	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
379. To all village	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
379a. To anyone	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
389. 5 nights' continence	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
389a. 1 night's continence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
397. Kept from dogs	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

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136
[278]

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[252
251]

N
W
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262

N
W
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224
N
[784]
N ●
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[783 ●

[p. 373]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1322. Necklaces (törakiapö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidöma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1328. Animal claws	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1330. Wildcat	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1331. Animal teeth	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1332. Dewclaws (takamono or tomitaö)	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1333. Charred pine seeds	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	−	−	−
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339. Animal fur	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1339a. Mouse	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1340. Beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1341. Hoofs	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1342. Bones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1342a. Quills	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1351. Hair	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1363. Yellow mineral (saröpi)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (cha)	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (paitsötaigan)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

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N
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[321]

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[783]

[p. 391]

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865 when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should 861 love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867 with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867 which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754] and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152] afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756 people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 754] The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power, but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty. Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783 rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back." Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152 him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

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[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost [751] sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead.

APPENDIX I. WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

N

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather W
permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[illegible] 795*
otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist,
clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point 796
east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates
the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest. N

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest dis- W
tances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before [783]
attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[illegible] [534]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping
eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after [515]
seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a
privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader
directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate
the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the
cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually deter- N
mined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals W
in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in
its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the 795*
accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire 796
floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at
dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting. 276

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large [783]
specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[illegible] Next he directs clockwise round
the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and [824]
rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[illegible] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[illegible] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[illegible] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

N
W

*795 some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clock-
796 wise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgive-
ness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning
276 them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be
[782] concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

[237] After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[59] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick. N W [824]

N W [533] Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[60] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[61] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times. N W

[783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he enters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is N

W [534]

[59] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[60] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[61] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

N

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient. W 795* 796 276

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed. N W [191]

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[illegible] N W [262]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[illegible] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times. [783] ● [521]

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside. N W [522]

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[illegible] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[illegible] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR3

Washo NT20

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	–		(–)		•–		•–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	•+	–		+	+	+		–	•–	•–	–	+	+	–	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•–	(–)	+	•–	•–	–	•–	+	•+	–	+	+	+	•–
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	+	•–
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(–)		–		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–		+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•–	•+	+	–	–	

Element	Occurrence																
	UT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	Do 1	Do 2	Win	McC	Ct 1	Ct 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

N
W
1171
1795*
1796
1276
1783

N
W
171
*795
795
796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 205a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

N
W
[533]

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

N
W
[783]

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

Wadatkuht

754 755 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors, and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed Gladys got well.

754 [841] [262] [787] 754 783 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip, haki^{nukpa}, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'^{yu} Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

754 683 The following account describes what might happen to a sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai, Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai' house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 262 136 [278]

Insect Food

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
337. Caterpillars (piegö) eaten	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
339. Ants eaten	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
340. As food	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
341. As tonic	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (küa) eaten	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (wutata'a) eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
354. Gathered in baskets	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
356. Roasted in pit	−	−	−	−		−	−	+	−	−	?	−	−	−
357. Ground on metate	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
358. Stored, buckskin bags	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

W [252 251]

Animal-Food Taboos, etc.

N W A 262

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
360. Raw liver eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	.	+	+	−	.	.	−
362. Deer heart taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
363. To young	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
369a. If trapped	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
376. To father	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
377. To mother	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
379. To all village	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
379a. To anyone	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−

Miscellaneous Concepts

N W A 224 N [784] N W A [783]

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
389. 5 nights' continence	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
389a. 1 night's continence	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
397. Kept from dogs	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

[p.373]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	.	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	.	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	.	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2260b. 30	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2262a. Run to water	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	.	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	.	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	.	-	.	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	.	+	.	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	.	-	.	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	-	-	+	-	-	-	+		-	+	-	-	+	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

N
W
A
844
846

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
845

N
W
A
847

N
[848]

[p.409]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
W
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855

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sm	Ty	Wd	Kl	AK
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2295a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296a. Toward north	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2297. Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2300. Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2300a. Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
2304. First Menstruation (muhadanomani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2307. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2307a. 30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2308. In family house	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2309. In special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2310. Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any woman	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322. Cold water forbidden	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323. Talking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2324. Laughing forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2325. Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
2328. Combing hair forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330a. Run once in special ceremony	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335a. "Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2336. Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
2336a. Use special cup	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340. Bathe daily	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2341a. Every 5 days	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	-
2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2345. Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
2347. New clothes	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2348. Delousing by mother	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2349. Delousing by attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

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[302]

[p.410]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
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764

N
[766]

N
W
A
768

N
W
A
[766]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2399. Purified by washing	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2404a. West	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2412. Cremation	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2413. All deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2416. Witches	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
2417. Cremation in house	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2418. In pyre	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2419. On pyre	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2420. Bones buried afterward	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2421. Funeral speech by old man	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2425a. House torn down, moved	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2426. House burned	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Mourning

N
W
A
765

N
W
A
764

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2433. Burn hair clippings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2434. Throw away hair clippings	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
2437. Gash legs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2438a. Smear faces	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2439. Abstain from washing	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2440. Months before remarriage: any number.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2443. Throw away hair clippings	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
2444a. 3-12	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2446. Abstain from washing	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2447. Months before remarriage: any number	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
2447a. 12	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2447b. 24	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
2451. Permanent	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
2452. Only in presence of kin	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

RELIGION

Shamanism (poha'g'amö)

N
W
A
756

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2469. Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.412]

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Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N W A 821 776 789

N W A 787

N W A 784

N 753

N W 172

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	WH	Ki	AK
Whirlwind (pitcumawa)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2732. You will carry a deer	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	.	.	.	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
2738. Crow call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2739. Dove call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740. Meadowlark call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2295a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
2741a. Finger rots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	.	.	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2743. Gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Petroglyphs														
*2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	*+	+	−
2745. Informants had only heard of them	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2748. "Devil"	.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

[p.418]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N
881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N
764 [178] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt. A [764]

A
[766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N
[775] 2421. Ki: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N
[768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N
[777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283). N ● 784

2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W
[769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N
756
787 2471. Ki: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N
756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N
756
781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p 1443 (A)]

756 685 598 755 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

761 841 843 The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

756 [illegible] 787 528 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

762
154
578 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women.
578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

573 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest [567] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jones stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

784 525 A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version 844
of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with [343]
coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of
the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the
pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose.
A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother
and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties
the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging
stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water
which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A 846
mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are
tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives,
who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the
next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter
she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When
the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She [784]
uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual
intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready [854
to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red 302]
paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar
manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of
life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes
and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when
he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush
and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life.
Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a [784]
scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance
even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is 854
wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[2] which has been previously
constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed
under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

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[2] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be
seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these condi- 843]
tions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and
escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in
the drive.

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When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [832]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope
have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any
personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the
fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.

[23] Ibid., 55–57.

N

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the W 178
missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians. 771

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey 795*
Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because
no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that [797]
his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more N
charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders. W

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking. Don James (W,2) 178
and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their 273
families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while
drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunk- 276
enness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. 795* Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings. Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify N
whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use W
rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations con- [787]
vincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey. Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One interred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, N
"Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit." W

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or 276
at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former 578
members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs 795*
were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and [786] [832]

None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote. The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

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Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

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The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

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Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

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Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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From Bromberg's (1939, 4–12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

SHAMANISM

My data on shamanism are unfortunately meager. The shaman entertains the unhappy notion that he will sicken and die if he divulges information, so it is not surprising that informants are uncommunicative. Most of the following material was obtained from Joshua Brown, a former shaman, and from Piudy. I have relied largely upon direct quotation as it gives a vividness and accuracy not to be had in a bald statement of fact. 756

The word commonly given for shaman is puha'gūm, but Joshua gave in addition another word, puha'gai^{i}, which he said was identical in meaning. All informants insisted that there was but one kind of shaman, but there was specialization even though it is not recognized in native terminology. Individuals such as Dr. Sam Wata of Beatty are general practitioners; others seem to have confined their efforts to particular ailments such as arrow wounds, rattlesnake bites, etc. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time."

Shamanism took the form of curing and sometimes of weather 756
control. There was also the antelope shaman (dūna'-puha'gūm) who 789
officiated at the ceremonial hunts. Ordinarily doctors did not locate
lost objects; "only one man ever found lost things. He was a good 787
doctor; he could do anything. I don't know his name." And again, "I heard of a doctor who could find lost things, but I have never seen it done. Some say Dr. Sam could do it."

A certain amount of prophesy was also within the power of the 756
shaman. The coming of the whites was foretold by one as follows: 787

> Long ago they put up a big pole and all danced around it. A doctor stood by the pole and spoke, "I feel that something is coming from the east. A people with a different language are coming here some day." As he said that he would stop and listen, "They're making a lot of noise; their language buzzes just like flies." Then he said, "Those people will bring an animal and will make chokecherries, as big as a fist, grow in this country." The doctor meant the horse and apple. We had a strong belief in this doctor (SW).

And a further example of prophesy:

> Only doctors know when people are going to be sick. A doctor might dream that a friend of his in Cedarville was sick, and later find out that it was so.

756 Doctors know when sickness is coming. Frank Naneo's mother is an old woman
living near Paisley. She dreamed of a sickness and said, "It's far in the east
787 now, but it is coming here." It was the influenza and it came here (NH).

Shamanistic power was acquired through dreams, often beginning in early childhood. Dreams came unsought to many. But a person desiring a dream vision might spend the night in a certain spot on the west side of Eagle peak, fasting during his stay. He went alone, lest a companion arouse him before his dream ended. In the morning he descended to a small lake on the western slope of the mountain and there bathed. The lake was known as Nava'gia-no (nava'gia, bathe). One other place was considered potent; it was "near a tall rock point this end of Steens mountain."[249] These spots were visited by persons who had not dreamed before, as well as by those who had forgotten their dreams and desired to renew their power. A person who remembered his dreams need not go. Charlie Washo had heard that shamans were plentiful at Pyramid lake and that there a person desiring to become a doctor went to a spring and slept. He had also heard of one "stout doctor" who had fasted ten days.

A person who disregarded the "call" of his dreams fell violently ill. His case was diagnosed by another shaman who told him, "That is why you are sick." Before practicing, a shaman subjected his dreams to tests.

If he dreamed he did something good the next day he actually did it. He followed this procedure for all his dreams. He had good luck (P).

And again:

You dream to become a doctor. You have to remember but not tell; you never forget; you think all the time. If you dream of a bear go and see a bear. He is your friend; he doesn't bite you; he is like a good dog. If you dream of a horse see a horse to know if your dream is right. The horse is like your friend; he comes to you without a rope. Then you know that you dreamed what to use to cure. You tell no one (JB).

A shaman controls various kinds of animal spirits which come to him in dreams. The eagle is the most frequent one, consequently in treating, a doctor puts an eagle feather on the ailing part and "sings like an eagle. When he calls on the eagle it comes from the mountain and looks at the sick man, but no one is able to see it come." If a shaman dreams of a deer and hears a deer call, he imitates the cry when doctoring. I did not hear of any spirits other than animal. Sometimes the shaman has a feather or other token of his vision, but

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[249] This is not within Gidū'tikad^{u} territory.

usually he has a song, in which event he does not carry the token. 756
Every shaman dreams his own songs. They are his exclusively and 787
are not sung by another.

Piudy thought that a dying shaman did not will his spirits or paraphernalia. [778] The latter were destroyed upon his death; sometimes they were burned, sometimes buried with him. [424] Joshua thought that a shaman might will his power to his son, or daughter, or to his wife, but he thought that they had to dream too. In other words, the transfer was not automatic. According to Joshua, "Charlie Washo's father was a doctor. When he died he left his things to his wife. She was nearly able to doctor when her husband died." Dr. Sam stated, "Four old doctors who were childless taught me. They taught me when I was a little bit of a fellow. I dreamed of things and they helped me cure people." This suggests that a shaman might teach his son. Billy Peanuts, whom, by the way, some do not regard as a full-fledged shaman, is assisted by his son.

A doctor's equipment consisted of beads, eagle feathers, a stone pipe, and a deer-hoof rattle. 756 These were carried in a sack about the waist, nowadays in a suitcase. 778 The beads were used "to see how the pain worked." Piudy thought that "eagle feathers were not always used in doctoring. We learned to use them from the people north, farther north than the Bannock." Two kinds of eagle feathers were used: a long tail feather and down from beneath the wing. The latter might be all white. Joshua said that eagle feathers were split and twisted about a thong so as not to break. They were not dyed. Sometimes the patient held the feathers; sometimes they were placed over the afflicted part. Before a doctor sang, he filled his stone pipe with tobacco (puhi'-pa'mo') in order "to help his body." He removed his moccasins before smoking lest someone think him afraid of flying sparks from the fireplace.[230] The deer-hoof rattle was used only by shamans, each of whom made his own. Its particular function in healing is not clear, but it "helped."

It is of some interest that the usual correlation of the tambourine with shamanism does not hold for the Gidǖ'tikad^{a}. [534] This rather argues for the late introduction of the drum and seems to bear out Piudy's statement that the drum "came from the north and northeast when the white people came."

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[230] Cf. Lowie, NS, 214 and SE, 215. Apparently the Cochiti practitioner removes his "shoes" before smoking, Curtis, 16:94. Miss Cora Du Bois tells me that the Wintu adhere to the same custom.

> A man dreamed how to poison a person. Sometimes he used red paint. 754
> He painted his face, rolled a stone in the paint, and then hit the man. It
> [presumably the magic] went through like electricity and the man became 787 ●
> sick. An Indian doctor discovered the poisoner and asked him to take the 756
> poison out. To do this, early in the morning and late at night, the poisoner had to dive in the water and wash and tell what he had done; otherwise, the victim would die. The poisoner was not punished (MA and NT).

A certain skepticism is revealed in the following: 771

> Perhaps I was sick and the doctor named someone who was poisoning me. Then my people might kill that person. The doctor might be lying; there is no way to tell (NH).

There is some suggestion of sickness due to soul loss, but it was 753
not generally recognized:

> Our people do not make the soul leave. Some doctors try to tell us the soul 756
> is gone, but they may be lying. Some people believe them and they try to kill the guilty person (P and NH).

Departure of the soul, however, causes death: 761

> When a person is dying he begins to feel coldness creeping up from his legs.[234] Then the soul is going; it is half gone. The doctor lies beside his patient and becomes unconscious, dreaming he is hunting the soul. When he goes after half-dead people he sees only Indians there (abode of dead) (P).

MEDICAL TREATMENT AND REMEDIES

Certain ailments such as arrow wounds, snake bite, and the like, 755
required shamanistic treatment, whereas afflictions of a lesser nature were cured with "home remedies." These were rather limited in number, and among them two were outstanding: tüba'sup (*Veratrum californicum* Durand) and ya'pa'-gwana'b^a (*Aquilegia formosa* Fisch.), each used for a variety of maladies.

When a shaman was called to treat an arrow wound he asked at 752
once, "Is it poisoned?" If the answer were affirmative he sucked the wound and swallowed the blood (and poison). No antidote was known. According to Piudy, "There is no medicine for an arrow wound. They always have to take the arrow from a wound in one way. They have to push it clear through and bring it out on the other side. Sometimes it breaks off when it hits a bone; that's pretty bad."

Snake bite was also treated by a shaman. Ordinarily he cut around the wound, sucked and swallowed the poison, and applied the chewed roots of tüba'süp as a poultice. None but a shaman ever

same thing happened again. "I was badly scared. I thought perhaps a dead man had come back; maybe there was something of his in there. I don't know." 775

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[234] I was asked at this point if this were the way white people died.

According to Joshua:

> I have never seen a ghost. They say you hear them. Once Charlie Washo and I were going up a hill looking for a pony. We came to a clump of service and heard a noise like singing. We stood still. Charlie said, "We had better run." He ran off. I stood there and I waved for him to come. He came but we did not go up to the bushes. I don't know what we heard.

On the other hand, I was told that a ghost appears only when someone is sick and about to die. If a person dreams of a ghost he will probably fall sick. He can, however, ward off the ill effects by using mushrooms or "a brown stuff which is found in the fields but does not grow there" (fungus?). Both of these are known as tsoü'p-bisha (tsoü'p, ghost; bisha, powder). The powder is taken from the center of the mushroom or from the fungus and is tossed upon one's head to frighten off the spirits.

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The following suggests a distinction between ghost and spirit: 787●

> Tsa'ab^{a} is nearly the same as tsoü'p.[238] I knew a man who was drunk. The ghost (tsa'ab^{a}) of his mother touched him on the leg. It swelled and the next day he was dead. Some might have cured him by sucking. 776

This suggests that tsa'ab^{a} may refer to a ghost proper; tsoü'p to spirits that were never in human body; but further examples would be necessary before one could be certain.

According to Piudy, when a person sees a ghost, he sees the individual himself, not his spirit or soul. In response to a question concerning dream experiences, he said, "I have never heard anybody say anything about what they saw in dreams. All they know is what they dream." About the same holds for one's reflection in water. Great hilarity resulted from a suggestion that it might be the soul. Piudy said, "They never say what it is they see but it is *not* the soul."

MISCELLANEOUS MAGICAL BELIEFS

There is a considerable series of beliefs concerning natural phenomena. The rainbow (piü'gtükwinüb) presages rain. A person did not point at a rainbow for fear of making his finger sore. Earthquakes were unknown in the old days but not so eclipses. Joshua had heard that in early times "the sun once stopped and everything was dark for a day or two. The people made a slow match and went 789 821

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[238] This term looks suspiciously like soü'p^{a}, p. 198.

789 around camp to see if everyone were alive." An eclipse is called
821 taba-yü'iwan (ta'ba, sun); they say the sun is dying.

It aggravates the thunder (nünia'ba) "if you shout, laugh, and talk. The thunder gets worse and it may chase you." Lightning is of special danger to a menstruating woman and often fatal to a woman with child. The echo is wahi'pi-naka'u (shout-hear). It is someone "calling back."

538 The animals of the tales—Coyote, Wolf, Frog, Rattlesnake, and
821 others—are said to be in the moon. Minnie Anderson sees a frog in the moon. A circle about the moon foretells rain.

827 A sneeze indicates that a person of the opposite sex is thinking of one. Ringing of the ears is of evil portent. "That is a dead spirit
● 787 shouting in your ears; probably a friend is dying." A wink is of no significance; "they learned that from the white people." When a person's eyes twitch, "he is going to see something. When a man is going hunting and his eye twitches, he says, 'I know I shall see game today.'" An itching palm has no meaning. Bad luck is associated with twitching of an under-knee muscle. When a hunter experiences this it means he will not see game. If a woman is going to play a card game and her knee twitches, she will surely have bad luck. Twitching of the calf muscles indicates that a stranger is coming. If the arch of the foot twitches it means that someone is coming on horseback (contact with the stirrup).

787 A number of omens mentioned by Nora Henderson follow:

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> When a frog whistles (not croaks), people say, "You are going to have bad news."
>
> When the coyote barks strangely, someone will sicken and die.
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> When the owl barks like a dog, something bad will happen. Once when I was near Adel, on my way to Likely, an owl in a clump of willows south of us barked and then hooted. We knew we would get bad news from the south. That night we stopped at Alturas and heard that someone in Likely had been killed.
>
> Once my aunt, Daisy Brown, heard a whistle by the creek. She looked around and saw a snake making the noise. She felt badly, knowing she would get bad news, and I think she told me that she did.
>
> When it is a little cloudy, and the meadowlark sits on the ground and goes, "prrrrrr," it is going to rain. They say this is really true.
>
> If the first meadowlarks from the south have bright yellow spots on their breasts there will be plenty of a'gü'.

A centipede is called i'wü-mai'ⁱ (many-hands). If a person picks up a centipede "he may get that many hands." If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will follow that person and get in bed with him. "They always say that this is really true."

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone. 224

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:— 224 796 [539]

wáxunaq	ína	hăŭʙa	wō̆'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hăŭʙa.	nō̆'mōn̨áqa	ína	hăŭʙa.	
? .	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained. [756] [787] [841] [857]

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*gamú nö'gä*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262 Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251 cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252 mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 417 pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

Ceremonies. Religion.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796 people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756 as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787] constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171] viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773 stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171] emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [776] assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

Miscellaneous.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276 pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171] his own people very seldom made them that way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
*2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
*2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
*2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
591

N
W
A
684
586

N
548

N
A
836

N
606

N
A
602

N
W
A
605
607

N
W
A
597

N
W
A
838

N
W
A
[842]

N
[787]

[p.405]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

	Ts	K1	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2472. Any time	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2473. Power inherited from father	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2474. From mother	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2475. Before relative's death	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2476. After relative's death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2477. Source of power in natural dreams (unsought)	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2478. Sought in mountains	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2481. Shaman interprets vision	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2483. Power may be refused	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2484. One doctor has several powers	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485. Vision gives: songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2486. Dances	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2487. Paraphernalia	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2488. Paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2489. Methods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2490. Doctor's assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2492. Feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2493. Eagle down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2494. Fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
2495. Clay	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2496. Deerclaw rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496a. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2497. Cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2498. Flute	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2500. Curing Performances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. In house	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
2503. Doctor sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2504. Audience joins song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2505. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2507. Pipe passed to right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
2507a. Left (clockwise)	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2508. Doctor talks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2509. Assistant interprets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2510. Doctor dances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Doctor walks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Doctor sucks out of patient:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2513. Blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Snake	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2515. Flint	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2516. Stick	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
2517. Worm	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2518. Other or various objects	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519a. Bone	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2520. Stick	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2522. Feather	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2523. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526a. Rubs object on hand	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2527. Doctor blows away disease	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
756

N ●
W
A
757 ●
756

N
W
A
755

[p.413]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

		Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
N W A	2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
755	2530. Blows water from mouth	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
	2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
	2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
	2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
	2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
	2537. Picks up fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
	2538. Stands in fire	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
	2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
	2540. Sleight-of-hand	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
	2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	Special Powers of Shaman														
	2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
	2547. Dream of buzzard	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
	2549a. By tying with horsehair	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
	2550. By sucking out snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
N	2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
W	2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
A	2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	[illegible]	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
756	2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
789	2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
	2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2557. Childbirth shaman: male	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
	2557a. Female	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
	2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
N	2559. Transforms self into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
W	2560. Power of rapid travel	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
A	2561. Invulnerable	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
754	2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
	2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
● N	2563. Power from coyote	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
	2564. Power from various animals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
● [787]	2566. Power to foretell future	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
	Miscellaneous														
N W A	2567. Shaman may decline case	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	2568. Killed for declining	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
756	2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
681	2570a. New doctor assists old ones	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
755	2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	2572. By free doctoring	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
	2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
N	2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumaiyma)	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
W	2575. To nature	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
A	2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
776	2577. Offerings to "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
782	2578. To ghost (tsaavü)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo , NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2579. To spirit (suγpö)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2580. To night	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2581. Offerings of: food	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2581a. At spring dance	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2582. Game	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2583. Seeds	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2584. Tobacco	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2585. Shell beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2586. Offerings: at meals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
2589. When hunting	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

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Guardian Spirits

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Nonshamanistic Curing

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2595. Blood-letting	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2596. Sweating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+

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Destiny of Soul

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−

Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2601. Shortly before death	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
2603. Ghost audible	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
2604. Ghost feared	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
2609a. Specularite (yadüpi) sprinkled to nullify	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−

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"Muipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2613. Properties and name known	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−

N
276

DANCES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2614. Circle Dance (mügava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−

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[789]

[p.415]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi AS5

		Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	Tu	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
N W A	**Whirlwind (pitcumava)**														
821	2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776	2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
789	2730. People throw water on whirlwind	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N W A 787	**Omens**														
	2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
	2732. You will carry a deer	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
	2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
	2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	.	.	.	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
	2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2737. Magpie call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
	2738. Crow call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
	2739. Dove call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
	2740. Meadowlark call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
	2740a. Coyote call	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
N W A 784	**Various** (See also 2296a-2301)														
	2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
	2741a. Finger rots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
N	2741b. Hand deforms	.	.	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
753	2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	2743. Gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
	Petroglyphs														
N	2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
W	2745. Informants had only heard of them	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
172	2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
	2748. "Devil"	.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

[p. 418]

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running W [224] noose for deer present (Smith, notes).

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N [231] 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 716] 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N [301] 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is N [787] a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

[p. 422 (9)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 224 [787] luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai döpi ("clay rock"). W [30] Wa: Hunters painted themselves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [134] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 308, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, töna'.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N [263] 28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi'dögöp°, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls of sagebrush hung down between bushes. N [267 224] A: Rope of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304). Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N [716] 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[p.422 (c)]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524] 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).

1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.

1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).

1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.

A [224 411] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.

1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.

N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.

1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

N [177] 1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).

● N [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GN denied any such games.

N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).

1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177 1888. K1, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(b)]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. N [842 848] Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (KN).

● N [787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravisoya, were old-time dance

[p. 440(A)]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt. A [764]

A [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Ki: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425e. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283). N 784

2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 ● 787 2471. Ki: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p 443 (A)]

N
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822
grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha); "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "ground-hog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'-ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W
[805
822]
2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N
821
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2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N
751
2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N
● 787
2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N
532
773
2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack 756
of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the 182
old confidence in their powers.

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person 756
of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman 787
may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves.

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

> A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the
paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the 778
eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer,
badger, or coyote skin.

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sick- 153
ness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the
dreams.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish 756
to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when 755
a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do 787
as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other 778

756 parts of the shaman's kit were gotten together, recovery would be assured.
755 If the reluctant shaman failed to use his new power in doctoring people,
787 but guarded the eagle feathers, no harm would come to him. After a
778 person becomes a shaman the eagle feathers, or some little object such as an
odd pebble or a lead bullet with a hole in it, are regarded as the things
from which the power comes. If this object is lost the shaman at once loses
[753] his power to cure people, and he will quickly sicken and die. No other shaman can help him or save him from death.

756 Many people have, in the course of their lives, dreams in which they
787 have received shamanistic powers. However, if the dream comes only once or twice, no attention is paid to it. George Knerim, a full-blood Paviotso and at present the chief at Schurz on the Walker river reservation, related the following dream.

> I dreamed I would be a good doctor. I was going to cure every kind of sickness. I didn't see anybody at first. There was a little hill like a peak and a trail ran all the way around it. Then people came carrying a lot of sick people. They were carrying them around the hill. They dug little holes beside the trail for the sick
> [755] people. I went all the way around the hill. I went to all the sick people. I knew which kind of disease each had and I sucked it out. I sucked each one and they all got well and they stood up. I went around doing this to all of them. There were about twelve people there. I dreamed this and the next morning I told my family and they laughed. I never dreamed that way again. If I had dreamed it some more I would be a shaman now.

A shaman has power from only one spirit. By the aid of this spirit the shaman is able to diagnose the patient's illness, and the spirit through the shaman, prescribes the proper remedy. The shaman is visited by his spirit in his dreams from time to time, at which time he learns new songs or he may learn in these dreams how to cure a patient that he is about to treat.

In addition to the shamans who derive their powers from animals or birds, there are shamans who are visited in their dreams by the mythical
[776] beings living in the lakes and water holes and spoken of as "water babies." They are instructed in the same way as the other shamans and the water babies give them the songs that they are to use in curing.

[753] When anyone speaks skeptically of the water babies or makes fun of them, they are sure to hear and make the offender ill. Only a shaman with power obtained from the babies can cure such a case. The shaman is called in to treat the offender and he learns from his power what must be done to bring about recovery. In addition these shamans can treat other kinds of sickness.

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a deceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account. 776 [775] 787

> When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt him. [751]
>
> Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well. [755]
>
> One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to. 755
>
> Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time. 825

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way. 756 787 776

756 Shamanistic power is not always transferred by inheritance. Several
424 informants spoke of a parent or a grandparent who had been a shaman and
added, "I am supposed to get some power but I have never dreamed about
it so I am not a shaman."

Some of the Paviotso believed that the power inherited from a relative is not as strong as it was when the original shaman possessed it. The following was related at Pyramid lake.

> If a shaman has a daughter she will turn into a shaman. She will be a weaker
> [775] shaman than her father. Her father's spirit comes to her and tells her to fix eagle
> feathers and put them away. Then she goes to sleep and she hears songs coming
> [787] from the east. The songs come from where the night comes. She hears them far off
> at first and then they are louder. After a while she can hear the song clearly. Then
> her power tells her to be a shaman.

756 A younger man may learn to be a shaman from his father while the
787 parent is still alive.

> Sometimes a man will get his power from his father. A father will tell his son to be a shaman. The son will start to dream and go into trances. His father tells him that he will be a shaman some day. The son dreams for a long time and then the father teaches him to cure sick people. He never learns this when he is a boy. He must be a man. Both father and son may be shamans at the same time.

[778] *Power quest.*—In the Paviotso territory there are a number of caves where shamanistic power is sought. About eight such places are known to the people today. Perhaps formerly there were others whose locations are now unknown. Only men usually seek power in the caves according to the male informants, but Rosie Plummer insisted that women also could become shamans in the same way. The person who goes to one of these caves must be brave, for all sorts of terrible noises are heard and if one were to run away the quest for power would fail.

No fasting nor any sort of preparation is made before visiting a cave in search of shamanistic power. A man goes to a cave in the late afternoon or evening. When he gets there he announces or thinks about the power that he wants. He must sleep in the cave for the night. During the night he is told in a vision or in a dream what he has to do to become a shaman. Songs may be given to him at this time or they may be learned in subsequent dreams.

756 The following account of a visit to one of these caves was related by
787 Dick Mahwee, a middle-aged shaman on the Pyramid lake reservation.

> 159 There is a mountain below Dayton [Nevada]. Men go to the cave on this moun-
> [778] tain to get power. Women never go into this cave. They get their power in dreams.
> I went there when I was about twenty-five. I stayed in the cave all night. When I

got inside I said what I wanted. I said I wanted to be a shaman and cure sick 756 people. I lay down on the floor and then I heard lots of different animals going 787 through the cave. They would say "Somebody is here." The animals do that to 159 see if a man is brave. They try to make him run out of the cave. Then I heard lots of noises. After a while I heard people singing and dancing. Then the chief talked to the people who were singing and dancing. I listened to this for a long time and then I felt as if I were in a daze. I could hear two chiefs at the dance talking back and forth. Then down at the bottom of the cliff I could see a man. He was very sick. A shaman was singing for him and doctoring him. I heard the songs of the shaman. A woman with a wet sage brush branch in her hand was dancing. She went around the fire jumping. Every time she jumped she said, "Hū!" The sick man was getting [755] worse. I could hear him groan. The shaman sang some more and then he started to weep. Then all the people wept and wailed. The shaman didn't sing any more and all the people were crying. It was past midnight now. The people mourned until daylight and then they stopped. I was lying on a rock and it started to crack like breaking ice. Then a tall slender man stood in front of me. He said, "You want to be a shaman. You must do as I tell you. First get your eagle feathers and do what I tell you with them. You have chosen this and it may be hard for you. The feather is to guide you. You can bring the souls of dead people back with it. Do that, otherwise [775] you will have a hard time. At the bottom of this cliff there is some water. Bathe in it and paint yourself with white paint. Don't be impatient but wait for my instructions." I did what he told me and I learned my songs and how to cure the sick when this tall man came to me in dreams. He helps me doctor people and tells me what to do.

A man may go to one of these caves to secure luck in gambling, ability 781 to be a good hunter, or invulnerability against arrow or bullet wounds. In 787 any case a man coming to the cave must state what he wishes and then [777] bravely face the ordeal of staying all night in spite of the terrifying noises. To do so assures the success of the quest, while to leave before morning means that the seeker receives no power.

If a man wants to be a hunter he goes to the cave near Dayton. He shoots 224 arrows at the cliff and then he goes into the cave. He announces what he wants. 787 He says he wants to be a good hunter. He has to stay there all night. He must sleep in the cave. A tall slender man comes to him during the night and tells him what to do. The tall man tells him to go across the river at the foot of the mountain. He has to hunt a kangaroo rat. When he kills the rat he must eat it. That will make him a good hunter because the rat has the power of all the fur animals.

When a man wants to be a gambler he sees during the night in the cave many 525 gamblers playing. He sees that he wins the entire world. He can see which side the 787 sticks are on in the hand game. While this man is in the cave he is told to fix a pointed bone for the hand game. He is to keep it always at his side. Then he can see [777] through anything. That makes him lucky.

789 776 [156] While the shamans who doctor are visited in their dreams by their spirits or can call on them to help in the curing, the men who have supernatural power in hunting, gambling, or warfare appear not to receive further visits from the power. The Paviotso think of those spirits as watching over the warrior, hunter, or gambler, and helping the man through supernatural power to surpass his tribesmen or enemies or overcome the environment. These powers in all cases are looked upon by the Paviotso as spirits which guard and help the possessor.

SHAMANISTIC DOCTORING

756 There are no public performances in which to give the novice shaman an opportunity to demonstrate his power. Nor is there ever a public contest between shamans to demonstrate their powers. When the shaman has been commanded by his power to doctor people he tells his neighbors about his dreams and songs so "They will know he is ready to doctor sick people."

[787] Not all shamans can go into a trance. Only the best and strongest doctors have this power. While in a trance the shaman goes to consult his power. There he learns how to cure the patient. A doctor who does not go into a trance is thought to call his power to help him in curing. The latter class of shamans are thought to be weaker and less likely to bring about a cure. Today, of the ten or more Paviotso shamans there is but one who goes into a trance while doctoring. At present he is hiding from his tribesmen because he is charged with practicising witchcraft and numerous threats have been made against his life. [154]

Interpreters.—Every shaman has an interpreter when he doctors. The interpreter repeats the words of the shaman so everyone can hear. During the doctoring performance the shaman mumbles, talks in snatches, or talks so rapidly that the people cannot understand him. The function of the interpreter is to make the shaman's words intelligible to the audience. [198] The shaman does not use an archaic or esoteric language. He may always use the same interpreter. "The interpreter gets used to hearing the shaman talk and can understand him. He knows the shaman's songs."

755 *Typical doctoring.*—The relatives of the sick person go to the shaman early in morning about sunrise. If he agrees to doctor for them he takes one of his eagle feathers and ties it to a willow stick about four feet long. The stick may be smeared with white or red paint. The relatives take the willow stick with the feather home and place it upright on the ground outside the house, about twenty feet from the patient's head. It is left there [776] all day. "It keeps the bad spirits away." The patient is always laid with

The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snake- [823]
bite.

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his
kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions
that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the
interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise. "It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipu-
lated by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman
sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787 ●
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing, and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter, what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The
shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

> 756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

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Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

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Weather shamans.—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

> Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

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Antelope doctors.—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

> The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.
>
> The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

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The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that 756
he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his 224
songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought 756
to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this 789
power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired [792]
strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when [668]
fired upon with a gun.

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another 756
shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father 754
went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was 789
asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to 789
prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other 756
important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

787 756 night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[209] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

756 754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power [825] from the bear.

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient [755] gets well.

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

754 755 683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755 683

> There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

> When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 248
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

756 114 ● 787 as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2] Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

[171] Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturity, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

755 171 Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

756 787 The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corroborated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

756 [755] The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

[224] The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

[778] [171] It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.

[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.

[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.

[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.

[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.

[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15*f*. New York, 1883.

[7] Kelly, 189.

[8] Lowie, 295.

[9] Steward, 314*f*.; Kelly 195.

[10] Hopkins, 55 *f*.; Kelly, 189.

[11] Lowie, 294.

[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313*f*.

the memory of informants, are believed to have bestowed power on people: 776
waterbaby,[4] chicken hawk, robin, eagle, *kadi* (unidentified bird), antelope, otter, 756
weasel, mountain sheep, rain, fire, earth, whirlwind, cloud, lightning, thunder, rock, ghost, *patibui* (unidentified berry), red beads, and gun.[5]

It is not always possible to deduce the kind of spirit helper a person has from the type of power he possesses. Some types of power, however, seem to come from one kind of spirit only. For example, the men who lead antelope drives always have the antelope as a helper, and people derive snake power from a particular variety of snake. Power to run fast comes from some animal that is swift moving, usually the antelope. In the old days, bullet proof men most frequently had power directly from rain, clouds, rainbow, or wind, or had a spirit helper who gave them control over these phenomena.

Sometimes the same kind of spirit gives different powers to different individuals. Waterbaby, for example, sometimes gives power to cure and sometimes power to ward off bullets; it may tell the person whom it befriends how to use the rain and the clouds to stop bullets or to diagnose disease. One man was both a doctor and bullet proof and had but the one helper. Of the five doctors who had the waterbaby as one of their helpers, several also had eagle and antelope, and there were many other spirits capable of bestowing the same type of power. In the majority of cases, however, only the doctors had more than one spirit helper, and one informant claimed that even they, if really successful, would have but one.

Snakes might give good or bad power. One sorcerer was befriended by a snake, another by a sea gull, and a third by black lizards.

The spirit appears to the individual in recurrent dreams and bestows power upon him. The dreams are thought to come unsolicited. In them the person meets his spirit helper, e.g., a chicken hawk, waterbaby, or gun, and is instructed in the nature of the power he is to have. The spirit usually tells him to carry some object at all times and to bathe on certain occasions. He teaches him a song and, if he is to be a doctor, some dances. The dream recurs until the individual becomes familiar with the instructions. Thereafter unless he carries them out in every detail, he will either lose his power or sicken and perhaps die.

The fact that these dreams are unsolicited is stressed and there are only a few 776
examples of behavior which might be considered comparable to the vision quest of 756
the Plateau. On the northern part of the Malheur Reservation there is a hill 787
known as Castle Rock. It is said that several men became bullet proof as a result of sleeping there for several nights. At the base of the rock there is a stream in which the neophyte bathed before ascending. During the night while he slept on

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[4] Waterbabies are mythical dwarfs who dwell in caves near water holes.

[5] This list is similar to that given in W. Z. Park, "Shamanism in Western North America" (*Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences*, II, 1938), p. 18.

776 the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he
756 did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also
787 said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In
general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and
while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to
follow.

756 Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above
787 theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of
power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice
and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and
[869] techniques. The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him
that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to
remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger
of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental
pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the
community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or
special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his
power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the
case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting.
[755] Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she
was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was
the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her
sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started
to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services
free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however,
began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise
had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm.
781 She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream
787 and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned
[755] Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill.
From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give
her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

756 A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community
787 is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and
unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant
behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick,
the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the
child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage
the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret
them in terms of power.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot [554]
resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand,
get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for
guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type
of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure
within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned
him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father
had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and
uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and
his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect
that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that
Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore,
his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him
that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the
child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

THE THEORY OF DISEASE

THE Harney Valley Paiute recognize four main causes of disease. First, a man 753
may be sorcerized; that is, he may be killed or made sick by a man who 754
possesses bad power. Second, a man may be killed or made sick by his own 776
spirit helper by refusing to recognize it or obey its commands in every detail. These 775
two theories of causation are directly related to the concept of power. Third, a man
may be "ghosted," i.e., he may be attacked by a ghost and his breath stolen. Fourth,
sickness may result from the deterioration of his blood.

The most dreaded illness is that caused by sorcery. According to native belief, 753
a person with bad power can kill an individual by thinking mean thoughts about 754
him and wishing him dead. The bad power travels by means of the thought into
the body of the victim. The sorcerer may do this willfully or unwittingly, depending
on whether his bad thoughts are conscious or unconscious. In some cases of contemplated murder, the sorcerer throws his power into his enemy by striking him with a
small stick or rock. A sorcerer may also cause sickness by dreaming that he kills
his enemy or tells him to die. Although the victim usually does not know who has
caused his illness, sometimes he may dream of something related to his enemy's 787
power, which will give him a clue as to the identity of the sorcerer.

A few cases will elucidate the manner in which sorcery is thought to work. 756
Mr. John,[1] who had power in bullfrogs, would either call on these spirit helpers
and send them to attack his victim, or he would simply think evil thoughts about
his victim with the same effect. It is not clear whether the bullfrogs in the latter
case were supposed to read Mr. John's mind and to carry out his unexpressed wish 755
or whether some other mechanism was at work. If a doctor did not either suck the
frogs out of the body of the patient in time or get Mr. John to repent and take
a bath, the patient would die. Dr. George sucked four frogs out of a Harney Valley
man. People who attended the doctoring said that the frogs hopped around the
house and had to be driven out the door. According to reports, all the women were
frightened.

Mrs. Porter had bad power in snakes. Mr. M., her cousin, was going to
Drewsey to camp for a few days and Mrs. Porter wanted to go with him, but he
would not take her. She became very angry and told him that he would die soon.
That day, as he was travelling, he saw a snake. At night he dreamed that the snake 787
was crawling around his neck and choking him. He could feel it and hear it rattle.

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[1] Although Mr. John lived at Cedarville and was a member of the Surprise Valley band, he was well known by the Harney Valley band.

753 The next morning he woke up feeling ill. Knowing that Mrs. Porter had power
754 in snakes, he accused her, and the doctor who was called in agreed with the diagnosis.
[755] Mrs. Porter was persuaded to bathe, and Mr. M. recovered. Later Mrs. Porter
again sent her power after Mr. M. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on
him for five nights, Mr. M. died.

Dr. Thomas' wife, Sophie was said to have had fourteen husbands. During the course of my field work she developed a bad swollen eye which was diagnosed as having been caused by a woman in Fort Bidwell who was angry because at one time Sophie had stolen her husband. In this case the power must have travelled many miles, as Sophie was in Burns, and the other woman in Fort Bidwell.

753 The second common cause of sickness is one's own power, for it is believed
756 that if a person fails to obey his spirit helper he will become ill. To avoid such sickness
[776] one must perform in every detail the rituals taught by the spirit helper. During
my stay at Burns, Sarah became ill, and Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as follows:
[755] Jerry J. had a sty in his eye and came to her for treatment; although he did not have
seventy-five cents to pay, Sarah took pity on him and scraped his eye. According to
Dr. Thomas, she became ill because, contrary to the dictate of her spirit helper, she
worked without pay.

A similar case occurred in Cedarville when a woman doctor worked on her son's divorced wife when she did not feel like treating her and as a result became sick. It was interpreted that she worked on the woman against the will of her spirit helper and was punished for so doing.

J. Smith, a bullet proof man, had power in guns. He was killed by his own power for disobeying instructions about rituals which he was to perform. "He grew thinner and thinner as his power got the best of him, and just before he died, an unloaded gun standing in the corner of his house fired by itself." This event gave
[761] evidence of the cause of his death.

A person may disobey his power by refusing to make use of the gifts which
[787] are bestowed upon him or by failing to recognize dreams. Dr. Jones' son had dreams
of doctoring but was too shy to do in real life what he did in his dreams. As a
result he sickened and died. Mrs. Porter and her husband became ill several times
because they refused to use their bad power. In order to cure themselves they were
forced to sorcerize others. As will be seen later, many young people became ill as a
result of not recognizing power dreams.

753 A second way in which one's own power can cause sickness is closely related
756 to the first. If a person loses paraphernalia given to him by his spirit, he will sicken
778 and die. Fred, who had power in bullets, became ill because he lost a little bullet
which he was supposed to carry around with him. Dr. Harry worked on him and
when he discovered the cause of his illness, cured him by making him a copy of
the old bullet. Later, Fred hid the bullet in some rocks near Burns while he went to
Fort Bidwell. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a

public swimming pool. Fred never recovered from this loss. He went blind and 753
developed "a hole in his leg."[2] Another similar case was reported of Billie Brown. 756
He had power in rattlesnakes and was instructed to keep snake skins in his house. 778
His mother threw some of these skins in the fire one day and Billie nearly died. It [761]
is said that old Winimucca died when a fire burned down a barn in which he had
stored his paraphernalia.

Sometimes the loss of paraphernalia is purposefully caused by others. Dr. [754]
Harry's father was a doctor. Once when he was doctoring, someone intentionally
broke his pipe. He could not replace it and consequently sickened and died.

The loss of power through theft is a third way in which one's own power may 753
be indirectly responsible for sickness. Hany Egan had power in horses which 754
made it possible for him to escape from enemies when he rode. Oites stole his 756
power, "taking it out of his forehead," and Hany became delirious because "when [755]
one's power goes the breath goes with it."[3] Old Winimucca treated Hany and made
Oites suck the stolen power out of the back of his own hand and then return it by
sucking Hany's forehead.

There is a fourth way in which a person with power can hurt himself. A parent may unintentionally kill his own children. If a parent who has bad power or is beginning to get bad power dreams about his child, it is believed that the child will die. The implications of this belief will be discussed later.

The third major cause of illness is ghosts. According to Paiute belief, when a 753
man dies, his breath leaves his body and travels up the Milky Way into the sky. 775
It is not clear whether it is the breath alone or other attributes of the person as well
which become the ghost, but the ghosts live together in the sky. They attempt to
capture the breaths of their relatives so as to have company. They come in the day-
time or at night in whirlwinds and snatch the breath of their loved one and carry
it off. The victim becomes unconscious or delirious, and, unless a doctor can re- [761]
capture the breath and restore it to the body, the person will die.

It is believed that if a person thinks of a dead relative or friend, the ghost will come after him and he will become sick. A person must forget the dead, particularly those who have been dear to him, if he wishes to remain among the living. The sick must be particularly careful as they are the most vulnerable—since ghosts are apt to come to their homes because it is easy to capture their breaths.

If a person dreams of a ghost and if the ghost touches him, or if he dreams 753
about someone who is dead, the ghost is said to take away his thought. This is 775
similar to taking away the breath and the dreamer becomes ill. A case was reported 787
of a woman whose dead husband came after her and tried to take her away. She

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[2] Fred, when I saw him, was about forty-eight years old. He was blinded by trachoma and had tuberculosis of the hip bone.

[3] As will be seen later unconsciousness and delirium as well as death are thought to be caused by the loss of the breath, which leaves the body by the top of the head and goes up into the sky.

753 dreamed that he was going to take her and that she was going to be put in a coffin.
775 She escaped from him, but when she woke up in the morning half of her face was
787 paralyzed. People said that the man had a "mean mind" or he would have left her
in peace. The case was reported of a man who dreamed that a ghost was trying to
[761] give him something to eat. According to belief, had the man eaten the proffered
food, he would have died.

753 Ellen, a woman of about seventy-six, was constantly being troubled by ghosts.
775 In one instance, she became sick because she dreamed that she was playing cards
with a dead woman. Once she dreamed of her dead husband and her face became
stiff and ached. Another time Ellen dreamed that a ghost laid its head on her
breast. The next morning she felt sick. Helen reported a dream in which a ghost
[761] was lying on top of her as she slept. She woke up next morning feeling ill.[4]

Ghosts appear to persons while they are awake as well as in their dreams. A
woman who lived in Fort Bidwell got up one morning and went to the outhouse.
While she was there her son heard a lot of bumping and thudding and when his
mother did not come back went out to see what had happened. He found her
[761] "scratched up and bleeding all over." She was dead and it was said that the ghosts
of two of her dead sons had come after her and taken her away.

Piudi was walking one day and he passed the place where his wife had died.
He saw her sitting where she used to have her bed. She looked just as she had
looked in the old days and spoke to him. When he reached home, he did not feel
[761] well. He told the people that the ghost had said it would "get him," and that "he
was going one way."[5] The next morning, he was dead.

Dick Jonas was always being annoyed by the ghost of his wife. Once she came
to him in the night and yelled so loudly in his ear that he became deaf. Another
[755] time, she appeared during the day and made off with his breath and Dr. Charlie
Damin had to pursue it up into the sky in order to bring Dick back to consciousness.

It is said that a ghost also visits and plagues the living if they fail to destroy
[688] the dead man's property. When a person dies, it is customary to destroy all his
753 possessions and to abandon the house where he lived. If the deceased is a woman,
775 all the utensils for cooking and preparing food are destroyed; if a man, all his
weapons are broken and all his horses are killed or given away. The rationalization
768 for this is that if they are left around, they will remind relatives of the deceased
and, furthermore, the ghost will return to them or he will be angry and will haunt
the relatives until they destroy them. Nowadays, when the houses are wooden
bungalows built by the government, it is impossible to abandon them. As a result an
attempt is made to move sick people into makeshift shelters so that the relatives will
not have to live in a house where a person has died. Several old informants attrib-
[768] uted many deaths to living in houses which had been the homes of people who had
died

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[4] Bad dreams about snakes are also mentioned as being similar to dreams about ghosts.

[5] This expression refers to going up the Milky Way and never returning.

troubles with Joe, who drank and had affairs with other women, Helen always 578
attributed her troubles and unhappiness either to her loss of power or to the fact that she still had a little of it left. Years later she had pains in her back, and the doctor 753
who worked on her gave a vague diagnosis which she interpreted in terms of her power.

An analysis of this case suggests that the following facts were important in 753
influencing the doctors' diagnoses of Helen's illness: her father, her stepfather, 755
and one of her brothers had power in bullets; Helen was young and still at the age when the acquisition of power usually takes place; and she could remember a recurrent dream about guns. Sorcery might have been given as the cause since [754]
there was so much tension between Helen and her in-laws, but she had carefully left Burns so as not to irritate them or come into contact with them. Undoubtedly there were personality factors which also entered into the doctors' decisions. When I knew Helen, she had been through twenty years of married life, and I think her personality had probably been somewhat changed by adversity. She was intelligent [155]
and affable, but shy, timid, and unrealistically afraid of many people. It is surprising that her power should have been in bullets, for, in the old days, this type of power [756]
was supposed to make its possessor a good warrior. Helen said many times, however, that before her illness at the time of her son's birth, she had not been afraid of anything.

One of the most consistent correlates of the diagnosis of disease caused by 753
one's own power is the appearance in early life of a major affliction such as blindness 756
or some other physical defect which is not lethal but which leaves the individual permanently handicapped.

Dick Jonas lost his sight when he was about twenty-five years old. One day, two years after the Harney Valley Paiutes had been moved to the Yakima Reservation, Dick was asked by one of the Yakima Indians to train a wild horse. He set out with a friend of his. On the trip his eyes suddenly became very inflamed and swollen, and he and his friend, who was already partially blind, had a hard time 755
getting back to their camp. When he reached home a doctor was summoned and 753
paid a new blanket to work on Dick. He told him that the eagle, Dick's spirit helper, was angry and was taking his sight away because Dick had not obeyed the dreams which he had had. The eagle had told Dick in a dream that he was to [787
have power in bullets so that he would not be shot down. He told Dick to wear a 781]
tail feather, but Dick had not obeyed, so the eagle took the power away and punished Dick by making him blind.

Dick Jonas said that he had forgotten all about his dream until his eyes began to trouble him and the doctor worked on him. Then he had remembered the dream which he had had when he was twelve or thirteen years old. He had had the dream only once. The eagle had come to him as if it were real and had told him, "When an enemy comes near you, your body will shake all over and you will shout with

755 753 joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his [787 body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.

791] Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild [164] horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind and his daughter is blind.

753 755 It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

[164] Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred [756] had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry [777] at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

[55 white soldiers and brought up in Fort Boise. During the Modoc war he served as a
scout, and for the rest of his life he received a pension from the United States
Government. He married twice before he returned to Burns, and Ellen did not
become his wife until after the Paiutes had returned from Yakima. Captain Harry
[622] became one of the leading men of the new community and was chief and doctor
of the little group for the remainder of his life. He was also greatly respected by
the whites. His affection for Ellen was evidently unusually strong, as many informants commented on the close and enduring attachment between the two.

● [787] Ellen dreamed constantly and many of the dreams seem to have been about her
former life and her dead husband. The community held that Captain Harry missed
755 her greatly and that she in turn was guilty of not forgetting him. Sometimes she
753 diagnosed the dreams herself and went through private rituals to get rid of the
ghosts, instead of calling in a doctor.

Twice during my stay in Burns Ellen was treated for bad rheumatic pains and both times during the doctorings she reported that she had had bad dreams. Once a ghost laid its head on her breast. She could feel its breath on her face and tried to push it away. When she woke she felt sick and had a pain in her heart. Dr. Thomas worked on her and told her that the ghost had come in a whirlwind and embraced her around the waist. He drove the ghost away and advised her to perform certain rituals so that it would not come again.

754 In general, sorcery is diagnosed if there is a feud in the camp and the person
578 who is sick is either one of the parties involved in the dispute or is related to one
of the parties, or if it is known that the sick person has either antagonized someone
or been antagonized by someone. The person accused of sorcery, if he is not clearly
indicated by the nature of the feud in which the patient or his relatives are involved,
is usually a law breaker or someone who is generally unpopular; such a person is
accused on general reputation rather than for any specific behavior at the time. A
further condition which may be correlated with the diagnosis of sorcery is sudden
death not preceded by a definite period of illness or obvious degeneration due to
[753] old age. As we have seen, ailments and disabilities which develop slowly and linger
on are most frequently explained as caused by one's own power; while death in
old age is attributed to ghosts. An analysis of three cases in which sorcery was
diagnosed will exemplify and clarify these points.

The case of Polly is probably one of the easiest to analyze because the motives for the accusation of sorcery were clear-cut and circumstantial. Polly, who lived in Fort Bidwell, died in the summer of 1934 after a very brief illness. The fact that Polly was a second cousin of Jane Simms indicated to everyone that she had been killed by sorcery in revenge for the death of the Porter boy. In the early part of the summer Mrs. Porter's two sons had been playing with Jane's son. They had set up nickels as targets behind the Simms' house and were shooting at them with a gun. During the game one of the Porter boys shot his brother. The Porters blamed

754 the new land. Tom T. was one of the most vehement of the conservatives, whereas Paul Horn, having been hired by the government, was one of the first to move into one of the new houses. He moved down in the early spring and died late in August after a brief illness. Dr. Thomas, who was the only doctor in the new camp, [756] worked on him when he was ill and stated that the illness was caused by sorcery. He did not name the sorcerer but most of my informants believed that it was Tom T. Several people remembered that Tom had told Horn that he would be sorry if he moved into the new camp, and this was interpreted as a definite threat of sorcery. Helen was the only one of my informants who did not agree with this diagnosis. She thought that it was really Mrs. Horn who had killed him, on the grounds that she was a sullen, unfriendly woman and that she had started living with another man as soon as her husband had died.

The death of Mr. M. is another example of a case diagnosed as sorcery. Mr. M. was a mild, conservative, and shy man who minded his own business and was not unpopular with the other members of the community. He was lame as a result of falling from a horse and breaking his hip, and could not get around rapidly, although he seems to have been able to walk at his own speed for long distances. [155] He was married and had six children. Mrs. M. was a more dominant person and far from conservative in her younger days. She drank heavily and had affairs with other men. Some gossips said that one of her daughters was by a Negro who lived in Burns.

[578] The M. household was far from a calm one. Mr. and Mrs. M. quarreled constantly. On several occasions the fights reached such proportions that the whole community witnessed them. One winter night Mrs. M. chased her husband with a club and knocked him unconscious. She left him where he fell. On another occasion the neighbors were awakened in the middle of the night by screaming and moaning. Pete, the eldest son, and his mother were beating Mr. M., who seemed unable to defend himself. The onlookers, fearful that he would be killed, finally separated the two men and tied both of them up. Evidently Pete and his mother often got drunk together and turned on Mr. M.

Mr. M. died quite suddenly when he was in his early fifties. According to Mrs. M.'s account he was sorcerized by Mrs. Porter, his own cousin, who had come to Burns after having been driven out of Fort Bidwell. (See the case of Polly reported above.) According to Mrs. M.'s story, her husband decided to take his family camping near Drewsey and Mrs. Porter said that she would like to come along with them, but Mr. M. told her that he did not want her. Mrs. Porter flared up and said that he would be sorry if he did not take her. Mr. M. set out, and while he was travelling [787] he saw a snake. That night he dreamed that the snake was crawling around his throat and he awoke just as it was about to strangle him. The next morning he had a fever and they returned to Burns and summoned a doctor. Mrs. M. told the doctor that she thought that Mrs. Porter had done it because she was angry at Mr. M. and the

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood,
is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828]
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its possessor 756
employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punishment. 578
For example, if the doctor, backed by the community, accuses a person of having
made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

756 787 It is in respect to the last activity that the shaman is an outstandingly important member of Paviotso society. Although a man can acquire supernatural power which will enable him to be a successful hunter or a lucky gambler, these ends may be accomplished more simply by praying to the sun, or before the hunt by dreaming where game is to be found, or by use of charms. The shaman may also have the power to control weather, but this is not usually exercised for the good of the community. Rather, his [789] demonstration of control over the elements seems to prove the shaman's *rapport* with powerful spirits, which give him power to cure the sick and heal the wounded. It is, then, the supernatural inspiration and assistance which enable one either to draw out the cause of illness or to go in search of the lost soul of a patient that is pre-eminent in the Paviotso mind as giving meaning and importance to the acquisition and exercise of shamanistic power. It should be noted that a shaman who has power to doctor the sick is called puhágəm. This term is not used to designate people who possess supernatural powers for hunting, gambling, or warfare. There is no term for such power or for the people who enjoy it. However, supernatural aid in these latter functions is of the same sort and from the same source—spirits of animals, birds, etc.—as that acquired by a shaman. All supernatural power is, in theory, of the same order, but it is the possession of strong power to be exercised in the function of curing that is important in Paviotso ideology. The other objectives can be, and in fact most frequently are, accomplished satisfactorily, without spirit aid. Only curing depends directly upon power.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

756 776 The spirit beings which are everywhere in the Paviotso world are the sources of supernatural power. Spirits of the fauna, spirits from certain mountains and of rocks, as well as the elements, bestow on individuals the power (puhá) through which sickness is controlled and cured. In addition to securing power from these spirits, shamans also derive supernatural aid from ghosts of the [775] dead (sa'abᵊ) and from the dwarf-like creatures called water-babies that live in certain water-holes, lakes, and water-serpents thought to inhabit the lakes.

756 776 Indians were put here on this earth with trees, plants, animals, and water, and the shaman gets his power from them. One shaman might get his power from the hawk that lives in the mountains. Another may get his power from the eagle, the otter, or the bear. A long time ago, all the animals were Indians (they could talk). I think that is why the animals help the people to be shamans. Some strong shamans get their powers from the sun. (Joe Green)

[787] Anyone can get to be a shaman by dreaming. In the dreams, spirits such as those from the eagle, bear, owl, snake, antelope, deer, mountain sheep, mole, or falling star appear. The spirit that comes in the dreams is the shaman's power. It helps him to doctor sick people. (Harry Sampson)

It is not altogether clear whether the animal spirits are conceived to be those of the species or of a single animal. One statement would seem to indicate that it is a spirit of the species that confers power.

> When a shaman gets his power from the otter it means that the spirit is from many otters. The chief otter spirit tells the man to be a good doctor. It is this main otter that cannot be seen by the common people. He is the one that makes a man a shaman. He lives in a certain place in the water. Only the shaman can see him there. He knows where the otter is. He dreams about the otter and after a while he learns where the otter lives. (Joe Green)

This point was not carefully checked with other informants, but it would seem that the above statement formulates fairly accurately the norm of Paviotso belief in the animal and bird spirits that bestow shamanistic powers.

Several informants described the water-babies that are also believed to be a source of supernatural power.

> Some shamans get their power from the water-babies. They are the only people who can talk to them. They tell the rest of the people not to make fun of water-babies. These shamans can take the water-babies out of the lake.
>
> The water-babies came to life by their own power. They formed themselves. Some water-babies live in water-holes, and these holes never dry up. People call these water-babies the "breath of the water-holes." There is a cool breeze all the time in the mountains where they live. They have the power to cause wind to blow, even a very strong wind. The wind is their breath.
>
> There are also women in the lakes where the water-babies live. These women are like the water-babies. They have the same power. Big ser-

756 sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[7]

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787 The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

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858 Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power
> and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a
> [888] shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he
> is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green)

756 Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

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[7] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those
spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and
responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term
[776] "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his
supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*,
13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual
and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*.

power may come at any time during life at the volition of the spir- 756
its or powers.

Power that comes unsolicited makes itself known through re- 756
peated dreams. The spirit which is the source of power appears re- 787
peatedly in these dreams to instruct the dreamer. 776

> A man dreams that a spirit of deer, eagle, or bear comes to him. The spirit tells him that he is to be a doctor. When a man first dreams this way he does not believe it. Then the dream comes again. He dreams this way for a long time. The spirit tells him to collect eagle feathers, wild tobacco, a stone pipe, a rattle, and other things. When he gets these things he becomes a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him. (Nick Downington)

The dreams, both in form and in content, conform to no rigidly fixed pattern. One person may see an animal or a ghost in his dreams; another may only hear the voice of the spirit which gives him his power. There seems, however, to be an emphasis on auditory experiences in dreams. Usually in the first dream, the prospective shaman only hears the spirit singing and talking. In later dreams the spirit is seen. This is not always the case, for some shamans had visual evidence of the presence of supernatural powers in their first, as well as in later, dream-experiences.

The instructions given the novice shaman in dreams are also 787
varied. One may be told to follow certain rules in eating or in other 756
daily habits; for another the details will be quite different. As was mentioned in the statements above, the dreamer is told also to collect certain objects to be used in doctoring. There is, then, a certain generalized type of dream through which power is acquired. Within this framework, the dreams of individuals are quite varied. Differences in instructions received by shamans in dreams are often given as the explanation of the variety of ways in which shamans doctor or perform their other functions. Several informants stated that no two shamans have precisely the same dreams. Consequently, there are numerous differences in detail in carrying out shamanistic practices. These differences are never ascribed to individual interpretation, but are attributed to the whims of shamans' spirits reflected in the instructions received from the supernatural helpers in dreams or at the curing performance. Moreover, individuals vary in the number of dreams that

787 are had before shamanistic practice is undertaken. One man may
756 dream of a spirit only a few times; then, recognizing the meaning
of his experience, he will feel fully qualified to take up doctoring. Another novice shaman may dream repeatedly for a year or more before he enters upon his profession. No doubt the degree of suggestibility of various individuals is an important factor in determining the frequency of dreams. The desire of one person to become a shaman may lead to the interpretation that certain dreams have conferred power, whereas another may refuse out of fear to undertake shamanistic practice. If a person dreams of being a shaman only once, or even several times, it is not thought that he must obey the call.

It should be noted that relatively few complete dream-experiences were recorded. This is in part due to the feeling that the actual content of the dream itself was of no importance. The instructions that the dreamer received were all that mattered. Consequently, though few people related dreams in any detail, the knowledge and the instructions gained through such experiences were carefully reported by informants. There was no reluctance on the part of either shamans or laymen in discussing dream-experiences; all talked freely on this subject.

756 An account of the dreams by which power was given to one sha-
787 man will serve to illustrate the characteristic features of this sort
159 of experience.

> I was getting to be a doctor. My father was a doctor, and I got to be one just the same as he. In my dream, I heard a song. It was coming from the north. It was coming just a few feet above the ground. I heard that song. I heard it just one night. The song came all night. That was all I heard the first night.
>
> In dreams after that I saw a horse coming from the east. When I first heard him, he was on the other side of the mountain. Then I saw him come over the ridge. He came toward me and when he got close, he made a big circle around me. Then he went back. That horse had nothing to do with my power.
>
> My father used to doctor. He had power from the otter. I had the same power. After I dreamed about the horse, the otter came to me in my dreams. He told me to get his skin and to cut it into a strip about four inches wide down the length of the back from the head to the top of the tail and including the eyes and ears. Then he told me to get two eagle tail-feathers and put them in two holes in the skin at the neck and

> to tie them inside with buckskin. The feathers lay flat on the fur side of 756
> the skin. The otter told me to keep the skin and the eagle-feathers. He 787
> told me to use the skin and feathers when sickness is bad and hard to 159
> cure. He said, "When there is very bad sickness and no doctor can cure it, take the skin out of your sack and put it in front of you. Then you are going to try to cure." I was ready to doctor then. When I doctored, the otter gave me my songs.

This account then goes on to relate how a mistake was made in 756
the care of the paraphernalia and, as a result, the informant lost 787
his power. This illustrates the belief that if the exact details of the 159
instructions given by the supernatural spirit are not followed, the 688
offending shaman will suffer illness and loss of power.

> After I got my power, I tried doctoring a few times. Then one night the otter came to me again in a dream. He told me that I should get another tail-feather of the eagle. He said, "Take a round piece of abalone shell about the size of a quarter and fasten it to the feather." It was then that I spoiled my power. I had been thinking for some time that the otter-skin was too long. It was about four feet from the head to the tip of the tail. So I cut the head off. After I had done this I got sick. The last time I dreamed about the otter was when I was sick. I felt dizzy. I did not feel very good. I saw the otter jump into the upper end of Pyramid Lake. Then I saw him running on the desert. That was the last time I saw the otter. I had to call in a powerful shaman [Tom Mitchell] to cure me. He came and doctored me. He said to me, "I found out that you cut off the otter's head. That is what made you sick. When you did that the otter went away. You will never see him again. You cut the head off and now you are just like the otter. He does not know anything, and you are the same way." I never dreamed again of the otter when I got well. If I had not cut that piece from the skin I would now be a doctor. (Joe Green)

Very often dream-experience, if not understood, will result in 756
sickness. In this event it may be necessary to have a shaman inter- 787
pret dreams and restore the dreamer to health.

> A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man, who is still living here [Reno], was sick about a year. He almost died. When he was sick he went into trances and his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the land of the dead. He dreamed that way all the time when he was sick. He said that ghosts of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman. The man almost died, but his father finally cured him. (Harry Sampson)

756 The first few dreams in which supernatural spirits appear can be
787 safely disregarded. But shortly, if the instructions received in the
● dream are not followed, it is necessary to call a shaman to doctor the patient. In the course of curing, the shaman tells the patient to do as he had been told in his dreams. Then, if the summons is obeyed, recovery is assured. Usually a person is reluctant to become a shaman, and assumes his powers and follows the spirit's bidding only when he is told by other shamans that otherwise death will result. Likewise throughout the rest of the shaman's life he must follow carefully all the instructions given him by his supernatural power. If any part of shamanistic paraphernalia
788 which has been collected at the behest of the shaman's spirit is lost or destroyed, the shaman not only loses his power, but, as has been noted, sickness also results. Death may also follow any other very serious breaches of the injunctions placed on the shaman by the spirits.

In addition to those who receive shamanistic power from involuntary dreams, there are individuals whose desire for power is sufficiently strong to cause them to undertake a voluntary quest. There are certain places, such as caves in the mountains, where power can be acquired.[8] Eight or ten such places are known today, and perhaps formerly there were still others which are now forgotten.

In some of these places, only power for certain undertakings can be sought; in others several kinds of spirit aid can be gained. The tests that are imposed upon the seeker differ also according to the place where the power is sought.

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> Power is sought on a mountain near Wabusca. This power protects a man against bullets. It makes him a great warrior. When a man gets power at this place he must run down the side of the mountain without breathing. If he does not do this the power will not help him. This place is not like the other places where power is acquired. Here the noises of all the animals are not heard the way they are in the caves. Only power to be a warrior comes from this mountain. This place is called tágwan'. A long time ago men got power there. No one goes there nowadays.
>
> There is another place near Fallon where power is sought. The power

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[8] Lowie recorded that, ". . . in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision." *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294.

> to be a doctor can be acquired on this mountain. Big rocks roll down 756
> when a person goes there to seek power. If one steps out of the way of 787 ●
> these rolling rocks, the power will not come. The rocks come within a 778
> couple of feet of the person who is seeking power and then disappear. That is the way the spirits test people who go there to get power. The mountain is called wayíkudəgwa'. (Rosie Plummer)

There are no preparations for the power-quest. The man who 756
seeks a vision does not fast either before he undertakes the quest 787
or during his stay in the cave. Nor is the quest for power accompanied by self-torture or extended physical exertion.

Late in the afternoon, the man who seeks power goes to a cave where, he has heard, it is possible to acquire power. Food for a midnight and a morning meal may be taken along. Upon entering the cave, the aspirant for supernatural power asks for the particular kind of power that he desires. He then makes simple preparations for spending the night there. Power comes simply as a result of the aspirant's request and his concentration on the desire for power. One of the informants, Dick Mahwee, who sought and received his power in a cave, gave an account of his experiences.[9] His version will serve as a fairly representative statement of this manner of acquiring power.

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> When I was a young man I had dreams in which I doctored people. 787
> I did not take those dreams seriously. My uncle was an Indian doctor. 159
> He knew what was coming to me. He told me to be careful in talking, not to speak harshly [in order not to offend the supernatural spirits]. I did not become a doctor from these dreams. Finally, I decided to go to the cave near Dayton. I was about fifty then. My uncle did not tell me to go there. I just decided to do this myself.
>
> I went into the cave in the evening. As soon as I got inside, I prayed and asked for power to doctor sickness. I said, "My people are sick. I want to save them. I want to keep them well. You can help me make them well. I want you to help me to save them. When they have died give me power to bring them back [return the lost soul]." I said this to the spirit in the cave. It is not a person. It comes along with the darkness. This is a prayer to the night.
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> Then I tried to go to sleep. It was hard to sleep there. I heard all kinds of noises. I could hear all the animals. There were bears, mountain lions, deer, and other animals. They were all in caves in the moun-

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[9] It may be of interest to note that he related his experiences in detail each summer during the three seasons in the field. These accounts recorded a year apart agreed in all details.

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tain. After I went to sleep I could hear people at a doctoring. They were down at the foot of the mountain. I could hear their voices and the songs. Then I heard the patient groan. A doctor was singing and doctoring for him. A woman with a sage-brush shoot in her hand danced. She moved around the fire jumping at every step. Each time she jumped she said, "hɔ', hɔ', hɔ'." Then the shaman sprinkled water on the patient with sage-brush. The singing and dancing went on for a long time. Then the singing stopped. The patient had died and the people began to cry.

After a while the rock where I was sleeping began to crack like breaking ice. A man appeared in the crack. He was tall and thin. He had the tail-feather of an eagle in his hand. He said to me, "You are here. You have said the right words. You must do as I tell you. Do that or you will have a hard time. When you doctor, you must follow the instructions that the animals give you. They will tell you how to cure the sickness. I have this feather in my hand, You must get feathers like it. You are also to find the things that go with it. Get dark beads. Put them on the quills of the feathers and tie a strip of buckskin to the quills. Also get a hoof of a deer, and down from the eagle. With these you can go to people to cure them. These are your weapons against sickness. You must get three rolls of tobacco. You can use them to tell your patients what made them sick and then you can cure them. The tobacco will also help you if you are choked with clots of saliva when you suck out the disease. With this you are beginning to be a doctor. You will get your songs when you doctor. The songs are now in a straight line [ready for use]. Bathe in the water at the foot of the cliff and paint yourself with i·bi [white paint]."

Then I woke up. It was daylight. I looked around but I could not see anyone. The man was gone and there was no sign of the animals or the people who had been singing and doctoring. Then I did as the spirit had ordered and waited to become a doctor. In about six years I had received enough instructions to begin to cure.

The success of the power-quest is dependent upon the seeker's undeviating adherence to the traditionally recognized form of procedure. If he does not go to the right place or if he refuses to stay in the cave the entire night, failure will attend his efforts. Also, as in unsolicited dreams, the instructions of the spirits must be carefully followed. Consequently, only those who do not abide by these conditions fail in the quest for power. Several informants related anecdotes of men who were unable to acquire power owing to their failure to follow the correct procedure in the quest.

Happy Dave heard about the cave where power is acquired. He went there, but he did not want to go inside the cave. He tied his horse

> above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river and bathe and put i·bi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee) 756 78[illegible] 159 787 [751]

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death. 756 787 [768]

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power. [775]

> Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

756 787 The eldest son does not always get the power. There is no rule, because the power always decides who is to be a shaman. Several doctors here [Pyramid Lake] inherited their powers. One woman has her father's power. She is as strong a doctor as he was. (Dick Mahwee)

In the old days, a shaman before his death did not give away his power. A son or daughter got the power after the shaman died. A few years ago a woman at Walker Lake gave her power to her daughter before she died. I do not think this was done in the old days. (Rosie Plummer)

My father had power from the otter. After he died, I dreamed about the otter and his songs. I never saw my father in my dreams. He did not decide that I would get his power. The otter decided that. Sometimes a shaman can tell before his death which child will inherit the power. One child will talk in his sleep and try to sing. The songs are not plain enough to be understood. Then the doctor knows that the child will have his power after he dies.

When my father was dying, he wanted to give me his doctoring outfit. But I knew about the danger and I did not take it. I knew it would make me sick. If I had taken his outfit he would have wanted his rattle and eagle-feather with him. He [his ghost] would come back to get these things. Then I would have got sick and died. (Joe Green)

Cases of shamanistic power being transmitted to a child while the parent is still alive are also known. In this event, both parent and child are regarded as practising shamans.

Sometimes a man will get his power from his father who is a doctor. Both can doctor at the same time. The father will tell the son how to doctor. When a boy starts going into trances, his father knows that some day his son will be a doctor. A woman can inherit power the same way. (Annie Dick)

One informant, Rosie Plummer, inherited her power from her father. He in turn had been the heir to his brother's power. Her account gives the typical beliefs for this way of acquiring shamanistic power.

756 787 159 When my uncle was dying, he told my father to take his power. He wanted my father to have the power to doctor. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions for doctoring that way. The next day my uncle died. Soon after that my father began to have dreams. My uncle would appear in these dreams. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father did not like the dreams. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away [so he would die]. [778] My uncle, before he died, had given my father a little piece of lead with a hole in the center. The hole was filled with eagle

> down. My father buried the lead and the eagle down. Then his brother's ghost did not bother him again. That lead and the feathers represented my uncle's power. After that my father became a powerful shaman. His power told him to catch rattlesnakes. They did not bite him. He was told to put sage-brush in his nostrils so the snakes would not hurt him. 756 787 778 159
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> Rattlesnake was my uncle's power; then my father had rattlesnake for his power. Now the snake gives me power. Rattlesnake came to my father in dreams. That is how he learned to treat snake-bites. Rattlesnake told him to catch rattlesnakes and take two fangs from each. He was to do this until he had ten fangs. Then he was told to take ten stone beads that were colored like rattlesnake eyes. He strung the beads and the fangs together. He used this string of beads to treat rattlesnake bites. He could also cure people who were sick. 756 787 825 159
>
> Sometimes my father caught rattlesnakes and put them around his waist. He used to ride home carrying rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me. He told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me, but it did not bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.
>
> My father died about twenty years ago. Nearly fifteen years later, when I was about fifty, my father began to come to me in dreams. He brought his power to me. He told me to doctor. I dreamed about him three or four times before I believed that I would doctor. After a while the power started to come to me when I dreamed. Then I stopped dreaming about my father. The rattlesnake told me what to do. The snake helps me doctor now. It comes to me when I dream. Several times it has told me to catch snakes, but I have not done it. This has not yet made me sick.

It is difficult to state what proportion of shamans at any one time have inherited powers. Nearly everyone has or had either close or distant kin with shamanistic power. There seems to be a general feeling that at least one child of a shaman will inherit powers. On the other hand, there is good evidence that in many cases a shaman's powers are lost at death. It also seems evident that inheritance here is but a variation on the theme of acquiring power through dream-experience. 756

Related to the practice of transferring power before death to the son or daughter is the idea that it can be shared with another. However, when a shaman gives his power to some member of his family, usually that person has already been set apart from others as having a predisposition to acquire power. This is exhibited early in life by dreams and by talking while asleep. Transfer in this

756 fashion appears to happen frequently, for it was described by a number of informants who knew of several shamans who had acquired power from a parent during the lifetime of that individual. On the other hand, sharing power with any person not so disposed is not a common practice. Only one incident of transferring power in return for property or other considerations was recorded.

There are, then, three general ways in which the Paviotso may acquire power, but all depend fundamentally upon the same type of experience. In spite of the many opportunities thus afforded for acquiring power, it is evident that relatively few people actually become shamans. The explanation doubtless is to be found in the danger involved in both the acquisition and the use of supernatural power.

756 Another point that emerges from these accounts is the extreme
757 simplicity of the voluntary power-quest. Essentially, it is little
171 more than the deliberate seeking for the usual dream-experiences accompanied by rather simple tests of the candidate's courage. The long and arduous physical exertions that characterize the Plateau quest and the fasting and self-torture of the search for power on the western Plains are totally unknown to the Paviotso. It is as though the deliberate quest for power here were lightly superimposed upon an older basic pattern in which shamanistic power was derived from dream-experiences alone.

LOSS OF POWER

756 A shaman is never secure at any time in the possession of his
688 power. Careless treatment of paraphernalia or the flouting of instructions given by the spirits may deprive the shaman of his ability to cure disease. Moreover, careless or malicious acts of others may endanger the shaman's power. If a spectator at a curing ceremony does not carry out the precise requests of the practitioner in handling food, painting the face or body, maintaining silence at specified times during the performance, or other special forms of behavior demanded of those present, harm in the form of failure to effect a cure as well as sickness for the shaman is likely to follow. Frequent instances of illness and loss of power among shamans were attributed by informants to these or similar missteps or to abuses in utilizing the special powers conferred upon these people.

CAUSE OF DISEASE

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor 753
ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." [757]
The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said [164]
that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans [774]
may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by [688]
their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a [787
dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an 755]
intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause [754]
sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

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[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is [114]
cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

753 sorcery, dreams, ghosts, and animals, as well as the illness of shamans resulting from mistakes or disobedience either of the practitioner or of others.

753 Dreams (nɔsi) are commonly the cause of sickness. That is, the
787 dream itself is directly responsible, not prophetic of, illness. The
experiences in such dreams usually are connected with ghosts of
the dead or visions of sickness and death. Often the dreamer will
not suffer the ill effects of his dream, but a relative or a member of
the household is the victim of the illness so caused. These disease-
causing dreams seem to be entirely involuntary; one dreams—with
no conscious desire to cause harm—that another is, or will be, ill;
and shortly thereafter that individual becomes sick. Thus, illness
among children is commonly believed to result from the dreams of
parents. A father will dream that his child is ill; a few days later
[756] the child is stricken and a shaman must be called in. If the shaman
is not called very soon after the first manifestation of the sickness,
the child will die. Visitors, as well as the parents, may bring about
the illness of children as the result of dreams. In the summer of
753 1934, one such incident caused some excitement on the Pyramid
787 Lake Reservation. As several informants reconstructed the affair,
578 the following incidents led to a threat of murder.

> Joe Overall was visiting Rawhide Henry. After they ate at noon, Joe fell asleep at the table. When he woke up he said that he had dreamed about Rawhide's grandchild. He said that in the dream the girl was sick and weak. She was very sick. She was almost dead. The girl's parents told Joe to do something to take away the dream. Otherwise it looked bad for the girl. The girl's mother asked Joe to wash the girl and pray so the dream would go away. He did not want to do it. He told them that she would be all right. In a few hours the girl was sick. They called in a shaman to doctor the girl. The next day Rawhide's family wanted to kill Joe. Joe was a shaman a long time ago, but he lost his power. They think that he may have a little power left and that he used it to make the girl sick.

753 The contents of the dreams which result in sickness are varied.
787 A relative may be seen to be ill or dying; voices may speak of sickness, or the dreamer may experience aches and pains. Apparently, in these dreams spirits or ghosts are not seen.

> Dreams about sickness just come natural. There do not seem to be any spirits that cause them. The dream just comes and then soon after you are sick. (Nick Downington)

> **People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different 753
> ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person 787
> dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be
> heard telling the dreamer to do certain things. Other people dream that
> a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams
> are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)**

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'ab^{ə}), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the
bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady
has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782]
recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not
remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then over- 753
come the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755
The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787
on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775
cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753
Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774
in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ́yəp, or numəmugu'^{a}.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

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[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls restored 775
by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these 753
cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must 774
be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation frequently 756
given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point.

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. 753
When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is suddenly 756
awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. 774
Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisition 753
of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness 756
at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of 787
shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso.

755
tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing 756
throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be 755
noted. This is the dancer (wŭtádᵊ). The dancer is always a woman 535
and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous.
She may be either married or single. This performer carries a
bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This [534]
type of rattle (wadákət') is held close to the front of the body
and jerked up and down in time to the dance step. The dancer
follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets
up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction.
Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but
others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while
he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short,
quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee [765]
equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for 755
if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means that in the summer the curing does not get under way before ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are
also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One [756
may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his 757]
clothing in a particuler way.

After singing for a time, the shaman gets up and walks or hops 755
slowly around the fire in the center of the room. If he employs a dancer, she follows him around the room each time he makes a circuit. He always moves around the room counter-clockwise. In describing this part of the performances, one informant volunteered the remark, "The whirlwind always moves in that direction too." Unfortunately, I neglected to question others on this point.

When the shaman sits down, he takes up his pipe, already 755
filled by the interpreter, takes several puffs, and then passes it 276
around among the spectators, always in a counter-clockwise direction. Everyone must take one or two whiffs of smoke, the number varying according to the shaman's instructions. The singing continues while the shaman smokes and during the time the pipe is being passed around. If anyone refuses to smoke, the shaman stops the performance until that person can be made to conform to his request. Otherwise the curing will not be successful, and the shaman will suffer from the annoyance of his power. The pipe is usually circulated among the spectators at intervals ranging from half an hour to an hour as long as the curing rite continues, customarily until morning.

The nature of the disease determines to some extent the general 755
plan of procedure. If the patient is unconscious and appears to [774]
be dead, it is obvious that he is suffering from soul loss. It is then imperative for the shaman to go into a trance (yáika)[15] as quickly as possible in order to find and return the soul before it has strayed too far. On the other hand, when disease results from other causes, the shaman may go into a trance in order to diagnose the illness and to confer with his power on the treatment. Whether or not the shaman goes into a trance for the latter purposes is said to be dependent upon the strength of his power.

The procedure for entering a trance varies considerably from 755
one practitioner to another, but the following statement will serve 787
to give an outline of generally accepted forms of practice. The shaman who goes into a trance first details five men to catch him as he staggers about the fire singing. They lower him to the ground

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[15] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, gives the term *mugwamanaq'* for this shamanistic trance. My informants were not familiar with this word.

755 and when he shows signs of returning to consciousness, they rub
787 his limbs, especially the joints, with the feather wand. If the
spirit of the shaman is returning with a lost soul, he can be heard talking with the soul as the spirits approach their respective bodies. When the shaman uses the trance for prognostic purposes, he will not only see the cause of illness but also signs which are interpreted as omens of recovery or of death. A trance of the latter kind was described by Dick Mahwee.

> I smoke before I go into the trance. While I am in the trance no one makes any noise. I go out to see what will happen to the patient. When I see a whirlwind I know that it caused the sickness. If I see the patient walking on grass and flowers it means that he will get well; he will soon be up and walking. When I see the patient among fresh flowers and he picks them it means that he will recover. If the flowers are withered or look as if the frost had killed them, I know that the patient will die. Sometimes in a trance I see the patient walking on the ground. If he leaves footprints I know that he will live, but if there are no tracks, I cannot cure him.
>
> When I am coming back from the trance I sing. I sing louder and louder until I am completely conscious. Then the men lift me to my feet and I go on with the doctoring.

Apparently today few shamans are able to induce a trance state in the curing performance. It is frequently said that in former times, however, shamans commonly went into trances in curative practice. It is now impossible to determine how important a rôle this played in the shamanistic rites of aboriginal days. It should be noted that usually no distinctions are made between those who go into trances and those who do not. Several informants were of the opinion that there was only a difference in degree —those who used the trance were the more powerful shamans.

As soon as the shaman returns to consciousness, he relates his experiences in the trance. The singing is then resumed. If the shaman has found that the sickness is due to the presence of a disease object, at this point in the ceremony he will attempt to extract it by suction. This part of the treatment is shown as nubu'u or as patɔzibúo͜iid. My notes fail to give any distinction between the two terms.

755 He sucks the part of the body which his diagnosis has shown to be the seat of the pain. Usually he applies his mouth to the

> 789
> shaman asked for beads, skins, or flint when he brought the wind, he 756
> would spoil his power. He would lose his power if he did not obey his
> spirit. (Joe Green)

Some shamans, but not all, are able to foretell the future. Ap- 787
parently even among those who are supposed to have the ability 756
to predict future events the power is not frequently exercised.
One shaman is reported to have foreseen the coming of the whites,
and others have foreseen several serious epidemics.

Sarah Winnemucca mentions the shamans' gift of prophecy. She describes a dream of her father's in which the killing of the Indians by the whites was predicted.[19] Although Sarah does not specifically make a statement about her father's power, there is evidence both in her account and from my field notes that he was a shaman. On still another occasion, future events were revealed to Sarah's brother in a dream. When he awoke from the dream, the people were called together and the prophecy was related.[20]

All informants denied that shamans exercise their clairvoyant 726
powers either on the warpath or on the eve of the departure of 787
the war-party. In fact, aside from their rôles in treating the 756
wounded and fighting shoulder to shoulder with other men,
shamans have no outstanding position in battle or the preparations
that precede it. On these occasions, the shaman's position is defi- [554]
nitely subordinate to that of the war-leader or chief. This official
may, however, owe his position to the possession of supernatural
power which makes him invulnerable, hence a daring and fearless
fighter, the qualifications for the leader of a war party. In Sarah
Winnemucca's account there is a suggestion, not borne out by
the above, that shamans previsioned the outcome of battles. At
least her father on one occasion and her brother on another fore-
told from dream experiences the outcome of impending conflicts
with the whites.[21]

In all these clairvoyant revelations, only harmful events such 787
as sickness, warfare, and death are predicted. There is no indica- 756
tion that successful undertakings or happy events are previsioned.
This characteristic of Paviotso clairvoyance may be related to

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[19] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 14–15.

[20] Ibid., 80.

[21] Ibid., 14, 80.

787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.

756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

ANTELOPE SHAMANS

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a [622] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope. A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

[796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life, are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the [776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice, but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

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792 preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e.,
[787] they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary
experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals.
Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because
[756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired
power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became
powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for
their curative abilities.

668 The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to reconstruct
792 on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests,
756 however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in
[622] fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established
shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an important
[622] and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his
influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief
[556] and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. [731] At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. 237 The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. 301 Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. [226] [262] [439] The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. [756] Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. [787] ● The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivolvis* are also called potE. [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[46] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahape, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'bwap, pa-ma-wăp.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten. [262]

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip.

sawipi, siwapi, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[46] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

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Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

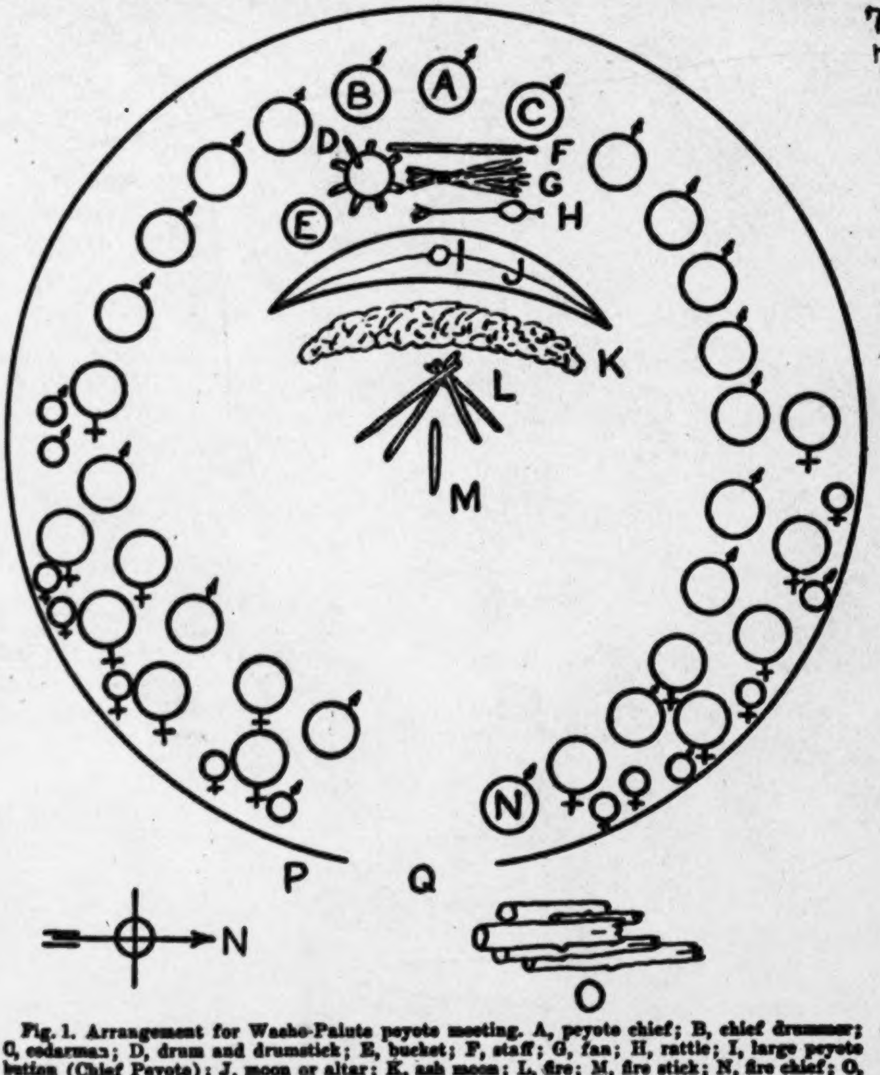

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

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The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestuous relations with his sister.

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[835]

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[illegible]

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That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[illegible] Except when persistently

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[illegible] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[illegible] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to
peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[48]

[761] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the
[743] chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened
[648] water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast.
Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood.
[826] Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital
treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure
N better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully
W using peyote.

• 771 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members
said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at
●787 least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[49] Peyote visions of
*795 dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful
land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are
proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors,
attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences,
but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[50] For three
or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most
consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four
buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they
impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new
N peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious
W aspect of the cult.[51]

171 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function
276 also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero
*795 as peyote's principal virtue.[52] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as
fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[53]

N Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious
W grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First,
178 peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters
771 accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral
*795 speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[54] The Christian missionaries,
of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers.
Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is
N implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal
W guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting
[797] he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[48] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[49] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[50] Petrullo writes, "... a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[51] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[52] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[53] La Barre, 72.

[54] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

N

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,[illegible] thereby angering the W 178
missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey 771
Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because 795*
no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that [797]
his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed.
"Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult.
Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more N
charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[illegible] Don James (W,2) W 178
and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their
families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while 273
drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunk- 276
enness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drink- 795*
ing, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most
peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the
Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that
peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former
members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[illegible] Peyotists
do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person;
also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify N
whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use W
rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations con- [787] ●
vincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[illegible] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts
declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, N
"Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit." W

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or 276
at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former 578
members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs 795*
were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and [786]

[illegible] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.) [832]

[illegible] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the *former* cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[illegible] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a *few* peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[illegible] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

N W

177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural
disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration
and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise
the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared
the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become
truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything,
they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed
analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into
these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
[755 curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
[171 singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used;
curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
[801 visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—
[756 "Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
[276 peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
[787 common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion,
W one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism,
[755 for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
[534 aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
[276 a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide,
[533 or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial
[801 number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
[823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
[787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
[755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the
sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

N Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, W she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins 171 and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See *795 note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, 796 Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: ᵈamē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ni'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

N 260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

W 261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

● [787] 262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

. Wadātkuht

regions outside their recognized territory.

132 Winter temperatures can be extreme in the Honey Lake area with temperatures occasionally falling as low as -20°F in the vicinity of the winter villages of the Wadátkuht. Summer temperatures can exceed 100°F for short periods. Fields of snow often remain on the crest of the Sierra until June, occasionally until August, and snow can be heavy on the valley floor in the winter. Also in the winter Honey Lake Valley may be filled with a dense fog which will remain for several weeks. This same fog shrouded area in the summer, particularly around Honey Lake, may be subjected to choking, blinding dust storms of considerable magnitude. Despite this [137] seemingly harsh environment the Wadátkuht were very fortunate to have groves of oak trees within their territory. They also [133] were fortunate to have Honey Lake and the network of swamps and sloughs of Susan River which attracted myriads of waterfowl to nest and feed. The Wadátkuht environment could be harsh, but it could also be bountiful.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD

175 [174] The date of first contact by Europeans with the Honey Lake Paiute may never be known with any exactness, but it can be assumed that some knowledge of the whites had been obtained by the last quarter of the 18th century. The existence of the Spanish after their founding of the mission at what is now San Francisco in 1776 was certainly known to Indian groups even as remote as the Honey Lake Paiute. Visits by Europeans into the general region are recorded as first having occurred in 1829 when Peter Skene Ogden made a trip west from Salt Lake to northwestern Nevada in that year. In 1830 he traveled from the Columbia River to the Colorado River on a route which lay to the east of the Sierra Nevada. His exact route is not known but it may have been through Nevada rather than in California along the east margin of the Sierra Nevada (Elliott, 1920). There can be little doubt that activities such as his were soon known to all groups neighboring the areas of penetration. It is thus probable that the Honey Lake people had heard rumors and tales of the white people for many years before they actually saw them. In fact, the coming of the whites was "foreseen" by Sanezha wahits, an old shaman. He sang for four or five nights and told the Honey Lake people that something was coming to their country, and that "something" was a white-skinned people. [787] Because of this prediction the Wadátkuht were not too surprised to see the first white

Wadátkuht

103
361 The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91,
[787] and it is at this spring that certain persons would see
[776] "water babies". This village site is located slightly more than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg° tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg°, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas
[226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers
[251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidū dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T28N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16
[412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said
[231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that
[417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadatkuht

754 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two
of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors,
755 and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at
home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed
Gladys got well.

754 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as
follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was
[841] detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not
[262] accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was
due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed
[787] with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to
● make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on
754 the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the
woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a
783 curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might
die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip,
hakínukpa, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and
parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an
ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time
and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen
into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin
did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law
turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor
and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified
his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and
pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'yu
Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

754 The following account describes what might happen to a
sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two
683 children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai,
Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty
about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's
father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was
taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am
going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the
man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it
upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai"
house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret
Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled
the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and
another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

Wadatkuht

"carry out his orders", while he nuhpu, "doctors". 755

The doctor sucked several times then hummed, tunikihm, while all the other people sang his song loudly. When he stopped his singing to hum, the other people sang on. The humming indicated the approach of the spirit, nosihp. His nosihp talked to him while he hummed. His helper interpreted while he hummed. Meanwhile, the people continued to sing. [776]

The doctor sang different songs, very pretty songs with pretty words. He sang of the mountains, the sun, the moon, and of the springtime. It was a good sign if the patient broke into the doctor's song. [533]

The doctor eventually got up and danced; the women (and sometimes the men) got up and followed behind him. As they went around in a circle the interpreter got up and danced with them. "The dance was like a conga line." Everyone kept in step with the doctor's song. They circled to the left about three times around the patient while singing the doctor's song. The doctor began to stagger and spin in a circle, but before he dropped several men grabbed him and laid him down. At this time he was stiff and unconscious, and while in this condition he spoke. He remained in this state for about one-half hour during which time everyone continued to sing his song. When he came out of his sleep the interpreter helped him sit up. He now talked about his dreams and how he argued with the devils and spirits for the patient's life, and sometimes he told the people that the patient was going to die. [787]

As soon as the doctor awakened the people asked him such questions: Will the patient get well? What is bothering the sick person? The doctor gave instructions to the child's parents (or in the case of an adult patient, to some close relative) on the care of the patient. Usually the close relatives were to go to a spring and wash themselves and pray.

While the doctor was unconscious and the patient lying ill, everyone watched the eagle feather in the can. If it fluttered the patient would get well, if it drooped he would probably die. The feather usually took either course on the fourth night. [787]

Doctoring for a Rattlesnake Bite. The woman who doctored Joaquin when he was bitten by a rattlesnake was Tuna'^{k}sua, "Short Girl", Tsudi's mother. The name of the plant whose 752 [278] munal rabbit drives and for hunting water fowl such as mud hens, 221 ducks, geese, and swans. This very considerable range of activities implies residence from which the valley lakes and flats, as well as the hill country, were accessible. There seem to have been no set camp spots, but the Adel and Bidwell districts were particularly favored for fall residence.

Winter was the season of food shortage. At this time the Gidū'tikad^{u} returned to more or less permanent sites, there to consume the seeds, dried roots, and meats which they had cached. Hunting of deer, antelope, and rabbits continued. In addition, bear, wildcat, and otter were hunted because "then they were fat, and their skins were good." Winter was also the season of antelope charming. [789] ●

When asked concerning the relative importance of animal foods, my informant replied, with an excellent display of logic:

> They ate more deer and rabbits than anything else because they hunted them all year round. Rabbits are not so good this time of year; squirrels are better now. It all depends on the season (P:NH).

WINTERING GROUNDS

The Gidū'tikad^{u} had a number of established wintering grounds, 103 and, as a corollary, recognised certain regions—such as the country west of the Warners, the area between Surprise and Warner valleys, 361 Big valley, and the east side of Surprise—which were best shunned during winter because of heavy snows, insufficient resources, etc.

The northernmost winter camp was in the vicinity of Plush, Oregon. According to Piudy, it was known as Sa'ga'^{u}namatsibui and refers in some obscure way to "the place where the river comes from the mountain into the open country." What is doubtless a different rendering of the same term was given by Joshua who called a Honey creek site near Plush, Saga'pamatsibua. He claimed that it was derived from saga', a kind of willow, and tsibua, canyon mouth.

Adel, farther south in Warner valley, was called Saib^{u} and was a favorite wintering ground. A camp site just below the present MC ranch house was called Wa'habi^{i} (from wago'pi, pine tree, and habi^{i}, fall down) and was so-named from a creek into which a large tree had fallen. A site "southeast of Adel," described as a few miles east of Dugout,[14] was called Kusi'nūt^{u}.

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[14] As the location of this wintering ground is highly doubtful, if has not been entered on the map. Possibly it should be southwest instead of southeast of Adel. In a letter, Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, Lakeview, states that the locality known as Dugout falls within Township 40 South, Range 23 East. This would place it definitely southwest of Adel.

walking and gradually got within shooting range by imitating the movements of the animal, pawing the ground and simulating grazing in order to make the deception realistic. The antelope disguise was called düna'-dua. 224

In the fall of the year four or five persons cooperated in hunting antelope. One or two would hide and the remaining members of the party would go far around, approaching the herd from the opposite direction and frightening them toward the concealed marksmen.

According to Dr. Sam, a herd might start for the rim, pursued by the hunter. "Any kind of game" might be so caught, even elk (pa'dühüte; pa, water, dühü'te, deer).[24] As Gidü'tikad[6] informants denied driving game over a cut bank, this statement may hold only for the Silver lake band.

In winter, when antelope ran in large herds, they were driven into brush corrals and slaughtered in great numbers. This is the so-called "antelope charming," several accounts of which follow. 224 789● 622

> Two men here and one in Warner could charm antelope. Charlie Washo's father could drive them into the corral like cattle.
>
> One or two men were bosses, just as in the rabbit hunt. The headman (boss) sent one or two young fellows to look around for a band of antelope. In the evening they said, "We found one band." Then the boss called everyone; 15 or 20 camps came, maybe 100 men. In the evening that headman talked like a doctor, not like a common man: "We are going to have a song. We'll make them turn here." They had singing.
>
> The doctor (headman) took a stick about so long,[25] and a string of horse hair (or other string before we got horses; maybe a deer string), and twisted this around the stick. Then he took off his coat, put it on a hide, and folded it into a bundle about four feet long like a body. He tied it tight lengthwise with a rope. Then he rubbed the rope with his stick, and made a noise on the string like a violin.
>
> The boss faced the antelope; the young men faced him, and the other men sat around the fire in a circle, inside a brush fence. They sang maybe ten songs. They danced and made a noise like antelope.
>
> The doctor (headman) stood up. The young men touched all the dancers and knocked them down. Then the boss sat down. All was quiet.
>
> Soon there was talking, "The antelope come. Get up, boys. What do we know? The antelope are looking this way. They will come tomorrow. They say, 'If you do no wrong we shall come. You boys and girls, mind well.' "
>
> We had a circular brush corral, two miles [*sic*] around, with an opening each side of which everybody lined up in a long wing. Four or five men went after the antelope. The boss stayed at the corral and directed the people: "The antelope are coming. Watch out. All steady; all quiet."
>
> As the antelope galloped between the wings into the corral they never were frightened. If angry they would escape through a wing. The doctor stood

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[24] Which seem to have been extremely rare.

[25] About 18 inches.

224 in the center of the corral with a married woman [not his wife], who knelt. He told her, "Don't move. The antelope will come to you. Don't be frightened."
622 She kept still.

789 We camped in a circle and before sundown built campfires. The headman came to me and said, "Steady, take off your cap and scare them for about three hours until the sun is over there [indicating mid-afternoon]."

One man scared them around inside the corral until the headman said, "That's enough. They are tired already. When the headman said this, all the men tried to get one antelope apiece. The first man who shot a big buck put it in the center where the woman knelt (JB).

Just one man can charm antelope; I don't know how he learns. He is like a doctor. He sits with everyone in the circle and sings, making music on a doe hide (deer or antelope) that is stuffed with clothes and tied with string. If the people know how, they help him sing. A plain stick (unnotched) is wrapped with any kind of braid, and the charmer works it back and forth on the bundle. After a long time he says, "They haven't looked at us yet." Finally he says, "The deer are coming," and falls unconscious on his drum and visions an antelope. Finally he recovers, sits up, says: "We are sure to kill antelope. I see them coming inside the corral. I see them lying there."

They have already placed sagebrush, root ends up, in a big circle, about as far as from here to camp.[26] There were many people so it didn't take long to pile the brush. Men and women line up in wings by an opening in the circle, the women nearest the corral, the men at the outer ends.

Then the fastest runner goes out, returning when he has sighted a herd of antelope. Then the men go out in 2 parties and circle the herd and drive them in. They close the opening of the corral and stand between the piles of sagebrush that form the corral. If an animal starts their way, they head him back.

The fastest runner chases the antelope around in the corral until they are tired and frightened, when he kills a doe and throws it on top of a sagebrush pile in the center, and then a buck. They eat these two first and everybody gets a share. Then the headman tells his people it is their turn to shoot. They shoot from the circle as the animals approach. A wife stands with each man and drags away his kill. A man (charmer or fastest runner?) stands in the center with a woman (maybe his wife), who takes the animals he kills.

When they stop for the night, the fastest runner guards the antelope. They set fire to that sagebrush[27] to frighten the animals.

The headman tells them to go ahead and kill. There are so many animals that they don't have to divide them; they never kill all of them, some escaping. Almost everyone kills one. Sometimes an antelope becomes so tired that it falls down, and a woman can kill it. A woman might even kill two or three.

The headman shoots too; he takes most of the buck horns, but not the does'. They put the horns on a pile of sagebrush in the middle of the camp circle. All the heads are turned toward the charmer's camp. He wants everyone to come. They cook the heads under the ashes and all eat, each person perhaps getting one head.

They butcher the antelope and dry the meat on sagebrush bushes. Coyotes and wolves never bother it.

When there is no sagebrush for a corral, they braid sagebrush bark and make a fence by tying it to posts about four feet tall. Loose strands of bark

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[26] About a half-mile.

[27] These seem to be the only circumstances under which antelope are fired.

1: Kelly E-5 (1938) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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hang down the poles and when the antelope are in the corral the people pull the braid, and the loose strands wave.

I have done this kind of antelope hunting. In winter the antelope are in big herds and that's the time to kill them. This kind of hunt is called ku'a'; many camps join. They tell everybody to come.

It takes just one day to charm antelope (P).[28]

In the old days they made a sagebrush corral and danced around it. They did not smoke. The unclothed woman bounded over each man in imitation of an antelope. As each fell, he said, "ha, ss, ss."

Early in the morning when all the antelope were bunched, the people went out in two parties and drove them into the corral.

The antelope boss was a doctor. He wore an antelope head with horns and stayed behind in a corner of the corral.

Then the people took off their clothes, put them in a big bundle, and tied it with cord from the neck of an antelope. Then the doctor took a good straight (unnotched) stick and made music on that bundle.[29]

The first antelope killed was given to the boss. Sometimes two hundred were killed and divided evenly among all. If one person got more than his share the people would never be able to catch antelope again (TA).

When they were charming antelope, everybody stood up. The doctor made the antelope act as if they were poisoned. They got tired and ran slowly. Then the boss told one man to chase them. Every now and then the man would call out. Soon he caught one buck and threw it on a stack of brush, then another and threw it on top of the first. Then everybody went after them.

The boss got all the heads. They cooked them in the ground, covered with grass and dirt and with a fire on top. Then all the people came and ate them (BA).

Long ago many people were starving. My great-uncle told them to come to him and he would charm antelope for them. Many came. He made a big circle with piles of sagebrush and told a man and woman to stand at each pile of sagebrush. He said not to drop any clothing, or the antelope would run through the hole.

He went out alone on foot and drove in forty or fifty antelope. Then they had plenty to cook (DB).

One way to get antelope is to have a doctor do it. A doctor sent two men to sight antelope. When they returned he had the people stack sagebrush in piles (wo'Tia) to form a great corral, leaving a wide gap for an entrance.

Then the doctor asked all the people to come. They put out the fires and gathered. The doctor made his things into a bundle and tied it with sagebrush-bark twine. He took a notched stick[30] and made music.

He picked out ten men to dance and these ran around making noises like an antelope. The doctor sang, "The antelope are coming; I scent them coming through the canyon." Then he fainted, falling to the ground, his body hot and smoking. Finally he got up and said, "We have two, a doe and a fawn."

Next morning everybody went to the corral and surrounded the antelope. They made noises like wolves, and the antelope came into the corral. One man was selected who walked up and caught a doe and a fawn which were called "first luck," and divided among everyone.

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[28] But the killing evidently continues into the second day.

[29] In other accounts the music comes before the animals are driven into the corral and this is probably a slip in sequence.

[30] Dr. Sam here reports the notched stick for the Silver Lake band, but it was explicitly denied by Gidü'tikadü informants.

224 They kept these antelope there all night. Nobody had to watch them. Just this man who caught the doe and the fawn killed the antelope for the people. It
622 took him two days.

789 Sometimes they stretched a long rope of sagebrush around like a corral. To it they tied bunches of sagebrush which shook and frightened the animals as they moved about.

Afterward they had a big feast. The doctor got most of the heads. They roasted them in the ground. The hides were divided. The doctor gathered all the horns which he strung and wore about his neck. A doctor never hunted, but he went where they killed the game. He had just certain medicine for game (SW).

These several accounts have been included because, though two or three are obviously cursory, each contributes something novel in the way of detail and, at the same time, confirms the general features of the procedure. It is of some interest that the notched stick figures only in the account of Dr. Sam; Gidü'tikadü informants vigorously denied its use.[31] None had heard of charming horses[32] and the suggestion was received with great amusement. Now and then a certain person could charm bears. He could make a bear "so tame that it would come right up to him." Deer were not charmed "because they aren't in bands and aren't in open country," not, apparently, because of any innate incapacity.

224 *Bear.*—Pindy gave names for three kinds of bear: padu'a'ᵘ, grizzly oha'-paiyuna'ᵘ (oha', yellow, tan)) brown bear;[33] toka'-kwatsa'ᵘ, black bear. Pa'hwa', father's sister, is a term applied to any kind of bear; sona'ᵘ is also bear, perhaps only grizzly.

Bears were plentiful in Warner range and Fandango pass (Padu'-a'-agan) derives its native name from that fact. In the old days, before the Paiute had horses, they shot bears from ambush. Early in the morning one or two hunters would conceal themselves in thick brush near a plot from which roots had been dug and shoot the bear when it came in search of roots. It was skinned and butchered; the hide was taken directly to camp and the meat left for a subsequent trip. In more recent times bears were hunted from horseback. The hunter went forth early in the morning carrying a spear in addition to his bow.

In winter several men would hunt bear. They tracked the animal to its hole into which they thrust a dry tree. The hunters then stood to one side, calling, and shouting.[34] Eventually the bear emerged,

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[31] See section on Musical Instruments for further discussion.

[32] Which Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, 57, claimed her brother could do.

[33] De Angulo, 229, gives oha'yo'na as grizzly bear.

[34] Hallowell, 53, discusses the matter of address. Informants claim that they do not address a statement to the animal but only shout to attract its attention.

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481 once about the heel. Daisy remarked that the Klamath snowshoe figured by Barrett[177] "would get all out of shape because they used skin instead of sticks."

The diagram in figure 10 is from a sketch by Charlie Washo. It calls for three crossing sticks instead of two and for radiating thongs of deer hide.

● [789] Nellie Townsend said that formerly snowshoes were boiled to bring rain and that nowadays they were fried instead of being boiled. This was called "killing the snowshoes." Other informants seemed unfamiliar with this practice.

501 *Balsa.*—The balsa (sai'-saki') was used on the lake when hunting ducks and young geese, but not for fishing. A single bundle of tules was kept alongside on which to place the birds killed. Two informants said that the balsa was sometimes used "up north" to cross streams. It was not required in the Surprise region.

The balsa consisted of two bundles of tule (saib^{a}) tied at the ends with the same material[178] or with bark twine. Both ends were turned up so that the craft could proceed in either direction. The balsa was always made by the men. For a single individual it was about four feet long; larger ones held four or five people, a "whole family."

Various methods of propulsion were reported. Pindy thought that the balsa was punted with a long pole. According to Joshua it was paddled (*not* punted) with a willow ten or twelve feet long. Daisy claimed that "they had no oars, paddles, or poles. They just used their hands and feet, and they used to get pretty wet." Pindy thought that the last mentioned system was used only by persons unable to swim.

Some said that the balsa was not used a second time, but was discarded and a new one made; others, that it could be used again if removed from the water.

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[177] Plate 17, figure 1.

[178] A specimen which Lowie purchased at Fallon was tied with toib^{a}, cat-tail. SE, 249.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

SHAMANISM

My data on shamanism are unfortunately meager. The shaman 756
entertains the unhappy notion that he will sicken and die if he divulges information, so it is not surprising that informants are uncommunicative. Most of the following material was obtained from Joshua Brown, a former shaman, and from Piudy. I have relied largely upon direct quotation as it gives a vividness and accuracy not to be had in a bald statement of fact.

The word commonly given for shaman is puha'güm, but Joshua gave in addition another word, puha'gai^{i}, which he said was identical in meaning. All informants insisted that there was but one kind of shaman, but there was specialization even though it is not recognized in native terminology. Individuals such as Dr. Sam Wata of Beatty are general practitioners; others seem to have confined their efforts to particular ailments such as arrow wounds, rattlesnake bites, etc. According to Joshua, "Dr. Sam never tried to doctor snake bite. There was only one rattlesnake doctor. His name was Lu and he has been dead a long time."

Shamanism took the form of curing and sometimes of weather 756
control. There was also the antelope shaman (düna'-puha'güm) who 789●
officiated at the ceremonial hunts. Ordinarily doctors did not locate
lost objects; "only one man ever found lost things. He was a good 787
doctor; he could do anything. I don't know his name." And again, "I heard of a doctor who could find lost things, but I have never seen it done. Some say Dr. Sam could do it."

A certain amount of prophesy was also within the power of the 756
shaman. The coming of the whites was foretold by one as follows: 787

> Long ago they put up a big pole and all danced around it. A doctor stood by the pole and spoke, "I feel that something is coming from the east. A people with a different language are coming here some day." As he said that he would stop and listen, "They're making a lot of noise; their language buzzes just like flies." Then he said, "Those people will bring an animal and will make chokecherries, as big as a fist, grow in this country." The doctor meant the horse and apple. We had a strong belief in this doctor (SW).

And a further example of prophesy:

> Only doctors know when people are going to be sick. A doctor might dream that a friend of his in Cedarville was sick, and later find out that it was so.

6 756 A shaman who lost many patients was regarded askance. Charlie said that an unsuccessful doctor was not killed—"The Pit River people killed their doctors; I can't understand that." Some years ago, however, his own brother, Dr. Louie (called also Old Noah), lost a case in Warner valley, Harney Spott. The man's relatives accused Noah of malpractice and attempted revenge. They succeeded in slashing him badly across the abdomen, but he recovered. He left the country, taking up residence at McDermitt, and visiting here only occasionally and for short periods. When a shaman had lost many [754] cases, and a certain patient was not improving, the family of the latter consulted another doctor. The latter would say, "Your relative is sick the same way as his other patients. It looks as though they had been poisoned (bewitched) by him." If the patient did not recover, a relative might kill the guilty shaman.

A doctor could lose his power, either by forgetting his dreams or by other means as, for example, through contact with menstrual blood. Dr. Sam said:

> I cannot cure now because my own people did not do what I told them. Years ago when I was young I doctored with a deer-hoof rattle and eagle feathers; nowadays I treat with medicine like a white doctor. I cured a farmer here from Portland with the help of a white doctor two years ago.

When a shaman lost two or three cases he began to doubt the efficacy of his power.

7 789 Ideas on contagious magic were not well developed. According to Pindy, "Perhaps once in a while a man could make a person sick with a piece of hair, throwing it away. I am not sure." Care was taken in the disposal of hair clippings but not from fear of sorcery. When an individual cut his hair he buried it beneath a small sagebrush bush. Then he jumped over the bush, trying not to touch it. If he accomplished this, his hair would grow "nice and long." I was told that nowadays people do not burn their hair combings for fear of death, but Pindy affirmed, "This is just a new idea. They never thought of that in the old days." Nail parings were not considered a possible source of danger.

754 756 A shaman could cause an enemy to fall ill; formerly this was the only kind of sickness known. A person might hire a shaman to "poison" someone. He called upon his spirits and if the man fell ill, "then you believed in that doctor." White people could not be "poisoned."

same thing happened again. "I was badly scared. I thought perhaps a dead man had come back; maybe there was something of his in there. I don't know." 775

According to Joshua:

> I have never seen a ghost. They say you hear them. Once Charlie Washo and I were going up a hill looking for a pony. We came to a clump of service and heard a noise like singing. We stood still. Charlie said, "We had better run." He ran off. I stood there and I waved for him to come. He came but we did not go up to the bushes. I don't know what we heard.

On the other hand, I was told that a ghost appears only when someone is sick and about to die. If a person dreams of a ghost he will probably fall sick. He can, however, ward off the ill effects by using mushrooms or "a brown stuff which is found in the fields but does not grow there" (fungus?). Both of these are known as tsoü'p-bisha (tsoü'p, ghost; bisha, powder). The powder is taken from the center of the mushroom or from the fungus and is tossed upon one's head to frighten off the spirits.

The following suggests a distinction between ghost and spirit: 775

> Tsa'ab^{a} is nearly the same as tsoü'p.[258] I knew a man who was drunk. The ghost (tsa'ab^{a}) of his mother touched him on the leg. It swelled and the next day he was dead. Some might have cured him by sucking. 787 776

This suggests that tsa'ab^{a} may refer to a ghost proper; tsoü'p to spirits that were never in human body; but further examples would be necessary before one could be certain.

According to Piudy, when a person sees a ghost, he sees the individual himself, not his spirit or soul. In response to a question concerning dream experiences, he said, "I have never heard anybody say anything about what they saw in dreams. All they know is what they dream." About the same holds for one's reflection in water. Great hilarity resulted from a suggestion that it might be the soul. Piudy said, "They never say what it is they see but it is *not* the soul."

MISCELLANEOUS MAGICAL BELIEFS

There is a considerable series of beliefs concerning natural phenomena. The rainbow (piü'gtükwinüb) presages rain. A person did not point at a rainbow for fear of making his finger sore. Earthquakes were unknown in the old days but not so eclipses. Joshua had heard that in early times "the sun once stopped and everything was dark for a day or two. The people made a slow match and went 789 ● 821

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[258] This term looks suspiciously like sofü'p^{a}, p. 198.

● 789 around camp to see if everyone were alive." An eclipse is called taba-yü'iwan (ta'ba, sun); they say the sun is dying.

821 It aggravates the thunder (nūnia'ba) "if you shout, laugh, and talk. The thunder gets worse and it may chase you." Lightning is of special danger to a menstruating woman and often fatal to a woman with child. The echo is wahi'pi-naka'u (shout-hear). It is someone "calling back."

538 The animals of the tales—Coyote, Wolf, Frog, Rattlesnake, and
821 others—are said to be in the moon. Minnie Anderson sees a frog in the moon. A circle about the moon foretells rain.

827 A sneeze indicates that a person of the opposite sex is thinking of one. Ringing of the ears is of evil portent. "That is a dead spirit
787 shouting in your ears; probably a friend is dying." A wink is of no significance; "they learned that from the white people." When a person's eyes twitch, "he is going to see something. When a man is going hunting and his eye twitches, he says, 'I know I shall see game today.'" An itching palm has no meaning. Bad luck is associated with twitching of an under-knee muscle. When a hunter experiences this it means he will not see game. If a woman is going to play a card game and her knee twitches, she will surely have bad luck. Twitching of the calf muscles indicates that a stranger is coming. If the arch of the foot twitches it means that someone is coming on horseback (contact with the stirrup).

787 A number of omens mentioned by Nora Henderson follow:

> 825 When a frog whistles (not croaks), people say, "You are going to have bad news."
>
> When the coyote barks strangely, someone will sicken and die.
>
> When the owl barks like a dog, something bad will happen. Once when I was near Adel, on my way to Likely, an owl in a clump of willows south of us barked and then hooted. We knew we would get bad news from the south. That night we stopped at Alturas and heard that someone in Likely had been killed.
>
> Once my aunt, Daisy Brown, heard a whistle by the creek. She looked around and saw a snake making the noise. She felt badly, knowing she would get bad news, and I think she told me that she did.
>
> When it is a little cloudy, and the meadowlark sits on the ground and goes, "prrrrrr," it is going to rain. They say this is really true.
>
> If the first meadowlarks from the south have bright yellow spots on their breasts there will be plenty of a'gü'.

A centipede is called i'wü-mai'ⁱ (many-hands). If a person picks up a centipede "he may get that many hands." If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will follow that person and get in bed with him. "They always say that this is really true."

The Gidü'tikad^a share the Pyramid Lake and Ute belief[259] that the horned toad can kill a rattlesnake. According to Joshua: 825

> The horned toad looks like a doctor. Many people have seen him kill a rattlesnake. The rattlesnake was ready to strike. The horned toad came alongside from behind, and got under him and cut him in two with his horn. The snake could not turn quickly enough.

No danger was attached to eating deer left by a mountain lion or rabbits left by a coyote. "It's all right; there is no harm." [262]

A neat example of contagious magic is to be seen in the following: 789 ●

> The Indians used to have horse races. When a mare was to have a colt, and they wanted it to be a good racer, they killed an antelope because it is a fast runner, and rubbed the water (?) from it on the belly of the horse.

Certain beliefs concerning hair clippings have already been mentioned.[260] Minnie Anderson thought gray hair would result from burning hair combings. If one slept with his head to the fire, his front hair would turn white.

Children threw deciduous teeth toward the moon with shut eyes to make the second teeth come quickly.

As Lowie has indicated,[261] the Paviotso pattern number is five. 801

WEATHER CONTROL

Weather control consisted principally in means and devices to make the snow melt. Several accounts follow: 789

> The mother of Tadagai^i[262] could make the snow melt. She cried like a stallion, took a firebrand of sagebrush, and pointed it toward the south, saying, "Come on, rain; come on, rain!" She did not dance. The wind blew, the rain came, and the snow began to melt (P).
>
> You must not boil cottontail because it brings snow; you must fry or roast it. Once some old men were going to boil cottontail and they told me to stand outside. In my hand I had a bullroarer made from a dried juniper limb. It was about two inches wide and six inches long. It was not notched. Two or three black marks ran crosswise on the face. A stick, like a handle, was tied to the end of its thong.
>
> I blew the water, in which the cottontail was boiling, south, saying, "Come, rain and wind." It was winter, a long time ago, before any white men were here; I was a small boy, born in the middle of summer when it was hot. That is why they had me do this (to counteract their boiling cottontail).
>
> There is no way to keep snow from coming. Porcupine brings snow.[263] You roast the meat and when you have eaten it, you mash the bones. Then it will snow (P).

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[259] Lowie, SE, 298. [260] P. 189. [261] SE, 295.

[262] "Tadagai^i means one dollar; I don't know how she got such a name" (P).

[263] Cf. Kelly, tales no. 15*a*, 15*b*.

789 When the snow was deep and did not melt, they asked a man born in summer to make the wind blow. He had a stake about eight inches long, which he whirled over his head. This is called tüsa'ibidun. He stood outside the house and tried to call the south wind. He talked, then stopped; then he did it again (JB).

To make the snow melt is called tüsa'ibidun. Not all doctors could do this, perhaps only one man or woman. Someone would say, "Who can make the snow melt? How much do you want? Some beads, a belt? I'll give you that if you make the snow melt in one or two days." You say, "Well, I'll do the best I can." Then you sing. You have a stick, maybe a burned stick. You face south; you shout and talk to the wind. You say, "Friend." You point with the stick (koso'-tuhubi, fire-coal). It makes a little wind come. You say, "You see this coal; you see this fire." The wind comes, maybe in an hour or two. Then everybody believes in your power (JB).

In the old days they tried to bring wind to melt the snow. They used a piece of juniper where the lightning had broken it off. Sometimes the wind came from the southwest (south?) (CW).

Sometimes a woman doctor would dance and sing until she got a real sweat. She talked; she waved her hand to the west. Then the rain came and the snow began to melt. I know no way to make the rain stop. A man whirls a bullroarer (kwi'mo) to bring a warm wind to melt the snow (MA).

They used to boil snowshoes to bring rain; nowadays they fry them. This is called "killing the snowshoes" (NH).[284]

Joshua had not seen anyone stop a thunder storm, but he had heard of its having been done:

> The old people told me about stopping thunder. When the thunder comes close, they say to someone born in summer, "Put on your paint and go outside. When the thunder starts, when the lightning starts, step out quickly and look at them. Motion to them; tell them, 'Go over there.'" Then they will go away.

SWEATING

343
515 The sweat-house is called topi'-nava'gia (topi', tüpi', stone; nava'gia, bathe). Joshua gave pu″sat and mi'rhot^u as synonyms, but topi'-nava'gia is the favored term and the only one I have noted in conversation.

The sweat-house frame shown in plate 19*b* is about four feet in diameter and tall enough to allow one to sit upright. No particular entrance is discernible. Other frames which I have examined are bound round with one or two willow withes. In the background of the plate can be seen the stack of canvas, old clothing, and the like, which serves to cover the lodge when sweating is in progress. Formerly the covering was rye grass, sagebrush, willow, or possibly an old deerskin or blanket.

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[284] I was unable to verify this. The practice is unknown to other informants.

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ko	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2540. Sleight-of-hand	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-

Special Powers of Shaman

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ko	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	.	+	+	+	[illegible]	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2550. By sucking out snake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
2557a. Female	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2559. Transforms self into bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2560. Power of rapid travel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2561. Invulnerable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2564. Power from various animals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2566. Power to foretell future	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-

N
W
A
754
N
[787]

Miscellaneous

N
W
A
756
681
755
N
W
A
776
782

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ko	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2568. Killed for declining	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	.	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumamiyma)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2577. Offerings to "nature"	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2578. To ghost (taaava)	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p. 414]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo , WT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK	
															N W
2579. To spirit (sunɨpö)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	A
2580. To night	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	776
2581. Offerings of: food	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
2581a. At spring dance	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	782
2582. Game	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2583. Seeds	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
2584. Tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
2585. Shell beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2586. Offerings: at meals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2589. When hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Guardian Spirits															N W
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
Nonshamanistic Curing															W A
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	757
2596. Sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)															N W
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	775
2601. Shortly before death	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	763
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	
2603. Ghost audible	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2604. Ghost feared	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	W
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	A
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	
2609a. Speculorite (yadüpi) sprinkled to nullify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	787
"Muipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	276
DANCES															N W A
2614. Circle Dance (nügava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	[789]

[p. 415]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi AS5

N
W
A
821
776
789

N
W
A
787

N
W
A
784
N
753

N
W
172

	Te	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Whirlwind (pitsumava)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	.	.	.	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2295a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	.	.	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
2745. Informants had only heard of them	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
2748. "Devil"	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

[p. 418]

N 224 85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 253, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N [756 ● 789] 91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

N [825] Jack rabbit called kamö.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, Tö: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. Kü: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

N 223 117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

W [223] 120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

127. Tö: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. N [825] At: PS pointed out that sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot, etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[p. 423 (ED)]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524]

1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).

1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.

1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).

1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.

A [224 411]

1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.

1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.

N [534 789]

1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.

1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

N [177]

1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).

N [787]

1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GN denied any such games.

N [177 857]

1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).

1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177

1888. Kl, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(B)]

N 844 birth; 4 days separate first, second, third, and fourth bath; the last bath is taken 5 days after the fourth.

2181. Kü: GN said 60 days; AL, 22. Tö: 15 days or until well (MW). Pa: 10 days (DV). Wa: About 10 days (CR). AE: 2-7 days (SF).

W [844] 2182. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 159).

2184. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2185. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 289). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2187. Ki: + (Kelly, 158): "parturient kneeled" and "the midwife supported her from behind," which seems contradictory to me.

2188. To: + (Lowie, 269).

2190. Tg: Held in case of difficult delivery.

2191. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Tg: Belt of W [844] weasel fur helps delivery: fast animal, fast delivery.

N [789] 2199b. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

● 2202. Kü: + (GN).

2203. The Hunipui near Canyon City, Oregon, bury the afterbirth with the cord up as though it were growing. Ki: + (Kelly, 158). AE: After- A [844] birth is buried in delivery house or burned.

2205. Tg: Afterbirth is placed on a bush. If it were buried the child would die.

2207, 2249. Paviotso: "After parturition the mother and the child were bathed every 5 days by an elderly woman, and the father received similar treatment from a man" (Curtis, 79). Kl: See note 2181.

2215. Kü: As with Kuyui, Küpa mother bathes 5,4,4,4,5 days apart during 22-day confinement.

2216. Kü: - (GN).

2217. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 79). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2219. Kü: - (GN).

2221. Kü: + (GN). AL said baby bathed at same time as mother, 5 times in 22 days.

2222. AE: Baby is steamed if something is wrong with it.

2224a. Kü: See notes 2221 and 2215.

2225. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 2226. To: - (LP). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

846 2228. Kü: + (GN).

2229. See note 1365.

2229a, 2230, 2231. Kü: - (AL).

2230. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 2239. The first cradle and those used during 844 the confinement were crude and simply made. (See 846 Kelly, pl. 28.) Paviotso: "Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully wrapped up, and all put into a tree" (Hopkins, 49).

2241. There was no agreement, even within the same band, as to the correct number of permanent cradles (i.e., cradles used longer than 5 days) for a child. Some mothers made 5 different cradles after the ones used during confinement, other women used but 3. The same cradle is used for different children.

2448. Kl: Father bathes after 10 days if girl, after 6 days if boy.

[p. 444 (B)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 ● 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 2554. To: See note 2549.

756 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

683 2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [177] 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

N
805
822
grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha); "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "groundhog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W
[805
822]
2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N
821
789
2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N
751
2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N
787
2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N
522
773
2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died. [685] [598] [755]

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through. [984] [841] [843]

756 904 787 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music. [533]

The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that 756
he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his 224
songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

Invulnerability.—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought 756
to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this 789
power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank
Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired [792
strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when 228]
fired upon with a gun.

Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another 756
shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father 754
went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was 789
asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

Clairvoyance.—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to 787
prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other 756
important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755

There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had 683
made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part
of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit
of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease
with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

Weather shamans and specialists have been described above for the Nevada Paviotso but they were unknown among the Owens Valley Paiute, while little specialization was recognized in Surprise valley.[13] 756

The Paviotso shaman's invulnerability against bullets and arrows was practised among the Owens Valley Paiute, as among the Nevada Paiute, to demonstrate the "doctor's" powers.[14] This practice may be connected with the Ghost dance movements. [789] [668]

University of California
Berkeley, California

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[13] Steward, 311; Kelly, 189.

[14] Steward, 310.

6; Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Upper Chinook NR23

N
648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'na's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'na for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N
789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'na — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner,
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[756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party
N
[776] of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N
[171]
[174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N
648
726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'na later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the
N
[712] summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N
701
159 163. Panai'na's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'na was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

It is in respect to the last activity that the shaman is an out- 756
standingly important member of Paviotso society. Although a 787
man can acquire supernatural power which will enable him to be a successful hunter or a lucky gambler, these ends may be accomplished more simply by praying to the sun, or before the hunt by dreaming where game is to be found, or by use of charms. The shaman may also have the power to control weather, but this is not usually exercised for the good of the community. Rather, his [789]
demonstration of control over the elements seems to prove the shaman's *rapport* with powerful spirits, which give him power to cure the sick and heal the wounded. It is, then, the supernatural inspiration and assistance which enable one either to draw out the cause of illness or to go in search of the lost soul of a patient that is pre-eminent in the Paviotso mind as giving meaning and importance to the acquisition and exercise of shamanistic power. It should be noted that a shaman who has power to doctor the sick is called puhágəm. This term is not used to designate people who possess supernatural powers for hunting, gambling, or warfare. There is no term for such power or for the people who enjoy it. However, supernatural aid in these latter functions is of the same sort and from the same source—spirits of animals, birds, etc.—as that acquired by a shaman. All supernatural power is, in theory, of the same order, but it is the possession of strong power to be exercised in the function of curing that is important in Paviotso ideology. The other objectives can be, and in fact most frequently are, accomplished satisfactorily, without spirit aid. Only curing depends directly upon power.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

The spirit beings which are everywhere in the Paviotso world 756
are the sources of supernatural power. Spirits of the fauna, spirits 776
from certain mountains and of rocks, as well as the elements, bestow on individuals the power (puhá) through which sickness is controlled and cured. In addition to securing power from these spirits, shamans also derive supernatural aid from ghosts of the [775]
dead (sa'abᵊ) and from the dwarf-like creatures called water-babies that live in certain water-holes, lakes, and water-serpents thought to inhabit the lakes.

In theory, female shamans may become as powerful as the male 756
doctors. In practice, however, it appears that all the outstand- 562
ing practitioners are, and have been, men. On the other hand, female shamans are highly respected and are on an equal footing with their male colleagues; some may even have stronger powers than the less prominent male shamans. Moreover, according to several informants, women can acquire powers which are used, as with men, for purposes other than curing.

> Women who have power are as strong as men shamans. One time there was a woman who had a power that protected her against bullets.
> When the Indians were fighting the soldiers, she rode out in front of [789 ●
> them to attract their attention while the women and children got away. 726]
> The soldiers shot at her but their bullets did not hurt her. She had the same power as men shamans. (Joe Green)

Apparently berdaches never became shamans. The several 756
transvestites who are remembered by people living today were 838
certainly not shamans. Lowie recorded only one case of sex-reversal among the Pyramid Lake Paviotso. This occurred some twenty years before his visit, and apparently shamanistic powers were not ascribed to the individual.[5] Sarah Winnemucca mentions the case of one cowardly warrior who was forced to don women's clothing and perform tasks allotted to that sex, but there is no reference to the possession of power.[6] This as well as the evidence in my own notes suggests that berdaches were of relatively infrequent occurrence and of slight importance. Certainly, they became shamans rarely, if ever, and clearly never as the result of their condition.

Acquiring shamanistic power, and later the exercise of power, 756
is an individual affair. This is true both for the power derived from unsolicited dreams and from the voluntary quest. Power is never acquired by people in groups or at public performances, but is the result of private personal experiences.

The acquisition of power involves more than the development of a personal relationship with a particular spirit. When shamanistic power is conferred, the candidate not only secures a spirit helper but also acquires those special abilities or capacities neces-

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[5] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 283.

[6] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 70.

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753 dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of
[774] the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his
mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing
stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for
the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts
(sa'ab") and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however,
may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the
camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family
of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the
dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who
were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These
ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and
in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore
evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes
of illness.

775 It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate
756 with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity
753 from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appear-
ance of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause im-
mediate and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to coun-
teract their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirl-
[789] wind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction
and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You
are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other
way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in pre-
venting the sickness that frequently follows such an experience.
[782] The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be
751 forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the
morning.

775 Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of
753 the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls
774 from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the
756 journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness result-
ing from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering
from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but
by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his
powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover,
soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated 757
with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of 515
shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies
that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its
use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place [177]
in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[18]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His 756
failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic 756
performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks 789
when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

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[18] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

756 789 These few tricks are about the extent of the shaman's legerdemain. It is evident that sleight-of-hand forms no important part of the shaman's stock-in-trade. Moreover, only a few shamans at any time employed such means to demonstrate their powers.

756 533 The small number of songs that were recorded have not been analyzed, but several general observations can be made. The words of a shaman's song often refer to the source of power. The songs are short; frequently they are not more than four or five words in length, with meaningless syllables often incorporated. The three shaman's songs published by Gilbert Natches illustrate these points. The songs are short, and mention curing or other attributes of the shaman's power. The words of one song, "the soul pursuing, the person's soul bring back," obviously refer to restoring a soul that has been lost.[17] The words of a single song are repeated as long as the shaman cares to continue, usually ten or fifteen minutes, sometimes even longer.

Shamans claim that they are not familiar with their songs before actually engaging in the performance of the curing rite. As we have seen, songs come to the practitioners from their powers when they are needed and cannot be recalled the next day. In the course of recording songs, three otherwise quite willing informants insisted that they were unable to recall their own songs, although they could remember those of other shamans. Evidently, shamans' songs differ from those sung at the round dance and for the hand-game, although there appears to be little difference in words. A number of informants unhesitatingly identified curing songs when reproduced on the phonograph, but authorship was not always recognized, and property rights in them never.

755 The following two accounts of shamanistic curing will illustrate several points in the procedure outlined above.

> Jackson Overton's father, Natches Overton, doctored my mother one time. I was sitting with my uncle. Natches smoothed the ground in front of us. Then he drew three circles in a row in the dirt. He said that he wanted a man to take off his shoes and stand with a foot in each of the end circles. My uncle took off his shoes and stood where Natches told him. After a while Natches told him to sit down. Then Natches sang. When he finished his song he told my uncle to scrape

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[17] Natches, *Northern Paiute Verbs*, 259.

756 Fighting and treating the wounded are the shaman's only func-
726 tions on the war-path. He does not invoke the aid of his powers
752 for the success of the party, nor does he prophesy the outcome of
the venture.

WEATHER-CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

● 789 Although the shaman's function is chiefly to cure disease, con-
756 trol of the elements, the ability to foretell future events, and the
discovery of lost articles, are all within the ability of at least some shamans. Usually shamanistic manipulation of the weather serves no practical need.[18] Often it is simply a means of demonstrating the control of supernatural power. By waving a feather or by singing, shamans may cause the clear sky to become cloudy, the wind to blow, or rain to fall. They can also stop wind and rain or banish the clouds that they have brought. Although the predominant motive in weather-control is this exhibition of power, shamans have been known in the past to manipulate weather for the benefit of the community. This weather-control is chiefly concerned with causing changes in the elements in order to bring about a badly-needed run of fish in the rivers. It is said that fish may be induced to go up the river in the spring by causing the ice to melt or by bringing about a wind that will force them to the mouth of the river. When ice covers the rivers late in the spring, delaying the run of fish from the lakes, a shaman known to have control over the elements is asked to cause warm weather and rain to melt the ice. Only a few shamans, however, have this power.

> During the winter the river was frozen over. The men could not fish. In the spring the people were hungry. There were no fish in the river. There was too much ice. It was cold. The people talked about it. They were talking about asking a certain shaman here (Pyramid Lake) who could help them. He had the power to bring a warm wind that would melt the ice. They sent two or three men to the shaman. They asked him to make the wind blow. The shaman sang and the ice was made to melt. Then the fish started up the river. The people caught many of them. They paid the shaman with fish. Everyone gave him fish. If the

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[782] [18] A form of weather-control is practised at the social round dances. While the dancers are moving in a circle a headman, not necessarily one with supernatural power, walks around praying for rain in order to insure abundant wild products.

> 789 756 shaman asked for beads, skins, or flint when he brought the wind, he would spoil his power. He would lose his power if he did not obey his spirit. (Joe Green)

787 756 Some shamans, but not all, are able to foretell the future. Apparently even among those who are supposed to have the ability to predict future events the power is not frequently exercised. One shaman is reported to have foreseen the coming of the whites, and others have foreseen several serious epidemics.

Sarah Winnemucca mentions the shamans' gift of prophecy. She describes a dream of her father's in which the killing of the Indians by the whites was predicted.[19] Although Sarah does not specifically make a statement about her father's power, there is evidence both in her account and from my field notes that he was a shaman. On still another occasion, future events were revealed to Sarah's brother in a dream. When he awoke from the dream, the people were called together and the prophecy was related.[20]

726 787 756 All informants denied that shamans exercise their clairvoyant powers either on the warpath or on the eve of the departure of the war-party. In fact, aside from their rôles in treating the wounded and fighting shoulder to shoulder with other men, shamans have no outstanding position in battle or the preparations that precede it. On these occasions, the shaman's position is definitely subordinate to that of the war-leader or chief. [554] This official may, however, owe his position to the possession of supernatural power which makes him invulnerable, hence a daring and fearless fighter, the qualifications for the leader of a war party. In Sarah Winnemucca's account there is a suggestion, not borne out by the above, that shamans previsioned the outcome of battles. At least her father on one occasion and her brother on another foretold from dream experiences the outcome of impending conflicts with the whites.[21]

787 756 In all these clairvoyant revelations, only harmful events such as sickness, warfare, and death are predicted. There is no indication that successful undertakings or happy events are previsioned. This characteristic of Paviotso clairvoyance may be related to

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[19] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 14–15.
[20] Ibid., 80.
[21] Ibid., 14, 80.

Wadátkuht

39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian^{o}, "Point"). This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern extension of Pínaktud (Item 37 above). 133 103

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt. [224]

41. Yapúwhai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú nuhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The Wadátkuht village of ^{k}Tavi wanud was located on the north end of the lake. [137] [361]

44. Wada banú nuhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom donihm. [137] [101]

45. Kukwa^{P}ta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E. [789]

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering. [262]

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey [136]

Wadátkuht

281 [412] To tan a hide was called tusungóiya, and to scrape the hair from a hide was called puwhan^{a}. A draw knife (modern) and a deer rib scraper have the same name, púwhanan^{u}.

224 [283] Secret Valley was one of the places in which antelope were hunted. All of the families would gather together and each family would manufacture a rope of sagebrush bark which would be tied to the rope made by the other families. The long rope was strung from piles of brush and stones placed in a circle about one-half mile (in diameter?). The brush formed a reasonably solid fence. The rope had strips of sagebrush bark hanging down from it and when the antelope got near the fence the people would jerk the rope and shake the fence to scare the animals back away from it.

The hunt was usually undertaken in March when the ground was wet and the antelope became easily tired. The frightened animals became tired after going around the circular enclosure two or three times. As soon as they were tired they were stoned and clubbed and then caught and their necks broken. Bows and arrows were not used as the antelope got so tired they would lie down and even the children could kill them.

[756] ● [789] The night before the antelope drive the doctor, or shaman would sing a song that would cause the antelope to lose their sense. The following day the people would simply go out and drive them into the corral.

[136] Buffalo (paguts) were taken with the bow and arrow but were so strong that often numerous arrows had to be shot into them before they fell. These animals were scarce and were exterminated in the Wadátkuht territory circa 1830 (Riddell, 1952, pp. 168-169).

Hunters were called tuwhawoigia.

222 263 Some of the products used by the Wadátkuht had to be obtained from outside their territory. Joaquin is said to have gotten salt (ong av^{i}) at Gerlach, Nevada, in Kamötkuht territory. It was "dug from the ground" and had to be ground on a metate before it could be used. 439 262 The Wadátkuht also traded with neighboring Paiute to obtain papus^{i}, a small black root used for food. It was gathered near Yerington or Smith Valley, Nevada, and was prepared in the same manner as sunflower seeds. Another root, tunuí^{yu}, was traded from the people living in Dixie Valley in Lassen County. The Wadátkuht call these Pit River people Tunuí^{yu}tkuht.

Wadátkuht

more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 231 [177]

Dogs. Tha name for this animal was sokopuk^u^, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone. [262] [825]

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^a^', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Kí maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English. [552]

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people. 500

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated. 843

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults. 845

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?). 826 [789]

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was 854 826

Wadatkuht

752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup[a]. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup[a] to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, Kukwa^{P}ta, if one knew the correct words.

821 [789] [177] Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano[b] - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 513 825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

Wadátkuht

Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men. 832

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, sinup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^{a} nu^{u} maiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return. 224 789

Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands. 223 789

Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov[1], of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier. 539 776

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

Wadátkuht

525 player was provided with a stick which he used as a marker. The marker was placed between two of the upright sticks in the semi-circle, the exact spot depending upon the number of points the player had just made. If the player happened to get points which allowed his marker to be placed between the same two upright sticks in the semi-circle that held the marker of the opponent, the opponent had to take his indicator stick back to the beginning. The object was for each player to try to get enough points to allow him to go all the way around the semi-circle and back to the starting point before the other player. The one who first reached his starting point in this manner won the pot. Sometimes as many as 80 sticks were used as uprights in the semi-circle.

[172] If Kitty's son has been correct in his identification of the pointed twigs recovered archaeologically we have evidence of such a gambling game being played in prehistoric times in the Wadátkuht area. It was not stated, however, if the Wadátkuht played this type of gambling game. Kitty's son played it in Nevada and may have learned it there rather than as a traditional game at home.

[789] The hand game in which bones were used is called na iakwi. The bones were "filled with something" to give the owner power, or luck in gambling.

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439 It was pointed out by the informants that trade was actually carried out by gambling as such things as deer hides, baskets, and beads were at stake. Dentalia, called pahuka, were brought in and gambled for such things as horses. The Washo and the Paiute commonly traded with one another with the Washo bringing rabbitskin blankets and the Paiute deer skins. What was not gambled away was then traded.

526 Boys about eight years old played a game in which arrows were shot at a bundle of grass thrown on the ground about 25 feet away. Ike and about six other boys would take two shots apiece, unless one of the boys should hit it first. After the bundle was hit it was then propped against a bush and the boys stood back about ten feet and shot at it. Each was allowed two shots until the target was hit. The target was then put on the end of one of the bows and pushed back and forth on the ground in a V pattern. Each boy, again, was allowed to take his usual two shots until the target was hit. The boy who hit the target (most often?) became the winner and won all the bows and arrows from the other boys.

756 224 The antelope doctor got his power from the antelope. He had eagle feathers that he put under his head when he slept. His power told him everything. He got his songs from the eagle feathers. The antelope doctor didn't cure sick people. I [Joe Green] saw an antelope shaman at Stillwater. My mother told me about one who was at Pyramid lake.

756 789 *Invulnerability.*—The shamans with the strongest powers were thought to be invulnerable against bullets or arrows. As with weather control, this power was exercised to demonstrate the strength of the shaman. Frank Spencer, one of the messiahs of the 1870 Ghost dance, who later acquired [792 668] strong powers for curing sickness, was supposed to be invulnerable when fired upon with a gun.

756 754 789 Spencer doctored a sick girl but she did'nt get well. Her parents called in another shaman. He said Spencer poisoned the girl [through witchcraft]. The girl's father went after Spencer. He came to the place where Spencer was camping. Spencer was asleep. The man shot him three times but the bullets did'nt hurt him. Then Spencer got up and the man shot him again but he did'nt feel it. Spencer invited the man to come into the house. They talked for a while. Spencer told the father that he had not poisoned the girl. He said that perhaps the other doctor had fooled him. Then he told the man that no one could hurt him with bullets or knives. Spencer told him to forget about the shooting. They shook hands and were friends after that.

Spencer was at Lovelock [Nevada]. He lost something. It made him sick. He took a bullet and marked it with his teeth. He gave it to a man and told the man to shoot him with it. Spencer took off his shirt and drew a circle on his chest with red paint. The man stood about fifty feet from Spencer. He shot at the circle on Spencer's chest. When he fired it sounded different. The noise was not very loud. Spencer had no wound on his chest. He stood there for a few minutes. Then he coughed and he spit the bullet out in his hand. He showed the people the teeth marks that he had made on the bullet before the man shot at him. Spencer felt better after that. Lots of people were standing around to watch him.

787 756 *Clairvoyance.*—In the old days some of the shamans had the power to prophesy the outcome of battles, the appearance of epidemics, or other important events. Other shamans could locate lost or stolen property.

My father [Billy Roberts, Pyramid lake] was a shaman. He could find things that had been lost or stolen. People paid him to do this. A man would come to my father and say that he had lost something. My father would tell him to come back the next day. He always had to sleep first. That night his power came to him and told him where the lost property was. If it had been stolen, his power told him who was the thief. Shamans cannot find things for people nowadays because they have'nt strong enough power anymore.

"Doctor Dick" could find things for people. One time a man buried some money. He could'nt find where he put it. He hired "Doctor Dick" to find it for him. That

Largely because of this popu-
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store 556
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an [452]
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and consequently 554
dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned.
In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear,
the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may
be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect
felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general
feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with
supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [764]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's
death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of
such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths
among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the
weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance movements 668
are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements.
Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the
dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered
today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

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792 preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e.,
[787] they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals. Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because
[756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for their curative abilities.

668 The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to recon-
792 struct on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests,
756 however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in
[622] fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an impor-
[[illegible]] tant and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief
[556] and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

and at Pyramid Lake (Nixon), McDermitt, Winnemucca, and Owyhee in Nevada. 101
The bands at Winnemucca and Owyhee are on the border between Paiute and 595
Shoshoni peoples and probably were influenced by the Shoshoni in regard to marriage, as we know they were influenced in regard to other traits.

The informants at Winnemucca gave no details concerning polyandry, but at 595
Owyhee I obtained a fair account of a present-day case which involved both Shoshoni and Paiute. At this reservation a Shoshoni woman was married for a long time to a Shoshoni man. A few years ago a young Paiute man started living with them; all three slept in the same bed. However, as the first husband was quite senile, sexual relations were only between the woman and her second husband. I should state that at the present time both Paiute and Shoshoni live on the Owyhee Reservation. However, my informant assured me that polyandry was known among the Paiute when they lived in Oregon about a hundred miles to the northwest.

At Burns, Oregon, the strongly Catholic informants gave no information beyond [795]
the admission that "old time Paiute women sometimes had two husbands at once." While at McDermitt, I was told that "right now a woman here has two husbands who are not brothers." But the informant went on to say that polyandry would not have been allowed in the old days. Although a hundred and twenty-five difficult miles separate the two, the McDermitt Indians have had much contact with the Shoshoni since the establishment of the Owyhee Reservation in 1877.

The most detailed evidence of Northern Paiute polyandry was obtained at Pyramid Lake, which is located in about the center of this area. On this reservation is a woman who has lived with two men for many years. The men are not brothers, and, my informants said, they share equally sexual privileges and economic burdens. The children call both men father, and together the men work their land. Unfortunately, no details could be had concerning any pre-contact cases at Pyramid Lake, although both informants had heard that in the old days women sometimes had more than one husband at a time.

However, polyandry was not a common feature in Northern Paiute social life, and it was not institutionalized. Dr Steward's explanation of Shoshoni polyandry as a result of the relative lack of male jealousy and the "extraordinary simplicity of social structure which made the relationship of both sexes to plural marriage almost identical" could also apply to Northern Paiute polyandry.

OMER C. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom 754
was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired
it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they 795
were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker 756
Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power
to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did
not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T.
tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community
would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way,
but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality [754]
was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have
gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to,
but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick
and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, 155
been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. 157
It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing [762]
any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest,
a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both [158]
married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was
a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship [588]
with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five.
After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted [622]
from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without
consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering [657]
around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm
stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of
terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the
group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand [754]
and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two
accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter,
Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would [762]
not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The
other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

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[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

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[Detailed information on various aspects of the Washo-Northern Paiute peyote cult will be found in category 116, pp. 64-136.]

PREFACE

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A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

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My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

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I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

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Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

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I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Element	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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000 On January 6, 1872 Powell's party observed a Kaibab ceremony. The Indians, "had stripped a cedar tree of all branches but a small tuft at the top, and around this the whole band formed a large circle, dancing and singing. The dancing was the usual hippity-hop or "lope" sideways, each holding hands with his or her neighbor. In the center stood a man, seeming to be the custodian of songs and a poet himself; He would first recite the piece, and then all sing it, circling round at the same time." The white visitors were invited to participate and did so to the great amusement of the Paiute.[1]

The most important of the old dances was the *nō'qáp*^{i}, known under this appellation to both the Moapa and Shivwits. A phonetic equivalent among the Lemhi seemed to be a generic term for "dance." In the Paiute *nōq'áp*^{i} men and women formed a circle, neighbors interlocking fingers. One man sang and the performers moved round clockwise. Any one who chose might participate. Sometimes a woman would step between two men. The dance was held during any season of the year and in the night. One informant called it a "war dance." The participation of both sexes, the clockwise motion and the interlocking fingers all suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nüakin*.[2]

Another dance, the *má+inōqop*, was under the direction of a master of ceremonies, who would send out messengers in different directions announcing that a performance was to be held in so many days. He would select men and women with a light dance step, and no one else was permitted to dance. There were from four to six men, who removed their clothes and were painted by the singers, and from two to three girls in the dance. The performers did not hold one another but jumped round a big fire, the dance being held in the night-time. The manager led in the singing.

The Ute dances have been sketched in a previous publication.[3] The Bear dance is easily the most important among them and doubtless spread from this tribe to other Shoshonean groups, such as the Lemhi.[4] Specific information about the others seems too sparse to permit a definite identification with performances of other peoples, but the frequent participation of both sexes in dancing may turn out to be a distinctive Shoshonean or Plateau or even Ultramontane feature.

534 •796 While I obtained no evidence of any form of the Bear Dance among the Paviotso, the highly characteristic notched instrument appears there

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[1] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[2] Lowie, 217.
[3] Vol. XI of this series, 823–825.
[4] Lowie, 218.

in association with the ceremonial antelope hunt. It is interesting to note 534
that the association of this stick with game-charming occurs among the Cheyenne and Arikara,[1] though the connecting links are not clear and 796
the resemblance may turn out to lack significance. I will begin by quoting Sarah Hopkins.

My people capture antelopes by charming them, but only some of the people are 224
charmers. My father was one of them, and once I went with him on an antelope hunt.

The antelopes move in herds in the winter, and as late in the spring as April. 796
At this time there was said to be a large herd in a certain place, and my father told all his people to come together in ten days to go with him in his hunt. He told them to bring their wives with them, but no small children. When they came, at the end of ten days, he chose two men, who he said were to be his messengers to the antelopes. They were to have two large torches made of sagebrush bark, and after he had found a place for his camp, he marked out a circle around which the wigwams were to be placed, putting his own in the middle of the western side, and leaving an opening directly opposite in the middle of the eastern side, which was towards the antelopes.

The people who were with him in the camp then made another circle to the east of the one where their wigwams were, and made six mounds of sagebrush and stones on the sides of it, with a space of a hundred yards or more from one mound to the next one, but with no fence between the mounds. These mounds were made high, so that they could be seen from far off.

The women and boys and old men who were in the camp, and who were working on the mounds, were told to be very careful not to drop anything and not to stumble over a sagebrush root, or a stone, or anything, and not to have any accident, but to do everything perfectly and to keep thinking about the antelopes all the time, and not to let their thoughts go away to anything else. It took five days to charm the antelopes, and if anybody had an accident he must tell of it.

Every morning early, when the bright morning star could be seen, the people sat around the opening to the circle, with my father sitting in the middle of the opening, and my father lighted his pipe and passed it to his right, and the pipe went round the circle five times. And at night they did the same thing.

After they had smoked the pipe, my father took a kind of drum, which is used in this charming, and made music with it. This is the only kind of musical instrument which my people have, and it is only used for this antelope-charming. It is made of a hide of some large animal, stuffed with grass, so as to make it sound hollow, and then wound around tightly from one end to the other with a cord as large as my finger. One end of this instrument is large, and it tapers down to the other end, which is small, so that it makes a different sound on the different parts. My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound, that could be heard afar off, and he sang, and all his people sang with him.

After that the two men who were messengers went out to see the antelopes. They carried their torches in their right hands, and one of them carried a pipe in his left hand. They started from my father's wigwam and went straight across the camp to the opening; then they crossed, and one went around the second circle to the

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[1] Vol. XI, this series, 673, 896.

224 right and the other went to the left, till they met on the other side of the circle. Then they crossed again, and one went round the herd of antelopes one way and the other 796 went round the other way, but they did not let the antelopes see them. When they met on the other side of the herd of antelopes, they stopped and smoked the pipe, and then they crossed, and each man came back on the track of the other to the camp, and told my father what they saw and what the antelopes were doing.

This was done every day for five days, and after the first day all the men and women and boys followed the messengers, and went around the circle they were to enter. On the fifth day the antelopes were charmed, and the whole herd followed the tracks of my people and entered the circle where the mounds were, coming in at the entrance, bowing and tossing their heads, and looking sleepy and under a powerful spell. They ran round and round inside the circle just as if there was a fence all around it and they could not get out, and they stayed there until my people had killed every one. But if anybody had dropped anything, or had stumbled and had not told about it, then when the antelopes came to the place where he had done that, they threw off the spell and rushed wildy out of the circle at that place.

My brother can charm horses in the same way.[1]

A Pyramid Lake informant whose father had likewise been an antelope charmer differed from Sarah in setting the length of the entire hunt at three days, with the middle day specially devoted to the killing of the game. Early in the spring, when the ground was muddy and some one had seen a big herd, the Indians would gather together for the communal chase. One man acted as master of ceremonies and was called an Antelope man; apparently two or three others sharing this title acted as his assistants. These put on antelope heads and daubed themselves with war paint. They notched a stick, which was placed on a blanket and rasped as an accompaniment to the singing. A loud noise was produced. There was a big fire in the middle, round which the men danced. The women did not participate but were allowed to be present as spectators. The musicians were seated between the fire and the Antelope men, who were near the circumference of the circle.

224 Two scouts were sent out to watch all the movements of the antelope and returned at night to report their location. They would announce, "They are all there yet, they are not yet moving." The Antelope man would say, "We are sure the antelope are coming to our corral." They always told the truth and always killed plenty of antelope. In the center of a circular enclosure a big pile of sagebrush was heaped up, and from the sides of the gate two big diverging fences from three to four feet high were made of sagebrush, planted roots up, with the women camping along both wings. Some alert men on foot drove the game toward the structure and the sagebrush wings were set on fire while the central pile was left

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[1] Hopkins, 55–57.

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the 224
women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone.

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular 224
enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he 796
also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the [539]
following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:—

wázunaq	ína	hāúʙa	wō̆'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hāúʙa.	nō̆'mōnáqa	ína	hāúʙa.	
? .	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down [756]
in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he [787]
fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay [841]
far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation [857]
of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained.

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*gamú nō̆'qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

226 In May, when the *kuyúi* fish came up, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso
•796 celebrated the *kuyú*^{i}—*nö'qa*, for which there was also a special master of ceremonies. There was no structure for this any more than for the other Paviotso dances. "In five days," the conductor would say, "get ready." Then the people got ready, moved toward the appointed site and erected their wikiups there. They only danced in the night-time and for five nights. Men and women joined in a circle, the sexes alternating except in so far as young men having no female partner were ranged beside one another. The dancers interlocked fingers. There was no instrument, but one man sang. Meager as are these notes they suffice to suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nûakin*, which was also a spring festival held partly to ensure a plentiful supply of fish.

535 In the *toʙú nö'qá* men and women went round fast, jumping up. This was the beginning of the dance and was enjoyed by the young people. Another name was *ahï nö'qa*, Love dance.

The *hï'nöqá*^{wa} was described as more popular among the Walker River Paviotso and said to have come from Esmeralda County. Nowadays a nickel or a dime is given to some of the Indians to make them dance; formerly the presents consisted of fish or beads. The men pull off all their clothes, but their breechclouts. They did not hold one another's hands but went round like turkeys and would assume a squatting posture. There are only about ten men in the performance; sometimes about three women joined, these receiving gifts from members of their sex. At Fallon I was told that six men dance without clothes, stamping their feet, and receive a quarter from all the spectators. Three women back of the men merely shuffle their feet. This was said to be a dance of the Bannock (Kutcûtiqa, Buffalo-eaters), though coming directly from Indians south of Walker River. I got the impression that this might be a form of the Grass dance.

The only other dances mentioned at Pyramid Lake were the *nöɑába*, Circle dance, and a modern war dance the *panák'iniq*, said to have been taught by Blackfoot visitors. The notched stick (*ná+idanáq*) so prominent in the antelope hunt was said not to be used for any of the dances.

At these dances men sometimes got fighting about a woman, then the strong men of the tribe got together and pulled the combatants apart.

At Fallon I heard of a "squaw dance" that was generally kept up for five days, sometimes longer.

[796] Sarah Hopkins describes a "festival of flowers" celebrated in the spring. The girls named for flowers would go to see whether their floral namesakes were in bloom and talk about them at home, saying, "Oh,

I saw myself today in full bloom!" The girls were full of expectancy 796 until some evening they would hear the chief announce that in five days the festival was to take place. Then on the day stated the flower girls 535 danced along together, the other girls likewise forming a group of their own. The dance ground had been prepared by the girls' elders.

> . . . Each one gathers the flower she is named for, and then all weave them into wreaths and crowns with scarfs, and dress up in them.
>
> Some girls are named for rocks and are called rock-girls, and they find some pretty rocks which they carry; each one such a rock as she is named for, or whatever she is named for. If she cannot, she can take a branch of sagebrush, or a bunch of rye-grass, which have no flower.
>
> They all go marching along, each girl in turn singing of herself; but she is not a girl any more,—she is a flower singing. She sings of herself, and her sweetheart, dancing along by her side, helps her sing the song she makes.
>
> I will repeat what we say of ourselves. "I, Sarah Winnemucca, am a shell-flower, such as I wear on my dress. My name is Thocmetony. I am so beautiful! Who will come and dance with me while I am so beautiful? Oh, come and be happy with me! I shall be beautiful while the earth lasts. Somebody will always admire me; and who will come and be happy with me in the Spirit-land? I shall be beautiful forever there. Yes, I shall be more beautiful than my shell-flower, my Thocmetony! Then, come, oh come, and dance and be happy with me!" The young men sing with us as they dance beside us.
>
> Our parents are waiting for us somewhere to welcome us home. And then we praise the sagebrush and the rye-grass that have no flower, and the pretty rocks that some are named for; and then we present our beautiful flowers to these companions who could carry none. And so all are happy; and that closes the beautiful day.[1]

The dances of the Wind River Shoshoni have already been sketched 000 in another publication.[2]

Two Paviotso dances were enumerated with their games, but come 535 more properly under this heading. In the *tosú nigàsa* ten women and men formed a ring, and moved round, holding one another's hands, jumping and stamping their feet. Each man stood between two women. They continued jumping as long as the singing lasted.

The *hí negâ sa* was a war dance. Six men did not move, but only stamped their feet alternately. Two women danced, moving from their positions.

SWEATBATH.

The Shivwits Paiute declare that the sweatbath does not represent a 000 native custom of theirs but was only borrowed in recent times from the Walapai.

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[1] Hopkins, 47 f.

[2] Vol. XI, this series, 813-822.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the 262
Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no
acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from
their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in
Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, 251
cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling 252
mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the
ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals
in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and 412
pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information
is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted
it most emphatically for his group.

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These 796●
people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized
religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was 756
as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently.
It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his [787]
constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious
forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 881

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, [171]
viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite
well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he
positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual 773
stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the [171]
emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the
world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to [774]
assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the
Central Californians.

MISCELLANEOUS.

237

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner.

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one 276
pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which
George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently
found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that [171]
his own people very seldom made them that way.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N
W
A
782
796

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	WR	Ki	AE
398. Game believed immortal	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
401. Offering of game kill	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
402. To "nature"	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
403. To spirit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
404. With prayer	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
405. Piece of gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
406. Thrown in brush	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Gathering														
•410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
413. Grinding in mortar (puram)	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Miscellaneous Plants														
•433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•434. Cactus fruit eaten (mavu or mütsa)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
435. "Stems" eaten	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
436. Needles burnt off	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
437. Needles brushed off	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
438. Roasted in ashes	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
443. Piñon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	•+
•443a. Hooked pole (teama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
445. End fire bent	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
451a. Piled on ground, covered	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
453. Cooked seeds stored	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
457. Unlined pit	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
•458. Grass lined	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
•462. Nuts ground on metate (mata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
462a. In mortar	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
463. Parching	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
467b. Families wintered on piñon-nut range	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
•469. Nuts eaten as mush	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+

N
W
A
222
252
251

N
W
A
[462]

N
W
A
[N23
262]

[p.374]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running noose for deer present (Smith, notes). W [224]

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N [231] 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N ● 796] 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N [301] 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tō: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of
N [787] Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

[p.422 (B)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
224 luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to
[787] kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai döpi ("clay rock"). Wa: Hunters painted them-
W
[301] selves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N
[136] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. Tö: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tövusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, töna'.

28. Ts: Corral called kuapö.

N
28a. To: - (LP). Ts: A great rope, watsi'dö-
[283] göp°, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls
N
of sagebrush hung down between bushes. A: Rope
[283 of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark
224] rope.

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304), Ts: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (BJ).

N
32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: -
[796] (LP). Tö: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N
37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched
[534] stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tö: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N
42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking
[276] morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[P.422 (c)]

Washo NT20

N 22A 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Tö: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [535 796] W [535] 46. Ts: As *shaman* (pohar'öm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koip$^{\bar{o}}$, female, mutsa'. Koip$^{\bar{o}}$ also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

[p.423(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A
262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DV said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes"). W [222 825]

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A [222 251] 356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262] 360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [262] 362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

365, 366. Wd: - (SC).

W [262] 367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262 369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[p.427(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

● N
796 Next I went to the creek alóne and took a bath.
262 After the ceremony my mother and father and I
ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick."
The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the
birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described
by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only
heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat
his own game until after a special ceremony
which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5
deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother
chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage
and then sucked the boy's joints." He was sup-
A posed never to get tired after that. AE: Game
killed by youth was taboo until after a shoot-
[796 ing ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung
262] up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at.
As soon as he hit the target, but not before,
was the taboo lifted.

373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: - (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W
396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in
[783] water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from
dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: - (LP).

N
401. To: - (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd:
796 Had offering ceremonies similar to this one de-
782 scribed by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the
last morning of the big 5-day spring round
dance. Just before dawn a half circle was
formed at the west side of the dance place by
basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each
cup contained but one type of food, such as
seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts,
and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head
man took each cup separately, danced around the
A circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all di-
rections, and prayed for a good season for all
[782] things. AE: See note 25 AE.

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

N
410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade
262 or expedition from California, not important
439 in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + in-
sisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

N
412. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare
415 acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not
make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians,
N or maybe God, made them."

262
434. The use of cactus was denied only in

[p.427(B)]

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that 754
all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. 756
According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

Shamanistic Doctoring

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is al- 755
ways a public performance, with spectators participating to a
certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices
are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans.
The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the [796
only other important public ceremony.[13] The Paviotso shaman 224]
gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power,
nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is
not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an im-
portant public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious [796]
activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso 756
shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

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[13] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both movements, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance. [796]

787 the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences.

756 The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

Antelope Shamans

224 Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic
life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured
by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a
[222] stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope.
A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is
responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

● [796] These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life,
are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites
that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely
simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The
shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated prac-
224 tices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for
756 a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the
success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance,
which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of
the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one
of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only
men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may
enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the
antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the
[776] communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice,
but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals.
An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a 756
wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not [556]
relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In
short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to
gain marked economic privileges.

SUMMARY

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is 755
the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public
participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional
crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely
lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire cere- [796]
monial life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of or- 756
ganization, Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several
features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in ac-
quiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt
acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all [754]
shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indi-
cate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be re-
garded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in
emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity
of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel com-
binations of practices found widely over western North America, [171]
the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are
unique.

N W

276 755 *795 importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

N W 782 Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

N W

THE PEYOTE CEREMONY

*795 796 [346] [782] Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

[778] [276] The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

000 The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

W

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

101 The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[*]

N 101 The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[*] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

N 563 *795 A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

N W

FIELD METHODS

114 Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances
000 relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

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[*] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[*] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

W
171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full partici-
[841] pation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

N La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
W privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

N The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
W elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben,
171 admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
177 have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meet-
*795 ing too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water
N Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
W during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs
[533] they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534 to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
237 prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual
755] because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

N W 171 177 795* [346]

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne, familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

N W [262]

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

N W 171 177 795* 824 [276]

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes. The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

N W 177 795* 746 ●

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after mid night (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

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La Barre, 61.

Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

N
W
177 of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the
*795 chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the
796 "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same
order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the
chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam with-
W out Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the
[535] ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[illegible] It occurred while waiting for dinner
and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been
reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican
N peyote rituals.[illegible]

W Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting
[514] and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because
[415] poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to
N meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported.
W Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe
177 are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that
anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meet-
578 ings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his
*795 meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or
in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[illegible] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button
N for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[illegible]

W The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs
177 of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regard-
182 ing the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry
prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are
533 that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to
*795 see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[illegible] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[illegible] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[illegible] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[illegible] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

APPENDIX I. WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[illegible] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest. N W 795* 796 ●

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[illegible] N W 783 534

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon. 515

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting. N W 795* 796 276

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[illegible] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group. 783 824

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[illegible] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[illegible] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[illegible] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

*795 some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clock-
796 wise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgive-
276 ness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be
[782] concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle,
[237] and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through
N W it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[59] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string
[824] buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief
N drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

W Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any
[533] peyote song they wish.[60] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[61] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette-lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With
N a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some,
W eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

[783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to
N twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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W [59] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One
[534] Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[60] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[61] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

N

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is W
offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. 795*
While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth.
The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The 796
throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, 276
expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one
is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made N
through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying W
is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders [191]
pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming
continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff
are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the N
ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. W
The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire [262]
and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[illegible]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[illegible] and informal con- [783]
versation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; [521]
then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting. N

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a W
fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an ex- [522]
tremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[illegible] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[illegible] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

N

W with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their
795 places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who
796 missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal
276 smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and
wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who
ask for interpretations from the chief.

N
W Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about
[264] noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all
congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are
[574] often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual
beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

N
W
102
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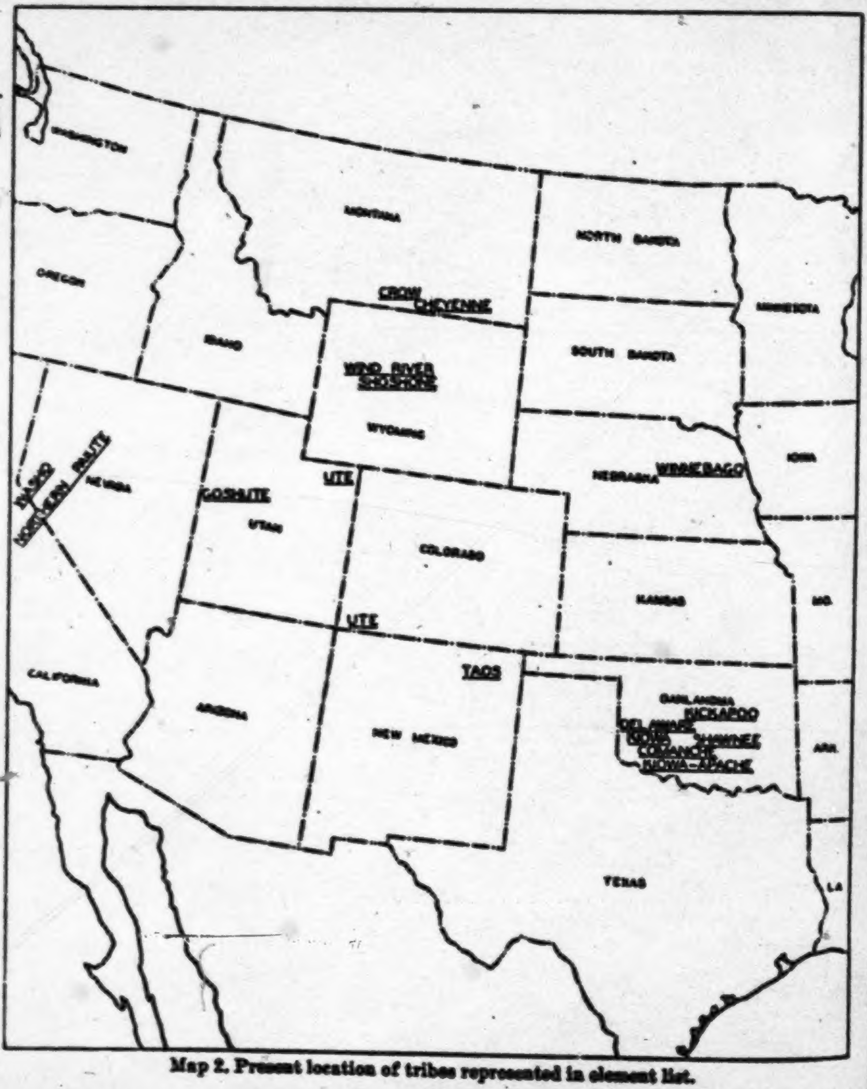
WASHINGTON
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
OREGON
IDAHO
CROW
CHEYENNE
SOUTH DAKOTA
WIND RIVER SHOSHONE
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
WINNEBAGO
IOWA
WASHO
NORTHERN PAIUTE
NEVADA
GOSHIUTE
UTE
UTAH
COLORADO
KANSAS
MO.
UTE
TAOS
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
KICKAPOO
DELAWARE
CADDO
SHAWNEE
COMANCHE
KIOWA-APACHE
ARK.
TEXAS
LA.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Comanche NO6

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Ki	Com	Ka	Ar 8	Da 1	Da 2	Win	NoC	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

N
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795
796

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*795
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[534]
[276]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab δ	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab B	De 1	De 1	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	E-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	Me C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	−		(−)		•−		•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		−	•+	−		+	+	+		−	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•−	(−)	+	•−	•−	−	•−	+	•+	−	+	+	+	•−
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	•−
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(−)		−		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+		−	+	−		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	(+)		−		+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	(−)	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•−	•+	+	−	−	

Element	Occurrence																
	U T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ah 8	Do 1	Do 3	Wis	Mc C	Cr 1	Cr 3	W&B	Uta	Gos	W-P	Taos
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	–	•–	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	–				–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(–)	–				–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	–	(+)	•+	+	–		–	+	•–	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	–		+	+	+		–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	–		+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Peyote Element Distribution List—(*Continued*)

Element	S T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	NoC	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		•	+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WR5	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

Element	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ah S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(–)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				–	+					–	+		•–	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	–		–	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

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1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 40). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

N W 64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legen which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

171 65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on th *795 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

796 67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instanc (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners o earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produc different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer N W (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum [533] for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 102.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, some- N times after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may W (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purifi- [783] cation (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its west, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

168. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

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169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

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202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

N Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready,
W she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

171 215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins
and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See
*795 note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

796 216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants,
Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: dᶻamē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ni'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

N 260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

W 261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

[787] 262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches
to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

394. Kie: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). N

395. Kie: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). W 171

395a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940. 795 796 000

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 6—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

PLATE 1

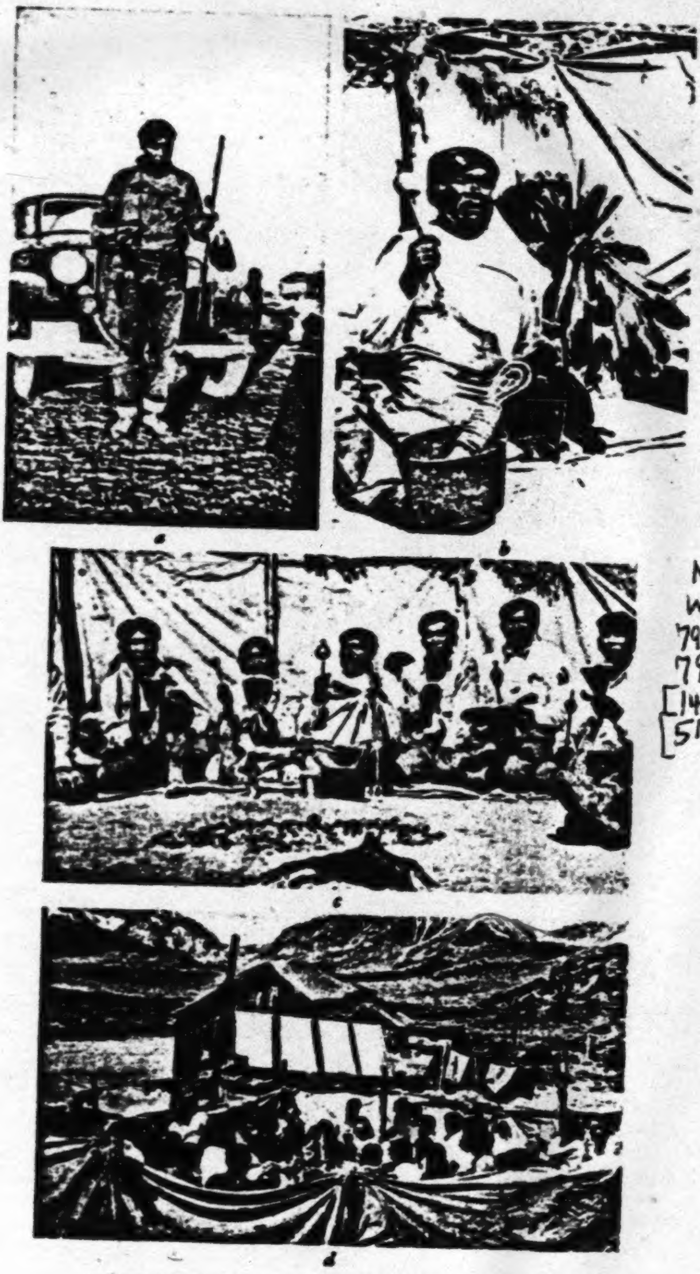
N W *795 534 [17] *a.* Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

W [791] *b.* Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

N W *795 796 *c.* Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

Wadatkuht

Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhö","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuö", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each 525 [172]

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657 together in the hills outside Burns, living in crude tule or gunnysack "wickiups." [186] They could no longer support themselves by collecting and hunting, because most of the land was privately owned and much of the game had disappeared. They [464 were forced to depend partially on the garbage cans of the town of Burns. Some 273] of the men and women found work in the brewery which was the first flourishing industry of the town[18] and were paid by being allowed to tap off as much beer as they could drink at the end of a day. Some worked on the ranches, the men haying and helping tend cattle and sheep and the women helping in the kitchens. In 1924 the government sent Captain Tastall, the new agent at Warm Springs, to [511] make a report on the conditions at Burns. He found the Indians hungry and diseased. As a result of his report nineteen army tents were sent to Burns and set up to replace the old camps. Later twenty two-room houses and a church were built and a school was set up for the children. In 1928 the school was closed, and an attempt was made to enter the children in the public school in Burns. The white residents, however, refused to admit them on the ground that they all had trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. Donegan was sent to Washington to protest against their inclusion in the public schools and, as a result, another Indian school was started and a doctor and field matron were put in charge of the camp.

[777] In the last ten years a Catholic priest named Peter Hoyle, who was said by residents of Burns to have been defrocked and run out of Burns, has taken up his residence in the Indian camp and has attempted to help the Indians recover the Malheur Reservation. He convinced them that they had a case against the government and promised them money if not land. As a result of his work the government built a group of new houses on the north side of Burns where it was possible to irrigate the land. A new agent was sent out who was instructed to teach the Indians to become farmers, a task which appears now to be impossible.

Hoyle viewed this action on the part of the government as a gesture of appeasement and an attempt to stop the suit for the recovery of the reservation. He tried to persuade the Indians not to accept the offer but to hold out for more. Half the camp, however, did not agree to his policy and moved into the new houses. The rest remain in the old camp.

[161] In all, the present population is about 110 or an average of 5.5 individuals per house. Of these about ten are over sixty-five. The majority of the families are direct descendants of the old Wada Eater band. Two of the old inhabitants belong [162] to the other bands—one to the Tagu Eaters and the other to the Hunibui Eaters. Many of the families are related to families of the Ground Hog Eater band at Fort Bidwell, and the Hunibui Eater band, many of whom are now at Warm Springs.

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[18] According to local history, the town of Burns grew around a beer keg. All the settlers used to meet in a little store which made and sold beer and which was named in honor of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns.

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W Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got
177 it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of
*795 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

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1936 PROSELYTER BEN LANCASTER

W The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known
159 as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-
*795 Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate
● 797 his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stagecoach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[44] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

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[44] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

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When the Walker River Reservation was opened for mineral claims in 1907, he was there looking for ore. After mining or prospecting "in every mineral district in Nevada," he caught an east-bound freight train in 1916. He worked in Bingham Canyon, Utah, and, during the war, in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Working for Armour and Company in Omaha, "busting bronchos" near Red Rock, Oklahoma (1919), and bootlegging whiskey in Hot Springs, Arkansas, were a few of Ben's experiences before 1921 when he got a job as a farm hand near Clinton, Oklahoma, and attended a Cheyenne peyote meeting, his first.

Shortly after this, he began "traveling for a medicine company"; and for the next ten years, letting his hair grow and sporting a fancy feather headdress and beaded buckskin clothes, he trekked over the United States selling "Chief Gray Horse's Indian Herbs, a natural laxative." Although he claimed he advertised the medicine for Baker Chemical Company, Cincinnati, and sold it only to stores, he is known widely in Oklahoma as an herb-medicine salesman.[38] He sold his few remaining boxes of medicine to his Nevada converts to peyotism at the regular price of $1.00. The package contained an ounce or two of dry ground "cascara, mandrake, polk root, gentian, uva ursi, licorice, wild cherry, senna, and other herbs," a medicine "strictly botanical," prepared by "Chief Gray Horse Remedy Company, Cincinnati, Ohio."[39] "Hoover's depression," he said, "put me out of business; then I started drifting and getting odd jobs wherever I could."

Ben spent each Christmas with his Cheyenne peyotist friends. Johnny Wright met him there in 1930, and in 1932 he (Johnny) heard that Ben was selling herbs and was married to a white woman who had a restaurant in Lawton, Oklahoma. (Ben refused to confirm this marriage, but Carnegie Smokey [W,2] lived with Ben and his white wife, Sylvia Gray Horse, after he followed Ben to Texas, January, 1938.)[40]

In 1930 Ben told Johnny that he would take peyote to his people in 1932, but he was delayed until 1936. His plans to proselyte among the Washo and the Northern Paiute were secret. "I had cut and dried peyote near Sanderson, Texas, to bring to the Washo," he said, "for I knew these Indians needed it." Near Phoenix, Arizona, he added a cactus staff to the ritual equipment he had obtained in Oklahoma. He conducted his first meeting at Randlett, Utah, for the Ute Indians. At Ibapah, Utah, he held one for the Goshute. About the first of October, 1936, he arrived in Minden, Nevada, where he lived with his "aunt," Susie Dick, and his "cousin," Sam Dick.

For a week or two, he spent most of his time sitting on the curb at Gardnerville, causing quite a stir with his hair bound in colored wrappings falling over his shoulders and his beaded vest, and greeting old friends and acquaintances, both Indian and white. Nothing was said about peyote during that time, and one Indian girl told me she got drunk with him.

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[38] This is confirmed by letters from the superintendents of the Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies, from the secretary and treasurer of the Native American Church, from a Kiowa and an Oto in Oklahoma, and by Johnny Wright.

[39] I saw several boxes and obtained from one its folded leaflet containing this information.

[40] In a letter dated September 26, 1938, the present officials of the Native American Church (the incorporated Indian peyote church) denied any knowledge of Ben's membership in their church. That Ben went to peyote meetings in Oklahoma frequently enough to be considered a member of the Native American Church is confirmed in a letter to me dated December 3, 1938, from Mack Haag (Cheyenne), of Calumet, Oklahoma, former president of the church. He wrote that Ben was a member, had attended many meetings, and was well qualified to start the church in Nevada, although he did not know that Ben had done so.

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CONVERTS AMONG WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

W About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meet-
159 ing privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with
*795 buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been
797 active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear
saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife,
and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of
Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous
experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional
sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire
for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life to-
N gether probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam
W became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was
159 on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend.
755 Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's
*795 "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On
797 November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and
sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben
[274] to Johnny Doc (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about
twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doc there would be no charge since
they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-
five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doc's old handgame songs were loud and clear,
although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and
drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doc was out
of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches
and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek
decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after
the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife.
Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood
Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[illegible] The In-

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[illegible] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who W
used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement 159
that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist 755
missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. 795*
In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only 797 ●
about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty
or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after
February, 1937. N W

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute [203]
Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[illegible] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

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[illegible] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

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159 brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to
755 hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The
*795 meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno
by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the
797 reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Deeroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Deeroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Coleville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[29] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

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At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[30] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

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Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

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[29] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.

[30] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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159 light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben de-
755 parted, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting
*795 for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started
797 when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys'
[578 and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

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[578 Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

N The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he
W improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in
159 his absence.[illegible] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting
578 for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were
*795 invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to
797 support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[illegible] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount. W 159 795* 797 ●

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[*] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong." N W [578] W

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122). N [177]

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

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In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list W 171 177 795*

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[*] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.

[761] [743] [648] [826] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote. N W

771 787 *795 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings. Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction. For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult. N W

171 276 *795 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue. Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.

N W 178 771 *795 Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped. The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns N W ● [797]

U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

La Barre, 72.

Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,[illegible] thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

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At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[illegible] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[illegible] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

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Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[illegible] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

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There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

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[illegible] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[illegible] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[illegible] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[illegible] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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of a new type of living." The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

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What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

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The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

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See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok NS31
Comanche NO6

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Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who con- W
ducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at 171
Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid 177
shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not 668
doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported 795*
by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The 797
appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Chetco Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." Y
A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his [668]
character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted [797]
to join." A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it." And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege. N

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one W
of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters." The Arapaho Sitting 171
Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

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Du Bois, 23, 27.

Tom Garth, field notes.

One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost C [177]
Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its [668]
spread among his tribe."

N W 171

return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.*

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

N W 177 795*

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

N W 797 ●

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging same ones who went with her each day.

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* Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

Before Kitty's ceremony was completed, however, the family moved over to the village of Matá because the haying was finished at Will Dill's ranch. At Matá Kitty's aunt built a fire up the creek above the village and Kitty ran up there and jumped over the fire twice. Her aunt then took her and bathed her in a big tub and gave her a lecture on not being lazy, and on being good. At this time Kitty's family left a lot of new clothes, blankets, shoes, handkerchiefs... "a whole new outfit"...to pay for the time and effort Kitty's aunt had spent on the ceremony. While being bathed Kitty was scrubbed with sagebrush, sawubi. She and her aunt returned to camp together after Beowuhbi had packed up all of her presents. When they got back to camp there was a big feast, and Joaquin gave presents to all assembled, which included Washo, Maidu and Pit River people as well as the Paiutes. In fact, the man who sang for Kitty's puberty ceremony was a Pit River man by the name of Katkat. 881 [574] [431]

Gladys also went through the puberty ceremony at the onset of menses. During the ceremony she was attended by girls who had been through the ceremony as well as by some who had not yet reached puberty.

On the first day of her menses Gladys moved out of the house with her bedding as she was considered unclean. Her mother went with her. She was not allowed to eat or drink out of any utensil which might be used by anyone else, she had to wear old clothes, keep away from people, and got very little to eat or drink. She did get some soda crackers, however, because that was about all they had on hand at that time which she was allowed to eat. The family was camped at the De Witt ranch near Wendel at this time.

On the second day, the family was in Susanville and Kitty, with Gladys, went to see Big Rosie George, a Maidu woman, who was related to Gladys' father, who was a Maidu. Other people were notified that a ceremony was to be held and they all went up to where the Indian Mission now stands at Indian Heights (in Susanville) to look over the dance ground. People prepared abalone shell pendants, deer hoof rattles and other things necessary for the ceremony. There was a "pot luck" dinner in the evening of the first and second nights at the dance grounds. The dinner was followed by dancing. As for food, Gladys was not supposed to get anything to eat but someone sneaked her a slice of white bread. [797] [574] [535]

The Gidü'tikad[8] share the Pyramid Lake and Ute belief[259] that the horned toad can kill a rattlesnake. According to Joshua: 825

> The horned toad looks like a doctor. Many people have seen him kill a rattlesnake. The rattlesnake was ready to strike. The horned toad came alongside from behind, and got under him and cut him in two with his horn. The snake could not turn quickly enough.

No danger was attached to eating deer left by a mountain lion or rabbits left by a coyote. "It's all right; there is no harm." [262]

A neat example of contagious magic is to be seen in the following: 789

> The Indians used to have horse races. When a mare was to have a colt, and they wanted it to be a good racer, they killed an antelope because it is a fast runner, and rubbed the water (?) from it on the belly of the horse.

Certain beliefs concerning hair clippings have already been mentioned.[260] Minnie Anderson thought gray hair would result from burning hair combings. If one slept with his head to the fire, his front hair would turn white.

Children threw deciduous teeth toward the moon with shut eyes to make the second teeth come quickly.

As Lowie has indicated,[261] the Paviotso pattern number is five. 801 ●

WEATHER CONTROL

Weather control consisted principally in means and devices to make the snow melt. Several accounts follow: 789

> The mother of Tadagai[262] could make the snow melt. She cried like a stallion, took a firebrand of sagebrush, and pointed it toward the south, saying, "Come on, rain; come on, rain!" She did not dance. The wind blew, the rain came, and the snow began to melt (P).
>
> You must not boil cottontail because it brings snow; you must fry or roast it. Once some old men were going to boil cottontail and they told me to stand outside. In my hand I had a bullroarer made from a dried juniper limb. It was about two inches wide and six inches long. It was not notched. Two or three black marks ran crosswise on the face. A stick, like a handle, was tied to the end of its thong.
>
> I blew the water, in which the cottontail was boiling, south, saying, "Come, rain and wind." It was winter, a long time ago, before any white men were here; I was a small boy, born in the middle of summer when it was hot. That is why they had me do this (to counteract their boiling cottontail).
>
> There is no way to keep snow from coming. Porcupine brings snow.[263] You roast the meat and when you have eaten it, you mash the bones. Then it will snow (P).

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[259] Lowie, SE, 298. [260] P. 189. [261] SE, 295.

[262] "Tadagai' means one dollar; I don't know how she got such a name" (P).

[263] Cf. Kelly, tales no. 15a, 15b.

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are
up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking,
the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 171
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801 •
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both
Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will 845
also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is 827
thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the 000
Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.
[2] Ibid., 13, 47, 48, 50, 57.

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177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
[755 curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
[171 singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
[801 visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoy-
[756 ance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
[276 peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
[787 common.

N However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical con-
W clusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyot-
[755 ism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
534 aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
276 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, raw-
[533 hide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute cere-
● [801 monial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
823 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
[755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

NUMERATION

● 802 Piudy thought that in the old days the Gidü'tikad^ü did not count above ten. Fractions smaller than half (na'mukwai) were not differentiated; they were called tü'tsi, piece.

1	sümü'y^ü
2	waha'y^ü
3	pahi'y^ü
4	watsi'kwiy^ü
5	ma'ni'giy^ü
6	na''pahiy^ü
7	nata'kwasikwiy^ü
8	wa''kadao'p; and also na'mi-watsikwiy^ü
9	sümü'kadao'p
10	sümü'-manoy^ü
11	sümü'-maspek (maspek, out, over)
12	waha'-maspek
13	pahi'-maspek
20	waha'-mano
30	pahi'-manoy^ü
100	sümü-kwa'it
200	waha'-kwait

Unfortunately I did not get an analysis of these words. Yü is a more or less constant suffix but seems not essential. Some interesting points are contained in the numerals proper. Thus, 6 incorporates the term for 3 (probably twice three), thereby suggesting a system fundamentally quinary. The kwasikwiy^ü of 7 may be a different rendering of watsi'kwiy^ü (4), but it is not clear just what this would signify. The second term listed for 8 is comparable to that for 6 in that it contains the stem of a lower digit (twice four?). 9 hints at a 1 + 8 (first term) combination. The word for 10 is obviously 1 × 10; that for 20, 2 × 10, and so on.

COLORS

822 Identification of colors was made as follows: red, atsa'kwikia^a; yellow, orange, tan, oha'kwikia^a; blue, purple, green, puhi'kwikia^a; brown, ikwi'zikwikia^a; black, tuhu'kwikia^a; white, doha'kwikia^a.

The term kwikia^a evidently signifies color; it is not ordinarily appended in conversation. The single word for blue and green is of some interest. It is necessary to use a qualifying term if one wishes to distinguish between the two.[188]

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[188] I happened to inquire concerning the blossom color of a plant which had seeded. After several minutes of discussion my interpreter said with disgust, "You can't tell; these old people call half a dozen colors by the same name."

439 White disc beads (clam shell ?) came from the north (Warm Springs) and even today are highly valued. Daisy paid fifty cents apiece for the five or six she has and stated that a short necklace once equaled a horse in value. Modern beadwork in Plains style is also purchased from the Warm Springs Indians. Some beadwork is done by the Paiute, chiefly belts and purses. Some make the belts without looms; but I saw one bow-shaped loom such as Lowie noted for the Northern Shoshone.[180]

RECKONINGS

TIME

● 805 Time of day was indicated by the position of the sun. The following list was given by Joshua; it has not been checked with another informant:

Taba'-a-gina (ta'ba, sun; gina, up, visible); before daylight, nearly day
Oha'-na-gina (oha', yellow); just before sunrise
Taba'-taibui-gina (taibui, come out); sunrise
Taba-padia'ˀtü-mana'ikü (padia'ˀtü, high, higher; mana'ikü, happen); a little way up
Awa'mu'-tabi'nu (awa'mu', morning; tabi'nu, noon); halfway up
Tabi'nu; noon
Yüöü'kwü; halfway down.
Taba'-igia'ga'-dui (igia'ga', down; dui, nearly); nearly down; at the top of the hills
Taba'-igia-mü'na (mü'na, already); sun down
Tuyu'pua-mü'na (tuyu'pua, twilight); dusk
Toga'-nu-mü'na (toga', dark); dark

Four seasons were recognized as follows: ta'ma'n^{e}, spring; da'dza', summer; yü'ba'n^{a}, fall; tomo, winter.

The time count, based on descriptive designations for lunar periods, started in the fall with the rutting season of deer and antelope[181] and ceased in spring. Summer months were unnamed; "the real months they count are winter and spring; they don't care about counting summer." The number of days comprising a lunation (müha) was of small concern. Some informants placed it at thirty or thirty-one; others stated frankly that "they never counted the days in the month." A month started with the appearance of the new moon.

[861] In winter they watched for the new moon. The last day the moon was little and came just before daylight. When they saw the new moon they called it the first day. Then they made all the young boys run about a half mile, carry dry

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[180] Lowie, NS, 177.

[181] Determined by the taste of the meat.

wood, and put it on the fire. If they run every time game would not be afraid of them and they would be able to kill squirrels and sage hens easily. Sometimes they talked about winter, saying, "You boys run at the new moon so as to make the winter short" (JB). [861] 905 ●

They told the children to watch for the new moon. When it came they had twp little girls and boys run a race. That was so the food would grow well (NO).

Information on the month count is badly jumbled. The list given by Susie Archie seems most reliable; she alone was able to give a series of names and to equate them with our reckoning. Her confidence contrasted favorably with the confusion and contradictions of other informants.

Na'ʼ-mŭha (wild deer and antelope breed; na, father ?), November
Paba'-mŭha (big, full moon), December
Tamŭ'ni-taba (return of the sun ?), January
Po'ʼatsmakwaitŭpaakŭt (getting warm, snow melting), February
Tokwŭ'tŭ-mŭha (plants germinating), March
Pahi'-mayŭ-mŭha (grass is sprouting; pahi', green), April

The above list covers the more or less isolated names furnished by other informants, and is in such sequence that the descriptive designations fit. Perhaps one addition might be made: Joshua noted that two months in summer were known as Dŭna'-kwaiya'bin (antelope-shed) from the antelopes' shedding. The name was not given by any other informant.

Logically, it would seem that Paba'-mŭha, big moon, should apply to the long summer period. Daisy and Piudy both had it so but were unable to organize the remaining months accordingly. Tamŭ'ni-taba (return of the sun) is interesting in that it suggests solstitial consciousness. David Chocktoot's rendering of the same term was "the moon turning the earth around to the sun." In any case, the fact remains that the calendar was definitely not regulated by or brought into accord with solar phenomena. Instead of Tamŭ'ni-taba, Piudy and Daisy both gave Tamŭ'nida. The former explained it as "around January, the time when seeds are just beginning to germinate under ground." Daisy's explanation was "this is when one side of everything is dry. There is snow in the shade, but things in the sun are dry." [821]

Recording time by means of knotted cords or notched sticks was unknown to the majority of informants.[123] However, Tom Anderson, in a vain effort to recall the old calendrical system, tied twenty knots in a rope and stated that each night a small thong was tied between [211]

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[123] P, NO, DB.

[211] 805 the appropriate knots to indicate the lapse of a day. He claimed a twenty-day month with one month, Paba'-mũha (big moon), having twenty-three days. This he identified with July. He could not recall further details or the names of other months, and his twenty-day month was not verified by other informants.

[843] Joshua was positive on the score of record keeping. He averred that "some women" knotted cords to aid them in reckoning the duration of pregnancy. "They kept it just like a calendar, every day. Sometimes they cut scratches on a stick instead." He also said that in winter a cut was made each day in a large stick and that a new month was indicated by a cut of extra length. Knotted cords did not accompany an invitation. "If they sent word of an antelope hunt, all the people came as soon as they could."

CONSTELLATIONS

821 A number of winter constellations were recognized. Thus, "the stars are overhead in winter time; during the summer they are all over toward Nevada (the east)." As usual, the Milky way (nũmũ-po, people's trail) figures as the road of the dead and the departed are said to travel south along it. The stars of the Big dipper (ta'noa'di) are Indians driving rabbits into a net; "the two in front don't know where they are going." Three stars, probably to be identified with Orion's belt,[183] are mountain sheep (koip^{a}) who were once Indians. In this connection Piudy gave an explanatory tale similar to the one recorded by Lowie,[184] although the latter does not identify the stars with any constellation. A group of stars in the east is called mũza''^{a} and is a band of mountain sheep who were once Paiute women. They are said to be traveling in this direction. A group of "about ten stars way over in the east about 3 o'clock midsummer mornings" is a number of women fighting; the description suggests the Pleiades.

Other constellations are identified as eagle, weasel, flies, two women fighting, and a man with a slow match lighting the two combatants. A large single star which shines in the east about 3 o'clock summer mornings is called paba'i-yũ-mogo'tni (big woman). The North star is unnamed. My informants had not heard of hand or hoop constellations.[185]

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[183] Spier, Havasupai, 172, gives the distribution of this identification.

[184] ST, 232. Curtis, 15:147, gives the myth and stellar identification for the Walker River Paiute.

[185] Discussed by Spier, Havasupai, 170–171.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ac
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693a. 3 or 4	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693b. 5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a. 4 or 6	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709a. Several nights	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2710a. Several days	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•2711. Crazy Dance (tonoomugava)	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2711b. Special singers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712a. 2 sticks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
•2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713a. Men dressed as women	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nugava)	+	+	•+	-	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	•-	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2717. Shaman at center post	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·
2719a. 5 nights	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	·
2719b. Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ac
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2721a. 4 season names	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-

Astronomy

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ac
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2723. Dust road (kusipe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-
2726a. Menstruating women cover selves	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
535

N
[301]

N
[302]

N
[534]

N
[534]

N
A
535
668

N
W
A
805

N
W
A
821

[P. 417]

Ghost Dance

535 2715. K2: Jack Wilson revived and stimulated
668 the old dance but did not teach any new ones.
775 At: The last Ghost dance at McDermitt was about 1893. The shaman prophesied a hard winter which would kill all the horses so that the dead would have them on which to ride back after the resurrection, to occur the following 4th of July. The people danced, the hard winter came, the horses died, and so the Indians congregated at McDermitt for the arrival of the dead. The old people did not return and so there has been little mention of the Ghost dance since. However, this is not strange because they were told to discuss the secrets and promises of the movements only while still on the dance ground following a dance. Ki: Kelly, 179, after saying "evidence on Ghost Dance is both meager and garbled," gives quotations which indicate that the Kidü were exposed to it, but never adopted the dance seriously.

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

805 2720. At: August, "rye-grass-ripe month"
832 (yaia möhũ); September, "piñon-nut month" (tuva möhũ); October, "jack-rabbit-digging-roots-month" (tuhiwi mähũ); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na möhũ); December, "buck-deer-stands-for-week-on-south-side-of-canyon-month" (roa möhũ); January, "tracks-threw-out-on-one-side-month" (tamũnida`a möhũ); February, "earliest-plants-push-aside-last-year's-stalks-month" (tokwinai möhũ); March, "green-grass-growing-fast-month" (puiwaya möhũ). The other 4 months' names could not be remembered. Seasonal names used for one or two. Sa: January, "jack-rabbit-urine-on-snow-month" (roa möha); February, "first-young-jack-rabbit-month" (sötwa'a möha); March, "everything-green-month" (puimöha); April, "buck-berry-leaves-out-month" (kwasinõ möha); May, "flower-month" (totsi möha); June, "Indian-potato-month" (yaba möha); July, "summer-month" (tatsa möha); August, "rye-grass-month" (yaia möha); September, "piñon-nut-month" (töva möha); October, "autumn-month" (uva möha); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na moha); December, "winter-month" (tomomöha). (SL.) Wd: "First-green-shoots-through-snow-month" (poimaya müha); "grass-

[p.445(A)]

N 805 822 grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha); "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "groundhog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W 2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

[805 822] 2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N 821 789 2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N 751 2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N 787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N 522 773 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p.445(B)]

wood, and put it on the fire. If they ran every time game would not be afraid of them and they would be able to kill squirrels and sage hens easily. Sometimes they talked about winter, saying, "You boys run at the new moon so as to make the winter short" (JB). [861] 805

They told the children to watch for the new moon. When it came they had two little girls and boys run a race. That was so the food would grow well (NO).

Information on the month count is badly jumbled. The list given by Susie Archie seems most reliable; she alone was able to give a series of names and to equate them with our reckoning. Her confidence contrasted favorably with the confusion and contradictions of other informants.

Na''-müha (wild deer and antelope breed; na, father ?), November
Paba'-müha (big, full moon), December
Tamü'ni-taba (return of the sun ?), January
Pv'atamakwaitipankit (getting warm, snow melting), February
Tokwü'tü-müha (plants germinating), March
Puhi'-mayü-müha (grass is sprouting; puhi', green), April

The above list covers the more or less isolated names furnished by other informants, and is in such sequence that the descriptive designations fit. Perhaps one addition might be made: Joshua noted that two months in summer were known as Düna'-kwaiya'bin (antelope-shed) from the antelopes' shedding. The name was not given by any other informant.

Logically, it would seem that Paba'-müha, big moon, should apply to the long summer period. Daisy and Pindy both had it so but were unable to organize the remaining months accordingly. Tamü'ni-taba (return of the sun) is interesting in that it suggests solstitial consciousness. [821] ● David Chocktoot's rendering of the same term was "the moon turning the earth around to the sun." In any case, the fact remains that the calendar was definitely not regulated by or brought into accord with solar phenomena. Instead of Tamü'ni-taba, Pindy and Daisy both gave Tamü'nida. The former explained it as "around January, the time when seeds are just beginning to germinate under ground." Daisy's explanation was "this is when one side of everything is dry. There is snow in the shade, but things in the sun are dry."

Recording time by means of knotted cords or notched sticks was unknown to the majority of informants.[182] [211] However, Tom Anderson, in a vain effort to recall the old calendrical system, tied twenty knots in a rope and stated that each night a small thong was tied between

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[182] P, NO, DB.

[211] 805 the appropriate knots to indicate the lapse of a day. He claimed a twenty-day month with one month, Paba'-mūha (big moon), having twenty-three days. This he identified with July. He could not recall further details or the names of other months, and his twenty-day month was not verified by other informants.

[843] Joshua was positive on the score of record keeping. He averred that "some women" knotted cords to aid them in reckoning the duration of pregnancy. "They kept it just like a calendar, every day. Sometimes they cut scratches on a stick instead." He also said that in winter a cut was made each day in a large stick and that a new month was indicated by a cut of extra length. Knotted cords did not accompany an invitation. "If they sent word of an antelope hunt, all the people came as soon as they could."

CONSTELLATIONS

1 ● 821 A number of winter constellations were recognized. Thus, "the stars are overhead in winter time; during the summer they are all over toward Nevada (the east)." As usual, the Milky way (nūmū-po, people's trail) figures as the road of the dead and the departed are said to travel south along it. The stars of the Big dipper (ta'noa'di) are Indians driving rabbits into a net; "the two in front don't know where they are going." Three stars, probably to be identified with Orion's belt,[183] are mountain sheep (koip^{a}) who were once Indians. In this connection Piudy gave an explanatory tale similar to the one recorded by Lowie,[184] although the latter does not identify the stars with any constellation. A group of stars in the east is called mūza'^{a} and is a band of mountain sheep who were once Paiute women. They are said to be traveling in this direction. A group of "about ten stars way over in the east about 3 o'clock midsummer mornings" is a number of women fighting; the description suggests the Pleiades.

Other constellations are identified as eagle, weasel, flies, two women fighting, and a man with a slow match lighting the two combatants. A large single star which shines in the east about 3 o'clock summer mornings is called paba'i-yū-mogo'tni (big woman). The North star is unnamed. My informants had not heard of band or hoop constellations.[185]

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[183] Spier, Havasupai, 172, gives the distribution of this identification.

[184] ST, 232. Curtis, 15:147, gives the myth and stellar identification for the Walker River Paiute.

[185] Discussed by Spier, Havasupai, 170–171.

278 755 Rheumatism was a common and a dreaded ailment, but there were a few remedies. Susie Archie knew of persons who had whipped the affected parts with nettles, and after the inflammation subsided, the rheumatism was gone. She had been urged to try this, but could not steel herself to do it. The sweat bath, it was said, helped rheumatism as did also the "hot bed" made of heated stones covered with juniper boughs and blankets.

A drink made of the boiled roots of tüba'süp or of oha'naxagodidi[235] (*Berberis repens* Lindl.) was taken for venereal disease; a drink from the boiled roots of do"sa[216], for tuberculosis.

SOUL, ABODE OF DEAD, GHOSTS

775 When Nora and Pindy were asked concerning the human soul, they conferred and said, "They name it the same as the breath, soñü'p^{a}." However, when Joshua was questioned, he called the soul mu'gwa, which agrees with the terms recorded by Lowie[236] for several Shoshonean groups. Concerning the two terms, Joshua said:

> When a man dies his mu'gwa leaves and never returns. His soñü'p^{a} breaks up and goes when he dies. If a man is half dead his soñü'p^{a} is still there; his mu'gwa is half gone. The doctor tries to put it back.[237] When the mu'gwa leaves it hovers around. I do not know where it is in the body.

[821] At death the soul goes above; it travels south along the Milky way to the abode of the dead. I was asked at this point if white people also go above, because when the shaman searches for souls of half-dead people "he see only Indians there." The abode of the dead is unnamed; all Paiute go there regardless of moral character and mode of death. It is "like this earth, but there is lots of green grass there; people never grow old; and everything is nice."

A dead man is addressed thus, "Go off. Goodbye (native?). You have a good country there." A dead person sometimes returns looking for his things. There is particular danger of this if the relatives have been careless about burning his property. Charlie Washo said, "About twelve years ago someone died and came back. He came to the door, but I could not see him. I was not afraid though. Perhaps they had not burned his things." Charlie went on to tell of an experience he once had when visiting in Alturas. He was asleep and his blankets were pulled from him. He got up and rearranged them, but the

same thing happened again. "I was badly scared. I thought perhaps a dead man had come back; maybe there was something of his in there. I don't know." 775

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[235] Oha', yellow, having reference to the color of the peeled root.

[236] SE, 296; and NS, 226.

[237] By going into a trance and searching for the soul.

According to Joshua:

> I have never seen a ghost. They say you hear them. Once Charlie Washo and I were going up a hill looking for a pony. We came to a clump of service and heard a noise like singing. We stood still. Charlie said, "We had better run." He ran off. I stood there and I waved for him to come. He came but we did not go up to the bushes. I don't know what we heard.

On the other hand, I was told that a ghost appears only when someone is sick and about to die. If a person dreams of a ghost he will probably fall sick. He can, however, ward off the ill effects by using mushrooms or "a brown stuff which is found in the fields but does not grow there" (fungus?). Both of these are known as tsoü'p-bisha (tsoü'p, ghost; bisha, powder). The powder is taken from the center of the mushroom or from the fungus and is tossed upon one's head to frighten off the spirits.

The following suggests a distinction between ghost and spirit: 775

> Tsa'ab^{a} is nearly the same as tsoü'p.[298] I knew a man who was drunk. The ghost (tsa'ab^{a}) of his mother touched him on the leg. It swelled and the next day he was dead. Some might have cured him by sucking. 787 776

This suggests that tsa'ab^{a} may refer to a ghost proper; tsoü'p to spirits that were never in human body; but further examples would be necessary before one could be certain.

According to Piudy, when a person sees a ghost, he sees the individual himself, not his spirit or soul. In response to a question concerning dream experiences, he said, "I have never heard anybody say anything about what they saw in dreams. All they know is what they dream." About the same holds for one's reflection in water. Great hilarity resulted from a suggestion that it might be the soul. Piudy said, "They never say what it is they see but it is *not* the soul."

MISCELLANEOUS MAGICAL BELIEFS

There is a considerable series of beliefs concerning natural phenomena. The rainbow (piü'gtükwinüb) presages rain. A person did not point at a rainbow for fear of making his finger sore. Earthquakes were unknown in the old days but not so eclipses. Joshua had heard that in early times "the sun once stopped and everything was dark for a day or two. The people made a slow match and went 789 821

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[298] This term looks suspiciously like soüü'p^{ü}, p. 198.

789 around camp to see if everyone were alive." An eclipse is called taba-yü'iwan (ta'ba, sun); they say the sun is dying.

821 It aggravates the thunder (nüniaʼba) "if you shout, laugh, and talk. The thunder gets worse and it may chase you." Lightning is of special danger to a menstruating woman and often fatal to a woman with child. The echo is wahi'pi-naka'u (shout-hear). It is someone "calling back."

538 The animals of the tales—Coyote, Wolf, Frog, Rattlesnake, and
821 others—are said to be in the moon. Minnie Anderson sees a frog in
the moon. A circle about the moon foretells rain.

827 A sneeze indicates that a person of the opposite sex is thinking of
one. Ringing of the ears is of evil portent. "That is a dead spirit
787 shouting in your ears; probably a friend is dying." A wink is of no
significance; "they learned that from the white people." When a
person's eyes twitch, "he is going to see something. When a man is
going hunting and his eye twitches, he says, 'I know I shall see game
today.'" An itching palm has no meaning. Bad luck is associated
with twitching of an under-knee muscle. When a hunter experiences
this it means he will not see game. If a woman is going to play a card
game and her knee twitches, she will surely have bad luck. Twitching
of the calf muscles indicates that a stranger is coming. If the arch
of the foot twitches it means that someone is coming on horseback
(contact with the stirrup).

787 A number of omens mentioned by Nora Henderson follow:

825 When a frog whistles (not croaks), people say, "You are going to have bad news."

When the coyote barks strangely, someone will sicken and die.

When the owl barks like a dog, something bad will happen. Once when I was near Adel, on my way to Likely, an owl in a clump of willows south of us barked and then hooted. We knew we would get bad news from the south. That night we stopped at Alturas and heard that someone in Likely had been killed.

Once my aunt, Daisy Brown, heard a whistle by the creek. She looked around and saw a snake making the noise. She felt badly, knowing she would get bad news, and I think she told me that she did.

When it is a little cloudy, and the meadowlark sits on the ground and goes, "prrrrrr," it is going to rain. They say this is really true.

If the first meadowlarks from the south have bright yellow spots on their breasts there will be plenty of a'gü'.

A centipede is called i'wü-mai'ᵗ (many-hands). If a person picks up a centipede "he may get that many hands." If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will follow that person and get in bed with him. "They always say that this is really true."

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTR0
Achomawi NS5

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693a. 3 or 4	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2693b. 5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a. 4 or 6	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2709a. Several nights	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2710a. Several days	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2711. Crazy Dance (tonomugava)	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2711b. Special singers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2712a. 2 sticks	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2713a. Men dressed as women	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nugava)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2717. Shaman at center post	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·
2719a. 5 nights	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	·
2719b. Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·
MISCELLANEOUS														
Calendar														
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2721a. 4 season names	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Astronomy														
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2726a. Menstruating women cover selves	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
535

N
[90]

N
[302]

N
[534]

N
[534]

N
A
535
668

N
W
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805

N
W
A
821

[P. 417]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi AS5

N
W
A
821
776
789

N
W
A
787

N
W
A
784

N
753

N
W
172

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Whirlwind (pitemmawa)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2732. You will carry a deer	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	.	.	.	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
2738. Crow call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2739. Dove call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740. Meadowlark call	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2295a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
2741a. Finger rots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	.	.	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2743. Gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
2745. Informants had only heard of them	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2748. "Devil"	.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−

[p. 418]

Washo NT20

N
805
822 grows-high-month" (tokwinai mûha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga mûha); "salmon-month" (arai mûha); "big month" (pava mûha); "spring-month" or "groundhog-shadow-month" (tama mûha); "cold month" (tsösö'-ödö mûha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W 2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

[805
822] 2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N
● 821
789 2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N
751 2730a. TS: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N
787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N
522
773 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

> pents live in the lake, too. Like the water-babies, these serpents have 756
> strong power. They give power to some shamans. (Rosie Plummer) 776

A somewhat different statement of the source of shamanistic power, probably due to individual interpretation, was given by Dick Mahwee.

> The Indian doctor gets his power from the spirit of the night. This spirit is everywhere. It has no name. There is no word for it. The Indians hold this spirit so sacred that they are afraid if they had a name for it the spirit would be angry. No one has ever dared give it a name.
>
> Eagle and owl do not give a shaman power.[3] They are just messengers that bring instructions from the spirit of the night. Some doctors have water-babies for their messengers. They are called when the shaman doctors. They do not give him his power; they only carry messages from the spirit of the night. When the shaman is treating a patient he calls for the water-babies and they bring him instructions from the spirit.
>
> At the time that the spirit of the night gives power for doctoring, it tells the shaman to ask for help from the water-babies, eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear or some other bird or animal.
>
> When shamans get power it always comes from the night. They are told to doctor only at night. This power has nothing to do with the moon or stars. I knew one woman who used the sun, moon, and stars for her power. I saw her fill her pipe and just as the sun came [821] up she puffed and started to smoke. I saw her do this several times. I watched her closely but she did not use matches. Her power lighted her pipe.

A similar formulation of the spirit of the night as the source of power was made by Joe Green, also at Pyramid Lake.

> There are two nights. The second one comes behind the night that everybody sees. This second night is under the darkness. It tells the shaman where the pain is and what caused the sickness. When the second night comes it makes the shaman feel that he is a doctor. The power is in him to doctor. Only shamans can see this second night. The people can only see the darkness. They cannot see the night under it.

In other statements, Joe Green insisted that power came from the spirits of animals; and, as has been noted, his own power came from the otter. This view of the source of supernatural aid was

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[3] Other informants at Pyramid Lake claimed that Dick Mahwee received his powers from the ghost of a Pit River Indian, eagle, and crow. (See list of shamans and their powers given below.)

It appears that the spirit of the coyote was never a source of 756 776
power, although Coyote is the most prominent character in 825
Paviotso tales. [773]

> Shamans never got power from Coyote. According to the old stories the Indians tell, Coyote always spoils everything. Coyote is bad. Sometimes he tries to get the soul of someone. He says, "I am going to get you and when you die, I will eat you." The coyote cannot be heard to say this, but when he has said it, it makes the victim sick. (Joe Green)
>
> Shamans do not get power from Coyote. Coyote causes sickness. Dogs are almost like Coyote. When a shaman doctors, dogs are kept away, otherwise he would not be successful in curing the sickness. (Rosie Plummer)

Fear of the wrath of water-babies and water-serpents noted in 756
accounts above is not held for other spirits, save those of the 776
elements, particularly the thunder. There seems to be no danger in ridiculing or showing lack of respect for the spirits of the animals and birds.

> The Indian doctors know the wind, clouds, and rain. A shaman talks 756
> to them. They are just like people, and they come. Anyone who makes 776
> fun of the thunder will be killed. One time a man at Schurz heard the 821
> thunder, and said, "That is nothing. I am going to fight that thunder." He went outside the house, and the thunder was heard overhead. He was hit by lightning and killed. (Tom Mitchell)

There is only one shaman who is reported to have had power from such a source. Wovoka, the prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance, is said to have had power from two clouds.

> One was a straight high cloud. This was for snow. The other cloud was dark and close to the ground. It was for rain. Wovoka could see a man's arm sticking out of the white cloud. One time the arm would be pointing north. Another time it would be pointing south, east, or west. (Joe Green)

This statement could not be verified, but there is evidence that the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement had power from several sources, including the wolf.

Another aspect of the supernatural spirits which are the source 756
of shamanistic power is their invisibility to all but the shamans. 776
Only the shaman can see the spirit or spirits from which he derives his power. Even when he invokes his supernatural aids at a doctoring, they are visible to him alone. Their presence is known to the others only through the shaman's account of his conversa-

Largely because of this popular form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 756
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store 556 [437]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an
individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate
his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his
profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of
his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and consequently 554
dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned.
In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear,
the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may
be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior,
he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect
felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general
feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with
supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [766]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's
death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of
such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths
among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the
weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance movements 668
are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements.
Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the
dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered
today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

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412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^{w}, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called sŏukumstu'ma. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht. [137]

[302] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhds, or wunuhds^{u}. [237]

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534 Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^{u}, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwápitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother [821]

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and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because 534
to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not
allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called [821]
the wind.

Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snow- 481
shoes and said they were a circular frame strung with strips
of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in
strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got
the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the
snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The
snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet.

Ike was able to give some additional information on snow-
shoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile
steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide
strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of
moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one
placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or
six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the
snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out
to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. The [482]
snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's
back until soft snow was encountered.

Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from 501
the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were
punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while [824]
using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were
tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact
size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These
boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs
near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the
manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959.

Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was 534
kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub^1, was used to make willow- [824]
bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used.
Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles
were blown by boys just for the fun of it.

The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrow- [824]
cane and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin,
a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. She also [755]
said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it
by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute
except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring.

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When anyone died his "camp" (house) was burned.

764 Personal Names. Men's and boys' names included the following: Sagwúda, "Porcupine"; Muhu'^{k} dosa, from muhu'^{a}, "owl", and dosa, which had no meaning, but was an ending a little boy put on the word for owl to name himself; Pongádz, "Mouse", because he looked like a mouse when he was a boy; Wádanatzi, a Paiute name for a Pit River (Atsuge) shaman which may have had reference to wada (Suaeda depressa) and nátzi, "boy"; Baba kuhku^{a}, "Big Feet"; Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}, "Feces to Wipe"; Idzákad, "Loose"; Kwidu'^{u}, so-named because he constantly broke wind; Wõhudi'^{i}, "To Carve"; Matad^{u}, "Crawler"; Wawa'^{a} bob, "Stranger Bob"; Tupaskima skia, "Mouth Crooked"; Tabök, "Cottontail"; Kubuts, to grind one's teeth; Nana'^{a}, "Younger"; Baba'yu dzim, "Big Jim"; Numunana, "Indian Man"; Tusį^{yu}naná', "Little Man"; Kasi no uhd^{a}, "Train Haul"; Nunú'kai, possibly from nunu', "snake", and kai, "no".

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Women's and girls' names included the following: Tuna'^{k}zua, "Short Girl"; Nunu' biawuhb^{i}, "Snake Old Lady"; Kwidapino'^{ya}, "Feces Carrier"; Kaiyaguht, "Never Cry"; Ptaitnat^{yu}, "Thin"; Atsábona', "Woodpecker Old Lady"; Tunuhpiuts, "Nighthawk"; Soiyeza biawuhb^{i}, "Soldier Old Lady"; Babayu sait', "Big Pit River"; Bababui, "Big Eyes"; Udöyu bíawuhb^{i}, "Tall Old Lady"; Kwiduk^{w}ti'^{i}, "Excrement Shoot"; Tsí tsi, ("Sissie"?) she was called this because she was about ten years old before she stopped nursing; Wukwits'^{i}, "Throw", so-named because this fat woman had considerable movement in her posterior as she walked; Muid^{i}, from muhibi, "fly" (insect).

Some personal names, as demonstrated in the above lists, tended to be derived from physical traits, while others stemmed from some episode in the individual's life. Others were obviously meant to convey the humor of some action or situation. The informants also gave a number of names for which they had no translation.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

821 The sun was of considerable importance to the Wadátkuht and his religious expression, since it was common to find instances in which the individual in times of stress prayed directly to the sun for aid. Repentance of guilt might be
[782] made in prayers to the sun. Guilt feelings in an individual
[626] appeared often to be associated with strong social pressure for the person to "repent" and admit his "guilt". It is

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also quite likely that the individual did not realize that 821
he was "guilty" of some act (e.g., of causing someone to
become ill) until it was pointed out to him by his friends [626]
and neighbors. Prayers seemed to be commonly addressed to
the sun at sunrise. To pray was nanishtuhai, and one had to [782]
pray to the sun before it came up and before it set in the
evening.

Ghosts seemed to be feared, possibly because the ghost 775
of a near relative might make a person ill by trying to take
his soul away. One instance of such a fear of ghosts is the [753]
story a man told Ike about camping near an old Wadátkuht
camping place and hearing people talking slowly, breaking
sticks for a fire and moving about. The man became so afraid
that he left. The people who used to live at the old camp
had died of some disease, and Ike thought that a person could
still hear them if one was to go around that place.

Helen Joaquin was camped at Tupí' twaba many years ago and on one dark night she heard something crying overhead as it flew along. She called this thing mumú shotsing, "person flying". Several years ago many people at the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, at the town of Nixon, heard the same thing. One woman ran outside to see if she could see what was making the crying sound overhead. Helen said that it could not have been an owl as she knew what an owl sounded like.

In the water of the spring at Tupí' twaba people with 776
certain power, apparently shamans, could see water babies. [756]
Water babies were beings which looked just like ordinary
babies except that they had long hair.

Obtaining Power. At a mountain about five miles north 756
of Eagle Peak in Modoc County (seemingly Warren Peak) there 778
was a place where water collected in a pool. The mountain
was called Nabogin, "Swimming Mountain", because there was
a place to swim in a pool under the rimrock. Ike's father,
Nunu' kai, went there to swim and to the rimrock to sleep in
order to get a dream "to learn something, to be doctor, to
keep bullets from hitting you...fall off you". (As a matter
of record Ike's father was a Kamötkuht, but his mother was
Wadátkuht.

Not only did Paiute men go to Nabogin, but Pit River men also went there for the same purpose. Ike did not state specifically if this was the place Wadátkuht men went to

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frightened and ran away. Just as the buckboard was passing 755
over a bridge the vehicle's tongue broke and both boys were thrown into the dry creek bottom. The two severely injured boys were taken into camp and a Pyramid Lake woman doctor worked on them. They were laid on the ground side by side with a can of eagle feathers between them, and each boy was separately encircled by a horse hair rope. The doctor, Tsudi, "Judy", Kitty's father's cousin, sprinkled water on the boys' heads, and also sprinkled black pigment in powder form on their heads. White chalk was mixed with water and given to them in a spoon. Two rings were drawn on each boy's chest with red paint, and a red circle was drawn on each boy's forehead. Since the eagle feathers in the can moved and did not droop the shaman got the sign that the boys were going to recover. The term for trying to bring a sick person back to health was tumánog.

A number of years after the accident Tsudi doctored 757
Gladys' brother again, this time for headaches presumably 755
stemming from his previous serious injury. Kitty, Gladys and Gladys' brother went over to Nixon for the treatment. The patient was very weak. Kitty asked Tsudi if she would [821]
take the case, and the asking had to be done before sunrise, since that was the traditional time to ask. Tsudi accepted.

Gladys did not entirely trust Tsudi, so watched her carefully. The shaman told them all to go outside if they did not have strong stomachs, and to leave her alone with the patient. Gladys started to leave with the others but turned back in order to watch out for her brother. The shaman had assured everyone that everything would be all right when she sent them from the room.

The doctor felt around on the patient's head until she found a vein to open. When she cut the vein with a knife chipped from bottle glass dark-colored blood spurted out. When the blood looked better, more red-colored, she put a quid of chewing tobacco from her mouth on the cut. Later a second quid replaced the first one - it was a "clean" one. After this second wad of tobacco was put on it was tied in place with a horse hair rope and then with a rag. Gladys' brother got better and was never bothered again with the headache.

The knife the doctor used was chipped from bottle glass [413]
by striking off flakes with a stone. She "cleaned" the knife with tobacco "juice" (spittle), mud and water. She

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757 also rubbed the knife with sand just after she had finished
755 chipping it.

When a patient was taken to a doctor who was already doctoring someone the term was natzata. Apparently the shaman would treat both patients at the same time.

755 [821] **Doctoring a Sick Person**. As noted above, a doctor had to be called in early in the morning before sun up, that is, he had to be asked if he would take the case at that time. He was usually given a gift at the time of asking.

The doctor worked on the patient for four days, usually in a darkened room where everyone had to be quiet. Smoking was not allowed except when the doctor lit up; then everyone lit up. This was prayer time.

The patient lay on the floor and the doctor sat beside him and blew smoke into his face (this action was called háhi), prayed and then began his song (this last action was called tumanagi). An eagle feather was put upright in a can at the patient's head (this action was called tubihi). This was a specially prepared feather as it had down around its base, and the doctor had a decorated eagle feather in his hair. There was money for the doctor in the can with the eagle feather. Putting the money in the can was called astuwunai.

The doctor sang his song and everyone present sang it with him. He sang and prayed for about three hours.

The shaman had an arrowcane stick, or tube, he put against the patient's body to suck out the sickness, an act he did several times. Sucking out the sickness was called pumu' tumuhamuhn, "something to touch with your lips". The doctor sucked during the period when he sang and prayed. He had to clear his own throat of the "sickness" sucked from the patient and spit it out into a pan. It usually consisted of phlegm and clotted blood, and sometimes a worm. The act of spitting out the "sickness" was called ci'ihn.

A close relative of the doctor saw to it that the doctor's rules were carried out. This person "thought the world of the doctor", and was the one who took the pan outside and dug a hole a considerable distance away and buried the sickness that the doctor had extracted from the patient and had spit into the pan. The duty of the helper was to tumaiyoho',

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752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup^{a}. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^{a} to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, KukwaPta, if one knew the correct words.

821 [789] [177] Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^{b} - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 513 825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

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524 Kitty, who was younger, would take advantage of the temporary absence of the other girls and destroy all of the toys. She also broke her sister's toy cradleboards and her beadwork. For doing this her sister would beat her up.

MYTHOLOGY

538 [821] Story telling was reserved for stormy days, therefore, presumably during the winter. To do otherwise would cause it to storm. Ike seemed to know many myths and enjoyed telling them, unfortunately in Paiute. When he was getting ready to tell some stories he would say "Na'isha dukwi", "Let's tell a lie". Despite the fact that it was not possible to obtain the myths as he told them the essence of several was gotten and is given below.

539 Why Dove Makes a Mournful Sound. A brother and a sister were the last people left in the world, and they were very attached to one another. The brother died and his sister was very sad. She told her distant relatives that she was going to turn into a dove. She mourned and became very thin. She finally turned into a dove (ihov^i) and is still mourning for her brother. She said that anyone who heard her would be lonely.

Why People Die. At one time Bald Mountain (Guha kaive) stood vertically, on end, on top of Diamond Mountain, and at the top of Bald Mountain there was a spring. One day Wolf and Coyote had a violent argument. Wolf wanted to continue to allow old people to climb up to the top of the mountain and bathe in the spring so that they could regain their youth. Coyote was of a contrary mind and thought that old people should die. During the argument Coyote got so angry that he kicked Bald Mountain and it toppled over into the valley below. The force of the fall flattened the mountain as it is today. The water from the spring splashed out forming Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, Eagle Lake and several other lakes in the region. Since then the old people cannot bathe in the spring and become young again.

Coyote Digs Potatoes. Young Coyote went out with a group of old women to help them dig Indian "potatoes". He straggled behind the women and urged them to stoop over to dig potatoes. They had heavy packs on their backs but he urged them to stoop over even further. Finally Coyote took advantage of the position in which the old women had put

NUMERATION

802 Pindy thought that in the old days the Gidü'tikad^{ü} did not count above ten. Fractions smaller than half (na'mukwai) were not differentiated; they were called tü'tsi, piece.

1. sümü'y^{ü}
2 waha'y^{ü}
3 pahi'y^{ü}
4 watsi'kwiy^{ü}
5 ma'ni'giy^{ü}
6 na''pahiy^{ü}
7 nata'kwasikwiy^{ü}
8 wa''kadao'p; and also na'mi-watsikwiy^{ü}
9 sümü'kadao'p
10 sümü'-manoy^{ü}
11 sümü'-maspok (maspok, out, over)
12 waha'-maspok
13 pahi'-maspok
20 waha'-mano
30 pahi'-manoy^{ü}
100 sümü-kwa'it
200 waha'-kwait

Unfortunately I did not get an analysis of these words. Yü is a more or less constant suffix but seems not essential. Some interesting points are contained in the numerals proper. Thus, 6 incorporates the term for 3 (probably twice three), thereby suggesting a system fundamentally quinary. The kwasikwiy^{ü} of 7 may be a different rendering of watsi'kwiy^{ü} (4), but it is not clear just what this would signify. The second term listed for 8 is comparable to that for 6 in that it contains the stem of a lower digit (twice four?). 9 hints at a 1 + 8 (first term) combination. The word for 10 is obviously 1 × 10; that for 20, 2 × 10, and so on.

COLORS

822 Identification of colors was made as follows: red, atsa'kwikia^{a}; yellow, orange, tan, oha'kwikia^{a}; blue, purple, green, puhi'kwikia^{a}; brown, ikwi'zikwikia^{a}; black, tuhu'kwikia^{a}; white, doha'kwikia^{a}.

The term kwikia^{a} evidently signifies color; it is not ordinarily appended in conversation. The single word for blue and green is of some interest. It is necessary to use a qualifying term if one wishes to distinguish between the two.[188]

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[188] I happened to inquire concerning the blossom color of a plant which had seeded. After several minutes of discussion my interpreter said with disgust, "You can't tell; these old people call half a dozen colors by the same name."

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo . NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301] 1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
301 1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville
[139 about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
172] 1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
A 1333. Tö: Bought from California. AE: Only
[301] women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads
on dress. Obtained from California Indians W
of Achomawi.
1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention
to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal
septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung
W to wear were the only bone beads.
[301] 1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl.
[172] 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N
312 1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
177 1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.
N 1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face
302 daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
296 1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red
[172] paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
A 1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill,
[135] SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
N 1364. At: One Paiute word designates green
● [322] and blue.
N 1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abun-
[135] dance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of
Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John
T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny
powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another
mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the mate-
N rial as Fe_2O_3, "speculorite." I suspect it is
[776] the same as that listed by Steward as "galena,"
which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil
A spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got
[439] from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from
the Paiute even in early days before white people.

Hair Dressing

W [302] 1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
N 1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2
302 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of
otter fur" (Curtis, 61).
1382. Ki: − (Kelly, 115, but she cites De
Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).
1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair
from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before
that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed
W braiding style before white people arrived.
[302] 1387. Wa: − (Smith, notes).
N 1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
[172] 1396. Tö: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

[p.435(B)]

Ghost Dance

535 665 775 2715. K2: Jack Wilson revived and stimulated the old dance but did not teach any new ones. At: The last Ghost dance at McDermitt was about 1893. The shaman prophesied a hard winter which would kill all the horses so that the dead would have them on which to ride back after the resurrection, to occur the following 4th of July. The people danced, the hard winter came, the horses died, and so the Indians congregated at McDermitt for the arrival of the dead. The old people did not return and so there has been little mention of the Ghost dance since. However, this is not strange because they were told to discuss the secrets and promises of the movements only while still on the dance ground following a dance. Ki: Kelly, 179, after saying "evidence on Ghost Dance is both meager and garbled," gives quotations which indicate that the Kidü were exposed to it, but never adopted the dance seriously.

MISCELLANEOUS

Calendar

805 ● 822 2720. At: August, "rye-grass-ripe month" (yaia mŏhũ); September, "piñon-nut month" (tuva mŏhũ); October, "jack-rabbit-digging-roots-month" (tuhiwi măhũ); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na mŏhũ); December, "buck-deer-stands-for-week-on-south-side-of-canyon-month" (roa mŏhũ); January, "tracks-threw-out-on-one-side-month" (tamũnida`a mŏhũ); February, "earliest-plants-push-aside-last-year's-stalks-month" (tokwinai mŏhũ); March, "green-grass-growing-fast-month" (puiwaya mŏhũ). The other 4 months' names could not be remembered. Seasonal names used for one or two. Sa: January, "jack-rabbit-urine-on-snow-month" (roa mŏha); February, "first-young-jack-rabbit-month" (sŏtwa'a mŏha); March, "everything-green-month" (puimŏha); April, "buck-berry-leaves-out-month" (kwasinŏ mŏha); May, "flower-month" (totsi mŏha); June, "Indian-potato-month" (yaba mŏha); July, "summer-month" (tatsa mŏha); August, "rye-grass-month" (yaia mŏha); September, "piñon-nut-month" (tŏva mŏha); October, "autumn-month" (uva mŏha); November, "deer-breeding-month" (na moha); December, "winter-month" (tomomŏha). (SL.) Wd: "First-green-shoots-through-snow-month" (poimaya müha); "grass-

[p.445(A)]

N 805 822 grows-high-month" (tokwinai müha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga müha); "salmon-month" (arai müha); "big month" (pava müha); "spring-month" or "ground-hog-shadow-month" (tama müha); "cold month" (tsösö'-ödö müha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W [805 822] 2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: + (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N 821 789 2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N 751 2730a. Tö: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N 787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N 522 773 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

DIRECTIONS

Informants state that the cardinal directions are named from the winds, but the names are not entirely consistent with such derivation. The east is designated by a term which contains ta'ba, sun, and the same is true of some of the terms given for west.

The following list is according to Charlie Washo:

kwina'b^{a}, north. Over here it freezes; the ice is pretty thick; it kills everything; it is the boss.

ũnũ'^{kwipa}, south. This is a good wind; it melts the snow.

taba'^{kwipa}, east. This wind is pretty bad; the groundhog never comes out. Ta'ba means sun.

nana'^{kwipa}, also nana'badu, west. This is a pretty bad wind; sometimes it even turns over a wagon. They just call this direction the three sisters (?).

This list adheres to the "wind approach" regardless of the actual meaning of the term. Other informants were less consistent. Piudy named the following directions:

kwina'hanaakw^{a}t^{a}, north. Kwina' is cold (?).
ũnũ'kwap^{a}, south. This is a hard wind.
taba'kwap^{a}, east.
nana'badu, west. This means the daughters (?).

The following list was obtained from Nina and Henry Naneo of Beatty:

kwina'han, north. Cold wind.
pana'kwat^{a}, south. Warm wind.[186]
taba'-sibui-nakwat^{a}, east. The sun rises.
taba'-iyanakwat^{a}, west. The sun goes down.

Billy Steve of Summit lake, formerly of Pyramid lake, gave the following:

kwina'hanakwit^{a}, north. They name it by the wind; it is a cold wind.

pita'nikwit^{a}, south. This is what the Pyramid Lake Paiute call it. The Paiute around here (Surprise valley), call it nana'badu.[187]

taba'damitũ, east. They name it after the sun.
taba'igitumit^{i}, west. The sun goes down there.

The zenith and nadir were not given as directions, but when questioned, the Naneos gave pa'a', up, high, and tibo'ñ, down.

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[186] Possibly from pa, water, having reference to rain?
[187] Cf. above; Piudy and Charlie Washo give nana'badu as west.

The patient is always laid with
his head toward the south. Doctoring takes place usually at night unless 755
someone is very sick or, in an emergency, such as a gunshot wound or snake- [823]
bite.

About sunset the stick is moved inside the house and stuck in the ground
at the head of the patient, who is placed on the west side of the fire. The
door is always on the east side. Before dark the shaman comes with his
kit, consisting of eagle feathers, eagle down, wild tobacco, stone pipe, and [778]
beads. He takes off his shoes and hat. In the old days a breech-clout was
the only clothing worn by the shaman while doctoring. He squats beside the
sick person and smokes his pipe for a few minutes. He may give instructions
that all the people in the audience are to paint their faces with white. He [302]
tells them which design to use, such as two short parallel horizontal bars on
each cheek. This paint is worn all night. Then he starts to sing and the
interpreter joins in the song. As soon as the people in the audience catch on [533]
to the song they help the shaman sing. Then he walks around the fire counter-clockwise.
"It is bad if he walks in the other direction or passes the pipe
around the fire clockwise." The shaman's power tells him how many times
he should go around the fire. The shaman then stops near the patient and
sucks the wound or the place where the pain is felt. All the people continue
to sing while the shaman is sucking. When he gets up they stop singing. He
spits on the ground. "A good doctor spits out blood each time he sucks the
patient." Then he starts a new song and walks around the fire again and
the sucking process is repeated. This goes on for the number of times stipulated
by the shaman's power. Finally he stops, sits by the patient and [276]
lights his pipe. The pipe is passed around the fire counter-clockwise. Each
person present takes one puff and passes it on to the next. Then the shaman
sings and walks around the fire some more. If he is a shaman who goes into a 787
trance this takes place usually about this time. Now he walks as if he were 755
drunk. He tells three or four men to catch him as he starts to fall and to lay
him on the ground. They are told that when he starts to moan, and sing,
and foam at the mouth that he is coming back from the spirit world. They
should bend his arms and legs and pass the willow stick with the eagle
feather over his body. The shaman may stay in the trance from half an hour
to two hours. While he is in this condition there is no singing. Everyone is
very quiet. When he comes back he tells the people, through the interpreter,
what has caused the patient to be sick and what must be done to bring
about a cure. Then he sings some more and sucks the patient again. The
shaman may show the audience when he comes out of the trance, some little [753]
object which he claims caused the illness.

The shaman gets up after he comes out of the trance. He tells the people that 755

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. [103] In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] [133] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. [114] All mention of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. [411] They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

N
W

177 if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or
*795 can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural
disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration
and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise
the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared
the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become
truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything,
they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed
analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into
these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in
N a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal
W culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin
[755] curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by
[171] singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used;
curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have
W a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have
[801] visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots
[756] are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus,
[276] peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in
[787] common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion,
N one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism,
W for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in
[755] aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely
534 simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and
279 a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide,
533] or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in
N the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial
[801 number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers
● 123 are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies,
787 and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the
755 shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the
sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

272 and chokecherry, either separately or mixed. Berry beverages have been mentioned above.

● 824 A "chewing gum" was derived from sigu'p^{i} (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus* var. *consimilis* Hall). The root at surface level was chewed until gummy, and as one informant put it, "The stuff is just like rubber. It has no taste, but it sounds good when you chew it." Pine pitch was also chewed, but "it wore out quickly."

262 Moss was not considered edible, although Mettie Petty had heard that the Warm Springs Indians ate it. Wild iris and wild parsnip (ha'kinop^{a}) were known as poisonous.

HOUSES

342 The winter house was a conical mat-covered lodge said to have replaced an earlier dome-shaped structure. Informants claim that the conical form (ka'ni) came to them from the north, "from Idaho, from the Bannock,"[70] out beyond the memory of any person now living.[71] Some lodges were large enough to accommodate eight or nine people and of sufficient height to enable a man to stand upright within. The framework consisted of a series of willows spaced about an unexcavated circle some twelve feet in diameter and brought together at the top. The poles did not project beyond their point of intersection, and when Billy Steve was shown the Wind River lodge figured by Lowie,[72] he remarked, "The grass is all right, but those poles ought to be cut off." Transverse willows were lashed about the frame, and mats of rye grass or tule applied according to availability.

Houses in Surprise were usually grass-covered; those near Adel, tule-covered. With the latter tules four or five feet in height were pierced with a bone awl (more recently a greasewood needle and nowadays a sacking needle) and twine run through. Six rows of such threading can be seen on the tules which Minnie Anderson prepared for a woodshed (pl. 19*a*). As the plate shows, the lower edge of the mat was sometimes finished with a row of simple twine.[73]

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[70] P, DB. The latter volunteered the additional information that the Bannock lodge was covered with buffalo hide.

[71] Informants appear to be mistaken about the antiquity of the conical lodge. Mr. E. W. Gifford has brought to my attention a photograph (in the University Museum files, 13-797) of a domed, brush-covered lodge near Cedarville. The photo is on the back of a postal card, mailed the summer of 1910, although the card may actually date some years earlier. The conical lodge may be classed as one of the several Plains traits which filtered in from the north during the last half of the nineteenth century.

[72] SE, figure 8*b*.

[73] Cf. Klamath tule mat figured by Barrett, Klamath, pl. 24.

252 412 (*wiowdn"*) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

TOBACCO.

276 [070] It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

[824] The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa'ⁿ*. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayd*ᵃ. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsiabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawáγodp'*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

DOGS.

224 231 232 171 Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

000 The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 212–214.

[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.

[3] See Lowie, 212 f.

[4] Chamberlin, 345.

000 secured (Fig. 5a). The two strings pass, each on one side of the second (next to the big) toe, are crossed over the toe and then pulled through the rear loop, against which the heel rests. They were tied in front on the instep. Sandals were worn on snow. Both men and women used them. Another Shivwits informant said that sandals were worn both winter and summer. They were made of the leaves of *ū·s*, a plant identified by Powell as the yucca or Spanish bayonet.[1] In the winter a kind of bark called *cūndp* was tied on the sandals across the foot by means of loops. Sandals wore out more rapidly than moccasins: if a man put them on in the morning and chased mountain sheep they were worn out in the evening on account of the many rocky places trodden. Otherwise they lasted somewhat longer.

While the Moapa and Kaibab Paiute had deerskin moccasins, the Shivwits say they made theirs exclusively of mountain-sheep skin.

The Ute wore hard-soled buckskin moccasins (of Plains Indian style).

291 The Paviotso wore deerskin moccasins in the summer. Skin from
237 the tough neck of the deer was taken for the sole. Badgerskin with the
[324] hairy side in was used for winter moccasins. Softened sagebrush bark
was put inside to keep the feet warm. According to one informant, only the sole was of badger hide, the uppers of buckskin. I saw a pair of woman's moccasins with a cowhide sole, deerhide uppers, and an inverted U-shaped piece in front, crenate at the top: the seam was in the back. Models of tule sandals in openwork twining were obtained for the Museum (Fig. 5bc).

000 Wind River Shoshoni moccasins were formerly all of buckskin; the Arapaho introduced the custom of having hard soles.

DWELLINGS.

In the summer the Moapa and the Tö'+intesà+u bands used a shade of rectangular groundplan called *hawdγan'*. The walls were formed of brush on three sides and the sloping roof was covered with the same material. The winter lodge differed inasmuch as the Tö'+intesà+u had cedar houses (*mo·γáqan'*),—conical structures with a framework of cedar trees tied together at the top and a covering of cedarbark thick enough to keep out the rain; pieces of bark were tied together with cord. Possibly this very imperfect description was meant for the slab-house type reported by Dr. Barrett from the Washo.[2] There was a fireplace in the

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[1] Powell, 126.

[2] Barrett, (b), 10, pl. II.

000 the ground proved to be about seventeen feet. Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a *four*-pole foundation. Summer shades were also noted. The usual type is the brush-covered four-pole structure shown in Fig. 7b, with the tipi in the background. More substantial than any of these was the earth-covered dwelling of one Ute which was directly patterned on the Navajo hogan and was said to be unique. An Ignacio informant confirmed the statement that four poles were used as a foundation by the Southern Ute. Here reference was made to a conical bark-walled or brush-covered wikiup preceding the buffalo-skin tipi. Both at Ignacio and among the Uintah I was told that twelve poles were used for the tipi, including the two on the outside for regulating the smoke. A Uintah said that the poles were of pine wood, and either elkskins, sometimes to the number of ten, or buffalo skins were sewed together for the cover. When skins were lacking, a smaller cedarbark lodge of round shape was put up; the strips of bark were carried from a great distance. When some distance west of the Great Salt Lake Stansbury saw some conical lodges "of cedar poles and logs of considerable size, thatched with bark and branches," which were warm and comfortable. They were presumably the as yet unoccupied winter quarters of Indians then (toward the end of October) pine-nutting.[1] Passing through the Reservation I saw some conical lodges at Ouray differing from the tipi merely in having a cover of brush; these were said to have also been used in the old days for a summer habitation. The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures. The door always faced east; the woman sat by the door, the husband in the rear, and visitors took up corresponding positions according to sex. The skin tipi is called *mo·γö'puqàn*; the bark lodge *mo·γo'qan*.

342 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake distinguish a tule lodge (*caíhinòsi*,
[354] from *caíhib°*, tule) and the old-style summer shade (*hunínosi, ndnupia*),
which faced the more permanent dwelling and had the form of a roofless
semicircular brush shelter with a central fireplace. The modern shades
are called *hāsá*. A large tule wikiup might accommodate as many as a
dozen people. The poles were called *watákwama*, the tule shingles
[462] *siwat*^{u}. Men and women coöperated in putting up the wikiup, the former
erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles.
342 At Pyramid Lake I saw one tule lodge with an additional covering of
.824 canvas rags (Fig. 6) and had a model made, which differs somewhat in

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[1] Stansbury, 111.

shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and 342 describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over [824] a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size [412] (Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. [415] The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a [854] beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside.

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the 000 Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available. A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether [171] the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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[1] Mooney, 1049 f.

[2] Lowie, 183.

000 interest in its bearing on the ultimate derivation of the Ute tipi. From the geographical location of the Ute we should be inclined to derive their specifically Plains Indian traits from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, but since the tipi of these peoples is of the three-pole pattern the assumption is untenable in this connection. On the other hand, if we knew that the Fort Hall and Lemhi Indians used the four-pole type, we should have a continuous distribution for this method from the Blackfoot and Crow southward to the Ute. The most plausible theory would then be that the Ute derived the tipi from the Wind River Indians, the Wind River from the Northern Shoshoni, and the latter in turn from their Blackfoot or Crow neighbors.

In Wilson's book there are reproduced pictures of Shoshoni lodges; the illustration of a brush-covered conical summer dwelling is especially noteworthy.[1]

FIRE-MAKING.

From the Shivwits I secured a model firedrill (*mârunù+inump*) apparatus (Museum specimen 50.1-8646ab). The hearth (*âx*) was formerly made from the wood of the *qwinúuramp* bush, which grows on the Colorado River, but for lack of this material *samánsiù−ù+ip* wood was substituted. Pits were made all along the hearth. The drill was of mesquite wood, which was also used for the model; unlike the Paviotso specimen to be described below, it consists of a simple shaft.

I did not get any account of the Ute firedrill. One old informant said he had never made fire with it though he had seen others do it. For tinder the Uintah employed the bark of the sagebrush or cedar. People would get fire from a person who had some, laying down a stick before him by way of remuneration. Later they obtained strike-a-lights from the Mexicans.

372 [416] [824] The Paviotso braided sagebrush bark into torches and also used it for tinder. Their drill (*qoso"*) had the common Shoshonean characteristic of being composite (50.1-7962a).[2] Model specimens were secured. The standard apparatus was described as comprising a willow hearth with four pits (Fig. 10) and a drill of willow with a sagebrush tip. Doctor Spier calls my attention to the fact that a Havasupai specimen also has four pits. My interpreter naïvely supposed that it would take from half an hour to an hour to make fire with this apparatus. Sam Dick made a shaft of cane for me, stuffing it with charred greasewood as far as

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[1] Wilson, 16, 19, 81, 114, 184.

[2] Lowie, 189.

412 In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone
285 blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket
[237] maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence.
Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use
serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Watertight
[252] unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown
in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed
a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a
small, semi-globular coiled basket.

283 The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib'*) to make
[824] rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib'* tule for a balsa
and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds,
were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

000 The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

Basketry. As Mason pointed out,[1] the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.[2]

285 The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types.
Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains
only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed
bowls, *cö'dsild* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a
central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter
(50.1–7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1–7932) the opening
[531] is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled
baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig.
13a).

171 As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the
295 twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.[3] The Museum collection
from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large
000 and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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[1] Mason, (b), 489 seq.
[2] Lowie, 178 f.
[3] Barrett, (b), 17.

000 antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,[1] but I failed to secure specific data.

726 The Paviotso did not practise scalping.[2] They wore an armor of
237 stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it
714 first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The
whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was
killed through eye-slits in his armor.

000 Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

> Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.[3]

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

411 Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ărö*) by the Paviotso,—
[824] *tėsabi*, *poγo'nöb^{i}*, and *ugwo'qou^{a}*, the last-mentioned being used for
arrows (*poñose^{a}*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso
[463] made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war.
[237] The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the
kuyúi fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamüsi*) twisted on
the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were
[237] barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip
of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point.
[237] Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one
or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper
[824] wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs
[531] traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirüpi^{i}*). The arrow-head was
sometimes smeared with poison (*nötúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the
mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows
were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized
with the thumb and index in shooting.

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[1] Hopkins, 34.
[2] Reed, 28, 79, 83.
[3] Powell, 128.

441 A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood.

[824] [78] 000

The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew. They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind; most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.[1]

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from serviceberry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.[2]

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tū'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *naɫəmapõ'naite*, which literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *warđaxe*, crazy: *ba+ïtsiretkā'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would carry a long flute (*wá'+i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

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[1] [illegible] 107

[2] [illegible]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Th	K1	K2	Ka	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AT
1933. Leaf of kinikinik (manzanita?)	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	±	+
1935. Bark of [illegible] for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

	Th	K1	K2	Ka	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AT
*1944. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1945. Attached to stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1947. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	+	+	-	-	+	-
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
*1953. Sheep-horn rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1956a. Used by dancers	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1958. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witnavigs)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1971. Hoofs in line	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1973. Notched stick ([illegible])	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	±	-	-	+
1974. Plain, notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1975. Rubbed with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
1976. Used by antelope shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1979. Used in "bear dance"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1981. Buzzers ([illegible])	+	+	-	-	-	±	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
1982. Deer patella	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bull-roarer

(See Games)

	Th	K1	K2	Ka	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AT
*1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	+	±	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1992. 6-12	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
249
276
384

N
W
A
534

W
[756]

N
[756]

W
A
[756]

[p.402]

N 436 177 489 W [436] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. KH: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz. W [135]

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 172] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa$^{cP^u}$.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W [534] 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

N [172 756] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

N [178 759] 1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert 132
shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around
the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, 137
or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the
streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany 136
trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits
abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included 161
approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred
individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of
the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region
over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one
person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was
denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a
large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of
the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest 181
for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first
green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to 221
those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the 222
northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families 462
camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* 824
(Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While
the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for [227]
storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon
traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over,
the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped [251]
the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group
broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other [224]
birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed
to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the
women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large
quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants
grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, 221
about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the 222
Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out 462
[512]

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[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

221
early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest 222
of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be 462
cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip [512]
and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. [224]
July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and
other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the [226]
streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families
often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber.
In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk
and the women to pick huckleberries.*

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity
of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the [824]
wada (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple
seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the
largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, [535]
including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the
same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i 'ape* (Chenpodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went [251]
to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried
for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and 361
to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some [312]
other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there
was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills [132]
or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During [342]
the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who [162]
wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a 361
camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what 621
is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up 592
of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child.
Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother.
Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and
one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their
children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other
than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

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* During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk [521]
Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get
wada there was reciprocal exchange.

PREFACE

In the arid desert of the Great Basin, rivers and streams empty into the interior 501
valleys and create lakes and marshy areas. These marshes were very important to 137
the Indians who lived near them and fished in their waters and hunted the migrating 133
waterfowl which are attracted to them. From the reeds and rushes growing in the marshes and around the shores of the lakes, they fashioned light rafts or balsas. They used these balsas as a means of transportation across the water and as an aid in pursuing their quarry.

Wherever extensive pools of water are found in the Great Basin the Indians 501
made tule balsas. The exact form of these rafts differed slightly from group to 224
group. To make the balsa, from one to five bundles of tules were lashed, or occasionally pinned, together. The pointed prow of the raft usually curved upward, while the stern was trimmed off and not pointed. Sometimes extra, small bunches of [391]
reeds were tied along the sides of the raft to form a gunwale. The balsas were usually poled, pushed ahead of the wading hunter, or pulled by a rope by a swimmer. Only a few Basin Indians paddled them.

In these same marshy areas where cattails are plentiful the Paviotsos of northern 342
Nevada used them to make conical thatched winter houses. Domed and conical 824
houses made of willow and grass or rush thatching were common in the Great Basin but this particular sort of cattail house was made only by the Paviotsos.

In this report Mrs. Wheat describes with words and photographs how a tule 121
balsa and a cattail house were made by present day Paviotsos near Stillwater, Nevada.

—The Editor.

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 ● [824] [226] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25a).

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[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. [731] At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivalvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[40] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahapo, bog-rush, *Juncus*. Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wûp.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus occidentalis?*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris*. Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, sáwapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata*. Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[40] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–406, 1911. [113]

824 [285] sobI, willow, *Salix*, used in making baskets. Name shortened to so in composition; for example so-osa, "willow-bottle," or bottle-shaped basket. Gosiute word for willow si-opi.

[261] sihopi, sihupI, rayless goldenrod, *Chrysothamnus*. If a worm gets in the stem of a young plant it causes a bulbous swelling just above ground. Girls will search diligently for these, in order that they may obtain a chewing gum.

[262] suno, tumble-weed, *Amaranthus graecizans*. The small, flat, leaf-like seeds are hulled and eaten. Gosiute su-no is the name for *Atriplex*. Tumbleweed is supposed by botanists to be an introduced species of modern times.

[227] taEpi. greasewood, *Atriplex torreyi*. Short sections of the crooked, hard, thorn-
like twigs are pealed and attached at a crook to a string for use as a fishhook
[262] (shotetema) for catching minnows. A great many of these hooks are left in
the water overnight. In the roots of this bush there are yellow worms an inch
[226] in length which "smell good and are good to eat." They are also used as fish
bait.

[222] tibipi, nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*. The nuts which are gathered on the Stillwater range, are called tibi. Gosiute, ti'-ba-wa-ra, nut pine, and ti'-ba, pine nuts.

[283] tegapo, for making of coarse string. Compare Gosiute tia'-ai-gop, nettle, *Urtica holosericea*.

[262] toi, toy, cat-tail rush, *Typha latifolia*. The pollen, taima, is gathered, inclosed
in the leaves of the rush and roasted in the ashes, causing it to become hard and
[302] sweet like candy. Pollen is also used for face paint. The down is used for
[291] sandal padding. The seeds are eaten. The Gosiute name of the plant is to'-lump.

toibE, spike-rush, *Eleocharis palustris*.

[227] tonobI, donobi, greasewood, *Sarcobatus vermiculatus*. Fishhooks are made from
the twigs, which however, are inferior to those made from the twigs of *Atriplex*.
[411] The roots are also infested with the same worm as found in *Atriplex*. Arrow
points for small animals and birds were made from greasewood. *Sarcobatus* was
[172] a favorite wood for the manufacture of various articles found in the cave. It is
very hard and close grained. Gosiute, to'-no-pi.

[262] wai, bunch grass with a small seed which was eaten. Gosiute wai signifies mountain rice, *Oryzopsis cuspidata*.

wekwahobE, cane, *Phragmites communis*.

weyupuio, a red berry smaller in size than small peas and containing little seeds. The berries are washed before using. They grow upon a gray-leaved thorny bush, 6 to 12 feet tall. The description agrees well with that of the buffalo-berry, *Shepherdia argentea*.

[283] wiha, a plant growing along the rivers under willows. It has a straight stem
the size of a pencil with branched top about 3½ feet high. The fiber is used in
[227] making fish nets. Chamberlin states that the spreading dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium*, a plant answering our description, is that from which the Gosiute obtained a strong fiber for string and rope. Natches also gave the name tegapo for cord 4 mm. in diameter. Possibly this is the word for coarse cord rather than the name of some other fiber plant, as he stated that wiha was made into cord 4 mm. in diameter to be used for the top of a fish net. The fiber is reddish when new but is colored a deeper red with pine bark which floats down Truckee river.

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne, familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

N W 171 177 795* [346]

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

N W [262]

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes. The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

N W 171 177 795* 824 [276]

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after mid night (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.

N W 177 795* 796

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

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La Barre, 61.

Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

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The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[illegible] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

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Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[illegible]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

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The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

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Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[illegible] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[illegible] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[illegible] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[illegible] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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*795 796 276 [782] some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

[237] After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[59] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

N W [824]

N W [538] Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[60] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[61] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

N W [783] The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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N W [534]

[59] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[60] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[61] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

Wadátkuht

Rye grass from the adjacent meadows provided thatching for the native houses constructed at this village. Except for the major winter village of Sigu patsóna situated about one mile east, and the occasional winter village at the Gibson ranch in Honey Lake Valley, this was the only other winter village noted for the Secret Valley group. It can be assumed that if one village was occupied the others were not. 361 [824] [342]

The foregoing village locations are probably but a portion of the strictly post-contact habitation sites utilized by the Wadátkuht, although they are probably the major ones. Numerous other camp and village sites were used in the post-contact period, however, these were traditional, named sites.

SUBSISTENCE

The Wadátkuht had a subsistence economy that was, as might be expected, similar to the California-Great Basin pattern. That is, the people had to move about in their territory to utilize all of the plant and animal foods that presented themselves in the various seasons. There seemed to be no strict group or private ownership of oak trees, seed producing areas, or good hunting areas by the Wadátkuht. It seemed to be a case of first come first served with the family getting there first expecting to have no competition unless they invited others to join them. The Wadátkuht often invited the Maidu to share in the acorn harvests in the acorn-rich belt of timber between Buntingville and Milford. Also, when the suckers ran in Long Valley Creek Washo people were allowed to catch and dry fish along with the Wadátkuht families. Another example of inter-tribal cooperation is that of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht who went on joint rabbit drives with their neighboring Pit River friends. In addition, the Kidütkuht of Surprise Valley, Modoc County, sometimes made hunting and gathering trips into Madeline Plains where both the Kamötkuht and the Wadátkuht would hunt and gather. Also the Wadátkuht sometimes went to Pyramid Lake to fish while at other times the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake came to Honey Lake Valley for acorns. However, foreign groups did not enter another group's territory without an invitation or permission unless they were prepared for hostility. 22 [171] [423] 22 648

Starvation among the Wadátkuht seems to have been only among those families too improvident to secure and store an adequate food supply for the winter. The hungry households that worked diligently collecting food during the other three 22 185 735

Wadátkuht

352 177 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term nutugwish^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow splints used for the active element were píwung. The bone [413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string. Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who ● [824] stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark, [237] tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide). Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger [492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they [525] were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section. 285

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

Wadátkuht

411 "pretty short". The juniper was cut and left to cure before it was made into a bow. Ike never mentioned backing the bows with sinew, so the assumption is that the Wadátkuht bow was a simple one.

[283] Bowstrings were made from sinew, tihiya tamu', "deer
string" (Kitty called deer tuhu'^{ya}). Kitty said that bow-
strings were made from sagebrush bark and sinew twined to-
●[824] gether. She also said that bows were made from split willow
(sagap^{i}) which was bent and dried. She said that chokecherry
wood also could be used for bows.

[824] Arrows, pamos^{a}, either could be made of serviceberry,
taúbui, or arrowcane, wakokob. When serviceberry was used a
straight limb was taken and dried with the bark on. When the
limb was dry the bark was scraped off. Crooked serviceberry
limbs were straightened with one's teeth and mouth. The
arrowshaft was sighted along its length to determine its
straightness. The arrowshafts made from serviceberry had the
undesirable propensity to return to their original crooked
condition. When this occurred they had to be heated by
holding them close to the fire, or by heating them on hot
stones. They were then held in the teeth and bent straight
[413] again. Arrowcane arrowshafts were better than serviceberry
shafts because they remained straight. Arrows from arrowcane
were straightened on a rounded stone that had been heated in
the fire. It was not stated whether the stone was grooved,
or not. Kitty said that arrows were heated near the fire and
straightened with either the teeth or the feet used as the
fulcrum point. The act of straightening arrows is called
tapat^{u}, "to straighten".

[237] Kitty and Ike were in agreement that all arrows had three feathers, although if a person did not have enough feathers he could use two on the arrow. Three feathers "carry arrow straight". Duck wing feathers and sagehen tail feathers were best for feathering arrows. Though not stated, it is presumed that the feathers were radially attached.

[824] Greasewood and serviceberry were used for foreshafts of arrowcane arrows. The foreshafts often were rubbed in sap running from a freshly broken juniper limb. This sap was smeared on one end of the foreshaft, the foreshaft was pushed into the arrowcane shaft, and sinew then was bound around the base of the shaft to securely bind the foreshaft into the arrow shaft.

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412 The stone skinning knife was called numutu sikyan, "people (or Indian) skinner", i.e., an Indian knife. Susy Buster owned one which was about three and a half to four inches long and about one and a half to two inches wide. It was said to have been flaked all over and was ovoid in shape. One end was rounded and the other was pointed. A "flint" drill or punch was used for working buckskin. "Flint", probably having reference to obsidian in most instances, also was used to make skin scrapers. The scrapers were "shaped like an oyster shell" and were called numúk wihi. Upon seeing a chipped stone knife found at an archaeological site, Ike called it pishuhp'ma'.

[135] The Wadátkuht got their obsidian from "Flint Mountain", Dakakudak^{w}, a hill near Gerlach, Nevada. Obsidian also was obtained at Pagúshuhad, a village and archaeological site on the east side of Honey Lake. It also was gotten at one of the hot springs near the lake presumably from an archaeological site. That is to say, the Wadátkuht picked up chips and nodules left by previous people as no natural outcrop of obsidian is recorded for that region.

[824] Brushes. To clean her winnowing basket Kitty used a handful of green pine needles tied together. This type of brush was called söukumtu'wa. The informants were not familiar with the soaproot brush, an item common to some of the people on the west slope of the Sierra. This was certainly attributable to the fact that the soaproot plant did not grow in the territory of the Wadátkuht. [137]

[302] The Honey Lake Paiute brushed their hair with a brush made from the tail of a porcupine. This type of brush was called wunuhds, or wunuhds^{u}. [237]

Hot Stone Lifting Stick. Hot stones were lifted with a stick made from young oak. This implement was called kuduk, "stick". The single specimen seen was a peeled stick which had been bent double leaving a loop at the distal end for lifting the stones. The handle, therefore, was doubled and the whole implement was approximately three feet long.

[824] Digging Stick. The digging stick, called podó, was made of oak.

534 Bullroarer. The bullroarer, tupununoin^{u}, "to whirl", was used to call the wind. To make the wind blow was kukwapitud. Gladys made bullroarers as a child but her mother [821]

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534 [821] and her grandfather, Joaquin, told her not to use them because to do so would call the wind. In fact, children were not allowed to lash the air with switches as this, too, called the wind.

481 Snowshoes. Kitty gave nubamok^{wa} as the name for snowshoes and said they were a circular frame strung with strips of deer hide with the hair adhering. Any strong hide in strips might be used, however. Joaquin made them, but got the idea from the Maidu, according to Kitty. He used the snowshoes to break trail at the winter village of Matá. The snowshoes were tied tightly to the feet.

Ike was able to give some additional information on snowshoes. He stated that a hoop about the size of an automobile steering wheel was made from willow and two pairs of rawhide strips were stretched across it at right angles. A sort of moccasin was attached to the cross-strands into which one placed his foot and laced it in. A long staff about five or six feet in length was used to help one walk while on the snowshoes. In order to walk one had to throw his legs out to the side to clear the opposite leg at each step. [482] The snowshoes were used in soft snow and were carried on one's back until soft snow was encountered.

501 [824] Tule Balsas. The Wadátkuht made their tule boats from the round tule, saib. Kitty said that these boats were punted with poles, and that people sometimes got wet while using them. When a balsa began to leak more tules were tied on and the boat used over and over again. The exact size and shape of the tule balsa was not obtained. These boats were used for netting fish on Honey Lake and the sloughs near the mouth of Susan River. For a description of the manufacture of a tule balsa see Wheat, 1959.

534 [824] Music. To play music was túkyak and to whistle was kozo'koi. Gray willow, izisub[1], was used to make willow-bark whistles, although other types of willow might be used. Bone whistles seemingly were not made, and the willow whistles were blown by boys just for the fun of it.

[824] [755] The flute, called woina, was made out of elder or arrow-cane and had four holes. Kitty said that a female cousin, a shaman, used a flute in her doctoring activities. She also said that the flute was played anytime just for the fun of it by young men. She had never heard of women playing the flute except in the case of her cousin who used it in doctoring.

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that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem 881
that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologi-
cally for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for
a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed [824]
with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was
scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a [177]
Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big
Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of
Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch [413]
herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She
thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher".
It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick
during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eli- 881
gible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing 304
ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only
dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening. [574]

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred. 165

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that 164
when the white people came they brought sickness with them and 177
many Indian people died because of it. Before the white
people came there were no old people, everyone was young and
there was little sickness. The name for small pox was
tasi'yub^{a}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medicinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete. 757

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754 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two
of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors,
755 and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at
home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed
Gladys got well.

754 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as
[841] follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was
detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not
[262] accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was
due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed
[787] with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to
make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on
754 the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the
woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a
783 curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might
die.

●[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip, hakínukpa, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'yu Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

754 The following account describes what might happen to a
sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two
683 children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai,
Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty
about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's
father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was
taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am
going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the
man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it
upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai'
house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret
Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled
the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

on the south side of Dimadatsúsu.

29) Mehltútumi wadaiyo - "Shady Place", is the village site near Doyle, California, near Harry Wilson's place.

30) T'ashuh' awawa - "Rustling Cottonwood Leaves". This place is about two miles south of Harry Wilson's place and is at a bend of the road, and on the south side of Sam Boni's ranch.

31) Tedehmge - "Metate", the name for the area east of the Nevada State Prison.

32) Pehtsumalidíma - "Wild Rose Spring", refers to a spring southeast of the Nevada State Prison. There is some mining going on in this area.

33) Kabadima - "Gooseberry Spring", is located east of Item 32.

34) Maokápa - "To Break Something". The location of this place was not obtained but is in the vicinity of Item 32 and Item 33 as Harry Wilson was naming the places he knew in the general order in which they occurred geographically.

35) Himomalaiko - "Willows Moving Back and Forth", a place south of Item 33. The name for willow is hímo.

36) Damlihn - a hill a little east and south of Item 35.

37) Himowáka - "Willow Creek", the name for Willow Creek somewhere south (?) of Item 36.

38) Daotishitalak - "Burned Hillside". This is also the white name for this area. It is near Item 37.

39) Tangíshitalak - the name of a mountain which has a mine upon it and is presumably beyond (south?) of Item 38.

40) Daoldima - a spring southeast of Item 39.

41) Wehtsapalónga - Where the WPRR track passes about four miles southeast of Harry Wilson's Place. It is just below Mr. Evan's field along the west side of the creek at a place where the sagebrush is high. This place was named because of the sagebrush bark which was gotten for clothing.

789 around camp to see if everyone were alive." An eclipse is called
tabe-yü'iwan (ta'be, sun); they say the sun is dying.

821 It aggravates the thunder (nünia'ba) "if you shout, laugh, and talk. The thunder gets worse and it may chase you." Lightning is of special danger to a menstruating woman and often fatal to a woman with child. The echo is wahi'pi-naka'u (shout-hear). It is someone "calling back."

538 The animals of the tales—Coyote, Wolf, Frog, Rattlesnake, and
821 others—are said to be in the moon. Minnie Anderson sees a frog in
the moon. A circle about the moon foretells rain.

827 A sneeze indicates that a person of the opposite sex is thinking of
one. Ringing of the ears is of evil portent. "That is a dead spirit
787 shouting in your ears; probably a friend is dying." A wink is of no
significance; "they learned that from the white people." When a
person's eyes twitch, "he is going to see something. When a man is
going hunting and his eye twitches, he says, 'I know I shall see game
today.'" An itching palm has no meaning. Bad luck is associated
with twitching of an under-knee muscle. When a hunter experiences
this it means he will not see game. If a woman is going to play a card
game and her knee twitches, she will surely have bad luck. Twitching
of the calf muscles indicates that a stranger is coming. If the arch
of the foot twitches it means that someone is coming on horseback
(contact with the stirrup).

787 A number of omens mentioned by Nora Henderson follow:

825 When a frog whistles (not croaks), people say, "You are going to have bad news."

When the coyote barks strangely, someone will sicken and die.

When the owl barks like a dog, something bad will happen. Once when I was near Adel, on my way to Likely, an owl in a clump of willows south of us barked and then hooted. We knew we would get bad news from the south. That night we stopped at Alturas and heard that someone in Likely had been killed.

Once my aunt, Daisy Brown, heard a whistle by the creek. She looked around and saw a snake making the noise. She felt badly, knowing she would get bad news, and I think she told me that she did.

When it is a little cloudy, and the meadowlark sits on the ground and goes, "prrrrrr," it is going to rain. They say this is really true.

If the first meadowlarks from the south have bright yellow spots on their breasts there will be plenty of a'gü'.

A centipede is called ï'wü-mai'^{i} (many-hands). If a person picks up a centipede "he may get that many hands." If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will follow that person and get in bed with him. "They always say that this is really true."

The Gidü'tikad^{a} share the Pyramid Lake and Ute belief[259] that the horned toad can kill a rattlesnake. According to Joshua: 825 ●

> The horned toad looks like a doctor. Many people have seen him kill a rattlesnake. The rattlesnake was ready to strike. The horned toad came alongside from behind, and got under him and cut him in two with his horn. The snake could not turn quickly enough.

No danger was attached to eating deer left by a mountain lion or rabbits left by a coyote. "It's all right; there is no harm." [262]

A neat example of contagious magic is to be seen in the following: 789

> The Indians used to have horse races. When a mare was to have a colt, and they wanted it to be a good racer, they killed an antelope because it is a fast runner, and rubbed the water (?) from it on the belly of the horse.

Certain beliefs concerning hair clippings have already been mentioned.[260] Minnie Anderson thought gray hair would result from burning hair combings. If one slept with his head to the fire, his front hair would turn white.

Children threw deciduous teeth toward the moon with shut eyes to make the second teeth come quickly.

As Lowie has indicated,[261] the Paviotso pattern number is five. 801

WEATHER CONTROL

Weather control consisted principally in means and devices to make the snow melt. Several accounts follow: 789

> The mother of Tadagai^{t}[262] could make the snow melt. She cried like a stallion, took a firebrand of sagebrush, and pointed it toward the south, saying, "Come on, rain; come on, rain!" She did not dance. The wind blew, the rain came, and the snow began to melt (P).
>
> You must not boil cottontail because it brings snow; you must fry or roast it. Once some old men were going to boil cottontail and they told me to stand outside. In my hand I had a bullroarer made from a dried juniper limb. It was about two inches wide and six inches long. It was not notched. Two or three black marks ran crosswise on the face. A stick, like a handle, was tied to the end of its thong.
>
> I blew the water, in which the cottontail was boiling, south, saying, "Come, rain and wind." It was winter, a long time ago, before any white men were here; I was a small boy, born in the middle of summer when it was hot. That is why they had me do this (to counteract their boiling cottontail).
>
> There is no way to keep snow from coming. Porcupine brings snow.[263] You roast the meat and when you have eaten it, you mash the bones. Then it will snow (P).

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[259] Lowie, SE, 298. [260] P. 189. [261] SE, 295.

[262] "Tadagai^{t} means one dollar; I don't know how she got such a name" (P).

[263] Cf. Kelly, tales no. 15*a*, 15*b*.

000 but it suddenly dived into the water and was seen no more, though the sound it made was heard all night until morning.

Wáwanabidi had never seen a water-buffalo but had heard other Indians describe it. It resembles a buffalo, but its horns are somewhat different. An Indian now dead told my informant he had once seen a pretty woman with long hair on the ice covering Bull Lake: as he came close, she suddenly went under the water.

Wáwanabidi, when a child, was terribly afraid of the ogre known as Dzôaʙits, who plays a part in Shoshoni folklore. After hearing a tale about him he would be afraid to go out in the dark. A water variety of this monster, Pán-dzôaʙits, was used as a bugbear to terrify children; he was said to carry children in a big bag.

When buffalo were scarce, the Shoshoni would cut out the sinew of one buffalo they had killed, blacken their fingers with charcoal and dot the sinew black with them. Then they placed the sinew on the ground and built a fire over it, causing it to draw up so that the ends would come together, when they removed it. This symbolized the coming together of buffalo from opposite directions, and a few days later they expected to find buffalo.

825 The Paviotso have a curious belief that the horned-toad speaks the Paviotso language and is able to kill a rattlesnake and Annie Lowry even declared that she had seen a contest specially arranged for the benefit of skeptical whites in which the toad worsted the snake. This notion
(171) is shared by the Ute. On the Uintah Reservation I was told that sometimes a rattlesnake would find a young horned-toad (*tsinqámqatsits*) and kill it, then its mother would get furious and kill the snake.

000 When there was measles or smallpox in a Shoshoni camp, the doctor would give a dance in which both men and women participated, shaking dewclaw rattles known as *tôcitômp*. The dance was called Horn Dance (*ãp nóqára*). It lasted for two or three days and was limited to the period of an epidemic.

CEREMONIES AND DANCES.

Both in number and complexity of ceremonials the Plateau Shoshoneans are noticeably inferior to the Plains and Pueblo Indians, and even of the slender stock of performances known to them in modern times some are demonstrably due to recent borrowing. This applies to the Sun dance of the Ute and Wind River Shoshoni, which has been dealt with in a separate publication and to the wailing ceremony of the Southern Paiute, already mentioned (p. 279).

N 224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Tö: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [535 776] W [535] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'öm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: − (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

● N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koip$^{\bar{o}}$, female, mutsa´. Koip$^{\epsilon}$ also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

[p.423(A)]

N 224 85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 253, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N [756 789] 91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

● N [825] Jack rabbit called kamö.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, Tö: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. Kü: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

N 223 117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. Wa: - (Smith, W [223] notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

127. Tö: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. At: PS pointed out that N [825] sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot, etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[p.423(BD)]

226 Both lakes are extremely deep and have rather [133] large rivers emptying into them, so that they are not too salty for fish. Pyramid Lake claims the [136] honor of supplying the world's largest trout; specimens have been caught weighing more than 20 pounds. "Pyramid lake is just reaching a degree of salinity sufficient to prevent human consumption." Pyramid Lake was a third more saline than Walker Lake in 1882 (Loud, 157). Kl: The ● [825] Kuyui had the best fishing area in Nevada. Trout were designated by seasonal names: spring trout (tama arai), summer trout (tatsa arai), fall trout (uva arai), winter trout (tomo arai). It is to be doubted that these represent different varieties. Arai is sometimes generic term for fish. Ki: Trout caught only in Goose Lake and its tributaries.

[136] 252c. "Kuyui, black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake .... Chamistes cujus" (Loud, 157). Kl: The kuyui is a large sucker-like fish, often weighing more than 15 pounds, which is only caught in the spring and early summer when it enters the streams to spawn. The kuyui (pronounced by local white people kwee-wee) occurred only in Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes and the streams flowing into them, especially the Truckee River. 251 Great quantities of this fish were dried each spring. The meat was stripped from the backbone so that from each fish two almost boneless pieces were prepared. Only about 4 pounds of meat were obtained from a 15-pound fish.

252d. Ki: + (Kelly, 97).

825 252e. Sucker called awagu. "Awago, red sucker .... Catostomus tahoensis (Loud, 156).

252g. Minnows called pak'ui or hopakui. Loud, 156: "tui-pagwI, a minnow or sucker .... Siphoteles obesus or Lencidius pectinifer"; "hu-pagwI, minnow .... Richardsonius egregius."

252i. Red-side salmon called koa'arai, "cold salmon." Silverside salmon called wovi-arai, "wood salmon."

227 255. Paviotso: "The dip-net and gill-net" (Curtis, 15:71). Tö: Fish net unknown in pre-white times. Only conical basket used. Kü: When the Küpa were at Nixon they employed the methods of Kuyui. In their own territory, the Küpa had different methods.

256. Ts: The Paiute fish net is similar to that of Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 7).

257. Owens Valley: Fish net same shape as rabbit net (Steward, 257).

258. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

258a. Lovelock Cave: "Ice pick" (Loud, pl. 64,g and p. 107). Kü: Informant's mother told him that the old-timers tied a sharp rock onto a stick to use to break the ice. He thought it similar to the one from Lovelock Cave. AL denied ever hearing of such an instrument being used. Ice was broken with any big stick. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

227 259. At: Minnows caught by cutting hole 226 through ice and dipping them out with a seed beater when they come up for air.

[p.425(A)]

N
226 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens
227 Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. K1, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N
262 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were
825 starving.

A
[262] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not
A
[782] make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü'iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

N
[832] 297k. K1: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. N. Paiute: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N
[301
777
832] 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N
[136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. K1: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu'tsᵘ) hunted near Eaglsville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W
[26] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 4-26(a)]

Birds Eaten or Used

262 825 [124] 299. Ts: The bird list was obtained by showing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and recording the Paiute names for birds he recognized. Both English and Paiute names were used in questioning subsequent informants. "Red Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (193[illegible], Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax sinuatis.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

222 337. Tö: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piũga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262 825 114 222 338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with saying "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred in Walker lake, ... Pyramid lake, and Soda lake, near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food," as well as at Mono lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Kupa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. Kl: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). Tö: Some old-timers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N
262 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe
825 did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake
114 near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö:
222 Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by
trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered
why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur
in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada.
Pa: DW said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in
old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from
Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid
Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At:
W
In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the
[222 sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the
825] same place a green marble-like water plant was
found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A
356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encirc-
[222 ling with fire to drive them together and roast.
251] 358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A
360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver
[262] eaten raw.

W
361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

[262] 362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

W
365, 366. Wd: - (SC).
[262] 367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).
368. Wd: - (SC).

N
796 369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any
262 game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth
until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[p.427(A)]

Inheritance of power.—Some shamans inherit their power from a deceased father, mother, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The dead relative visits them in dreams and tells the dreamer that he or she is to take the power and become a shaman. After a few such visits and instructions from the deceased, the power itself appears in the dreams, and the relative no longer comes. The power then belongs to the dreamer. Rosie Plummer, a woman about fifty years old living on the Walker river reservation, acquired her power from her father five years ago. He in turn got his power from his brother. She gave the following account. 776 [775] 787

> When my uncle was dying he told my father to take the power so he could cure sick people. The next day my uncle died. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions that way. The next night he dreamed about it and my uncle came to him. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father didn't like it. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away. He buried the little piece of lead with a hole in the center filled with eagle down that my uncle gave him when he died, and the spirit didn't bother him any more. That was my uncle's power. After that my father was a strong shaman. He could catch rattlesnakes and they didn't bite him. His brother told him to do that. He was told to put sage brush in each nostril and the snake wouldn't hurt him. [751]
>
> Then rattlesnake came to him in dreams and told him how to cure snake bites. He was told to catch rattlesnakes and take out two fangs until he had ten, and to get ten stone beads the color of rattlesnake eyes. He made a string of beads with the stones and fangs to use in curing people bitten by rattlesnakes. He could treat other sickness as well. [755]
>
> One time he was going to Fallon when a rattlesnake bit his horse. He took the snake away and put white paint around the bite and sang. The horse was all right after that. That was the only time he used his power to cure snake bites. He could do the same thing for people if he wanted to. 755
>
> Sometimes my father would catch rattlesnakes and put them around his waist next to the skin. He used to ride home with rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me and he told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me but it didn't bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time. 825 ●

When Rosie's father had been dead about eighteen years she started to dream about him. She dreamed that he came to her and told her to be a shaman. Then a rattlesnake came to her in dreams and told her to get eagle feathers, white paint, wild tobacco. The snake gave her the songs that she sings when she is curing. The snake appeared three or four times before she believed that she would be a shaman. Now she dreams about the rattlesnake quite frequently and she learns new songs and is told how to cure sick people in this way. 756 787 776

787 756 night "Doctor Dick" went into a trance. In the morning he went with the man and showed him where the money was buried.

Several informants stated that the coming of the white man in Paviotso country was foretold by shamans. The following story was related by Nick Dowington, a Paviotso, now about eighty years old.

[300] There was a shaman at Pyramid lake called Toiyap. The People were in the hills west of the lake, gathering seeds. Toiyap felt something coming to him. He was singing loudly. He told his brother-in-law to get all the people together. They built a big bonfire. Then he went into a trance and lay by the fire. When he came out of the trance he told them what he had seen. He said that people were coming who had white skins and hair on their faces. He said these people had white mountain sheep with big ears. He meant horses[?]. He told them these people were coming. This happened thirty years [?] before any white people came here.

WITCHCRAFT

756 754 Poisoning by shamans who practice witchcraft is considered by the Paviotso to be a common source of illness. Usually the shaman simply wishes, or dreams that someone will be ill and his power then causes the sickness. Some of the Paviotso believe that a witchdoctor gets his power [825] from the bear.

Sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him.

754 A bad shaman wishes sickness on people. He thinks about it and the person gets sick. He might wish a lizard or snake to go into someone and that causes sickness. He does not catch a lizard to use in poisoning people. He only thinks about it and then it comes true. A good shaman can suck out the lizard and then the patient [755] gets well.

Sometimes shamans try to poison each other. That is why so many doctors have died. The weaker doctors were all killed by shamans with stronger power.

Another way to make a person sick was for the shaman to give his victim food. When a bad shaman wants the person to be sick he wishes it when he gives the food. Then the one who eats gets sick and dies. Sometimes a bad shaman will touch someone and wish for sickness. Then that person will get sick right away.

Cast-off clothing, nail parings, hair and other personal objects are never used in witchcraft.

754 755 683 Sickness resulting from witchcraft is treated in the same way as other illness. A shaman is called and he learns from his power, not only how to treat the patient, but also who caused the illness. then the family of the patient revenge themselves on the shaman who practiced witchcraft. If

[P. 5]
[P.4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author
396 arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were
young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy
[182] (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Still-
water marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they
are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could
not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs
[182] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the
cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes
283 of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are
round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches
of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed
in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope
was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When
a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the
ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes
were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After
the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would
[521 make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another
223 set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst
825] of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and
that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds
in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy,
the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do
not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second
bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

It appears that the spirit of the coyote was never a source of power, although Coyote is the most prominent character in Paviotso tales. 756 776 825 [773]

> Shamans never got power from Coyote. According to the old stories the Indians tell, Coyote always spoils everything. Coyote is bad. Sometimes he tries to get the soul of someone. He says, "I am going to get you and when you die, I will eat you." The coyote cannot be heard to say this, but when he has said it, it makes the victim sick. (Joe Green)
>
> Shamans do not get power from Coyote. Coyote causes sickness. Dogs are almost like Coyote. When a shaman doctors, dogs are kept away, otherwise he would not be successful in curing the sickness. (Rosie Plummer)

Fear of the wrath of water-babies and water-serpents noted in accounts above is not held for other spirits, save those of the elements, particularly the thunder. There seems to be no danger in ridiculing or showing lack of respect for the spirits of the animals and birds. 756 776

> The Indian doctors know the wind, clouds, and rain. A shaman talks to them. They are just like people, and they come. Anyone who makes fun of the thunder will be killed. One time a man at Schurz heard the thunder, and said, "That is nothing. I am going to fight that thunder." He went outside the house, and the thunder was heard overhead. He was hit by lightning and killed. (Tom Mitchell) 756 776 821

There is only one shaman who is reported to have had power from such a source. Wovoka, the prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance, is said to have had power from two clouds.

> One was a straight high cloud. This was for snow. The other cloud was dark and close to the ground. It was for rain. Wovoka could see a man's arm sticking out of the white cloud. One time the arm would be pointing north. Another time it would be pointing south, east, or west. (Joe Green)

This statement could not be verified, but there is evidence that the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement had power from several sources, including the wolf.

Another aspect of the supernatural spirits which are the source of shamanistic power is their invisibility to all but the shamans. Only the shaman can see the spirit or spirits from which he derives his power. Even when he invokes his supernatural aids at a doctoring, they are visible to him alone. Their presence is known to the others only through the shaman's account of his conversa- 756 776

> down. My father buried the lead and the eagle down. Then his brother's 756
> ghost did not bother him again. That lead and the feathers represented 787
> my uncle's power. After that my father became a powerful shaman. 778
> His power told him to catch rattlesnakes. They did not bite him. He 159
> was told to put sage-brush in his nostrils so the snakes would not hurt him.
>
> Rattlesnake was my uncle's power; then my father had rattlesnake 756
> for his power. Now the snake gives me power. Rattlesnake came to 787
> my father in dreams. That is how he learned to treat snake-bites. 825
> Rattlesnake told him to catch rattlesnakes and take two fangs from 159
> each. He was to do this until he had ten fangs. Then he was told to take ten stone beads that were colored like rattlesnake eyes. He strung the beads and the fangs together. He used this string of beads to treat rattlesnake bites. He could also cure people who were sick.
>
> Sometimes my father caught rattlesnakes and put them around his waist. He used to ride home carrying rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me. He told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me, but it did not bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.
>
> My father died about twenty years ago. Nearly fifteen years later, when I was about fifty, my father began to come to me in dreams. He brought his power to me. He told me to doctor. I dreamed about him three or four times before I believed that I would doctor. After a while the power started to come to me when I dreamed. Then I stopped dreaming about my father. The rattlesnake told me what to do. The snake helps me doctor now. It comes to me when I dream. Several times it has told me to catch snakes, but I have not done it. This has not yet made me sick.

It is difficult to state what proportion of shamans at any one 756
time have inherited powers. Nearly everyone has or had either close or distant kin with shamanistic power. There seems to be a general feeling that at least one child of a shaman will inherit powers. On the other hand, there is good evidence that in many cases a shaman's powers are lost at death. It also seems evident that inheritance here is but a variation on the theme of acquiring power through dream-experience.

Related to the practice of transferring power before death to the son or daughter is the idea that it can be shared with another. However, when a shaman gives his power to some member of his family, usually that person has already been set apart from others as having a predisposition to acquire power. This is exhibited early in life by dreams and by talking while asleep. Transfer in this

753 825 It is believed that animals as well as ghosts can bring sickness to man. Apparently, such sickness may result from a deliberate malicious effort as in the case of the coyote; with other animals it may be involuntary or the means of punishment.

> Once a man dreamed that three coyotes came to him. They said, "Tell us who is a good man. We will get him and eat him. If you do not tell us, we will come and eat you." The man believed them, so he told them about a woman. A few days after the man had this dream, the woman was sick. They got a shaman to doctor her. He sang for two nights before he knew what made her sick. Then he saw three coyotes in a cloud. Only the heads could be seen. He saw that they were coming to get the woman. He told the woman's family what the coyote had done. They were coming then. When they came close and saw the shaman, they were afraid. They went away and never bothered the woman again. The shaman told her to put red paint on all her joints. [755] She was to paint red and white bands around her joints. [Treatment in this fashion is customary in curing illness caused by dreams.] Coyote could see that paint when he was a long way off. He did not like it so he never came again. (Joe Green)

Other game animals, especially large game, such as antelope and mountain sheep, can also cause illness. The owl appears, prophetically perhaps, in dreams to bring sickness. Gophers, too are thought to be a sign of sickness and death, but it is doubtful that they cause either. When gophers are caught, they are skinned and the skin is spread over the belly of the carcass. Both are then hung up on the south side of a bush, tree, or house. Gophers may also be [782] burned until only ashes remain. In the course of either operation, a prayer in some such words as these is recited: "You tried to give me bad luck. Now you will be destroyed."

754 Sorcery is an extremely potent source of illness. The sorcerer secures his power from the same sources and in the same way as the shaman who practices for the general good. In fact, to the Paviotso a sorcerer is a shaman who utilizes his power not in the socially accepted way but in a dangerous and anti-social fashion; he has corrupted potentially beneficial power in such a way as to cause harm. The sorcerer is frequently designated by the term for shaman, puhágəm. There is, however, another word for the sorcerer, numátukádˑ (eater of people), but the former seems to be more commonly used.

755 instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These prescriptions are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course of the curing rites.

→ When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the spec-
755 tators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire.
535 The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire. According to one description, at the end of the dance all must shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the
[776] house and these actions drive it away.

755 The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were
● [825] to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness and loss of power.

755 The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəp^{1}) and white (i·bi),
302 is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are se-
[386] cured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry powder, and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted. There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are employed for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily decoration with these paints is also common on social occasions. Nevertheless, the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the recovery of the sick.

224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 ● 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[43]

1. awago.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwï.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, *for all kinds of fish*, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus or Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. ha-pagwï.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. how-pagwï.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agai.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

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[113] [43] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825 ●

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chasmistes cujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

> In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis*, was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis*, is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata*, are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivalvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[46] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahapa, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wăp.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?*, seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, sawapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wă pi, juniper. [291] [372]

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[46] R. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called taida. Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the [193] nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material ● 825 culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet 773 high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68).[1] There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipö or pabitsipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

[1] [See Category 116, End Plate 68 -- Analyst]

Wadátkuht

231 [177] more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake.

[262] [825] **Dogs**. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone.

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THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

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843 **Birth and Children**. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated.

845 Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults.

826 [789] A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?).

854 826 People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was

Wadatkuht

752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup^{a}. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'^{k}zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup^{a} to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, KukwaPta, if one knew the correct words.

821 [789] [177] Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano^{b} - "sun dark") the people living at Matá built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people.

789 513 825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

SMOKING

Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[230] young boys did not smoke 276 for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non-ceremonial and was chiefly an evening pastime. 517 Three or four old men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed number of times, and a person could decline on the second round without offending.

The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'b^{a})[231] The 277 local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'b^{a} were mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowadays koda'b^{a} and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the blend called düma'iyu, mixture. Koda'b^{a} is said to be "pretty strong." 276

Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[232] For earache and 755 deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache. For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. 855 A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." 861 Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the [826] ● other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he is born with the cord around his neck."

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[230] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[231] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[232] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

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*795 interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[58]

[761] [743] [648] ● [826] Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

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• 771 787 *795 Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[59] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[60] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[61]

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171 276 *795 For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[62] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[63]

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178 771 *795 Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[64] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal

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[797] guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

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[58] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[59] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[60] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[61] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[62] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[63] La Barre, 72.

[64] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

Wadátkuht

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Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. [177]

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People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were 854 likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder 826 of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was

Wadátkuht

854 ● 826 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so used to being in it.

861 **Punishing Children**. If a child pretended to cry he was apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her.

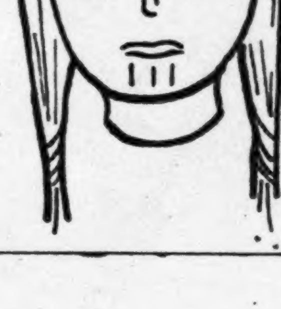
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

593 **Sibling Rivalry**. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

[682] One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

304 **Tattoos**. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks. [531] A tattoo was called naboidz.

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "111" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



Wadátkuht

515 not indicate whether the other Wadátkuht shared his enthusiasm for a daily plunge into cold water.

881 Girls' Puberty Ceremony. When Kitty began her first menstrual period the family was working at the Will Dill place in the slough region of Susan River near where it flows into Honey Lake. From here she had to run to the round hill behind the Gibson ranch, a distance of four or five miles to the northwest.

The girls' puberty ceremony was called muhatanowani, from muha, "moon", and tánowani, "to run". It was also called punug. Each morning Kitty had to make her run to Gibson Hill and return on the run in the evening. While on the hill she had to work all day collecting sagebrush for [313] the fire. Her aunt, whose name was Beowuhbi, also was on the hill and remained there during the puberty ceremony. Each morning Kitty ran up to the top of the hill with approximately ten other girls who helped her gather sagebrush for the fire. Most of this fuel had to be left on the hill, but Kitty took a load back each night. The girls also gathered brush on their way back to the ranch, and around the ranch.

When Kitty returned to camp each evening the dancing would begin and she would have to dance all night. During the days she was able to get some sleep but was awakened by her aunt before she slept too long. She also got some food and water from her aunt when she got up on the hill each day. This kept her going, but no one was supposed to give her food back at camp. In fact she was guarded to see that no one [856] slipped her any food. The reason a girl got so little water was so that she could, in later life, go a long time without [826] it, a decided virtue under the existing desert conditions of the Wadátkuht environment.

During the dance each night Kitty wore a shredded sagebrush bark skirt and cape which she had made herself. The cape hung half-way to her knees. However, in deference to new standards brought in by the whites she wore the sagebrush clothing over her cloth dress.

Kitty had to dance all night without stopping. Other people would dance with her but as they got tired others would take over, but she got no rest. The dance ended before sunrise each day and she would leave for the run to the mountain with her escort of girls. These girls and young women had been through the puberty ceremony and were the

789 around camp to see if everyone were alive." An eclipse is called taba-yü'iwan (ta'ba, sun); they say the sun is dying.

821 It aggravates the thunder (nũnia'ba) "if you shout, laugh, and talk. The thunder gets worse and it may chase you." Lightning is of special danger to a menstruating woman and often fatal to a woman with child. The echo is wahi'pi-naka'u (shout-hear). It is someone "calling back."

538 The animals of the tales—Coyote, Wolf, Frog, Rattlesnake, and
821 others—are said to be in the moon. Minnie Anderson sees a frog in
the moon. A circle about the moon foretells rain.

827 A sneeze indicates that a person of the opposite sex is thinking of
one. Ringing of the ears is of evil portent. "That is a dead spirit
787 shouting in your ears; probably a friend is dying." A wink is of no
significance; "they learned that from the white people." When a
person's eyes twitch, "he is going to see something. When a man is
going hunting and his eye twitches, he says, 'I know I shall see game
today.'" An itching palm has no meaning. Bad luck is associated
with twitching of an under-knee muscle. When a hunter experiences
this it means he will not see game. If a woman is going to play a card
game and her knee twitches, she will surely have bad luck. Twitching
of the calf muscles indicates that a stranger is coming. If the arch
of the foot twitches it means that someone is coming on horseback
(contact with the stirrup).

787 A number of omens mentioned by Nora Henderson follow:

> 825 When a frog whistles (not croaks), people say, "You are going to have bad news."
>
> When the coyote barks strangely, someone will sicken and die.
>
> When the owl barks like a dog, something bad will happen. Once when I was near Adel, on my way to Likely, an owl in a clump of willows south of us barked and then hooted. We knew we would get bad news from the south. That night we stopped at Alturas and heard that someone in Likely had been killed.
>
> Once my aunt, Daisy Brown, heard a whistle by the creek. She looked around and saw a snake making the noise. She felt badly, knowing she would get bad news, and I think she told me that she did.
>
> When it is a little cloudy, and the meadowlark sits on the ground and goes, "prrrrrr," it is going to rain. They say this is really true.
>
> If the first meadowlarks from the south have bright yellow spots on their breasts there will be plenty of a'gü'.

A centipede is called i'wü-mai'^{1} (many-hands). If a person picks up a centipede "he may get that many hands." If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will follow that person and get in bed with him. "They always say that this is really true."

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 Northern Paiute

by the door, only a few feet away, he shot again: there were marks on the 756
blanket but no hole. Then Panayüs believed in the shaman's power. 771
"Now you have faith in me. I have given you proof. If you or your boy should wish to become a shaman, I'll give you some of my power and you will be able to do the same." But Panayüs declined. Shamans who were bullet-proof were called *tōpō'yɛ pö'aγat.* In this connection it is interesting to recall the supposedly bullet-proof Bannock chief mentioned by Bonneville.[1]

A few random Ute notions may be enumerated here. These people 784
were afraid of the rainbow (*páro γawinitikü*). They would say: "Someone lost his knife and it is underground. Where the rainbow touches the 821
ground, there is the knife. Don't point your finger towards it or the rainbow will cut off your finger." The lips also must not be used in pointing at it. Mrs. Molineux reports a comparable superstition against turning round and walking backward, lest a relative (particularly an aunt) fall sick. Once my informant took some Uintah girls on a walk. Daphne Ice turned round to see those who were in the rear, but was sharply pulled back by a companion, who gave the reason mentioned.

As a protection against lightning the Southern Ute put a kind of hard wood, *tônápu*^{i}, into the tipi, for they said it was never struck, the lightning being afraid of it.

The Southern Ute believed in a world underground and another in 772
the sky. If a conflagration came it would be due to Cūnáwav^{i}, the mythical hero, who might save the people by lifting them to the sky or dropping them below. Some think the sky is supported by one big cottonwood tree in the west and another in the east; if either gets rotten, it may break and the sky then would fall down, killing everybody. The horses of a dead person were always killed. All the persons killed on the warpath live separately from those who die a natural death.

At Ignacio twins were said to be due to a man's continuing to hold 845
intercourse after pregnancy.

Tony Buck told me that when a person sneezes a little stick is bent 827 ●
at right angles and thrown up into the air to determine the direction where someone is talking about (or to?) the sneezer. The short branch indicates the direction. My informant said that this custom is shared by the Arapaho. The Moapa say that when a person sneezes (*ha+úsip*^{i}), he says, "Some one is thinking of me in some other country."

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[1] Lowie, 224.

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking, the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 171
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will 845
also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is 829
thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the 006
Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.
[2] Ibid., 13, 47, 48, 50, 57.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 Northern Paiute

Wáwanabɨdi mentioned a hunting medicine carried with arrows. 789 When a hunter finds fresh elk tracks he puts it into the tracks and says to it, "Do you overtake that elk where he lies down. When you are there he'll get uneasy and begin to come back, back-tracking himself." This medicine, called *tôyandtowora*, grows only high up in the mountains and has a pretty, pink flower; it is chief of all medicines. Only a small piece of it is broken off at one time. The elk soon returns, the hunter merely having to sit down and wait for it. Wáwanabɨdi was skeptical at one time and made a test once when tracking deer. He talked to the medicine in the fashion described. Soon two deer came along, one after another, and he shot and killed both. He went to a spring for a drink, saw elk tracks and put some medicine into the tracks. After a while he saw an elk approach and shot him. This happened only about fifteen years ago (1912). With red paint the same medicine was rubbed on the body and back of the head in war time, and the following prayer was addressed to it, "If the enemy comes, give me power so that even if he aims at me and pulls the trigger, the trigger will not work and he will not hit me." When enemies were stealing horses this medicine put on the track caused the horses to become exhausted. Once my informant's father-in-law escaped through this root when all the other Shoshoni were killed. Any one might use it, but it was rare because it was hard to get it. Sometimes [775] the seeds were mashed and rubbed on the neck when children had a sore throat.

A little girl came to Wáwanabɨdi's lodge wearing, probably as a charm, a sausage-shaped buckskin necklace stuffed with pine-needles (*woñgo gwâna*), an infusion of which is used to cure bad colds.

When a Shoshoni sneezes, the people say that some girl is making [827] a remark about him and wishing that the sneezer were with her.

Wolf and Coyote are not prayed to by the Wind River people, so 775 far as Wáwanabɨdi knows.

When people whistled through rushes, they caused clouds and rain 782 to come.[1] 821

A whirlwind is considered a ghost (*dzôap*). When a person dies, a whirlwind is caused thereby.

Once Wáwanabɨdi was fishing at Jackson's creek when he heard a 776 baby crying, but paid no particular attention. Suddenly he came upon it. It was a *pâona*,[2] which looked like a baby with yellow body, but it had big arms and hands and long curly hair. My informant was frightened,

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[1] Lowie, 222.

[2] Cf. *ibid*, 234.

THE SORCERER

AS following chapters will show, one of the main mechanisms of social control 626
in Harney Valley is retaliation. Family solidarity manifests itself by aiding
its wronged members to retaliate and by defending them against unfair
retaliation from others. The second important mechanism of control is the fear
of being accused of sorcery. This fear acts as a check on retaliation, as an indirect
means of retaliation, and as an independent deterrent to anti-social behavior. A [627]
person who becomes known as a sorcerer runs the risk of having to face action by the
entire community and cannot expect even his own relatives to come to his defense.
The important problem, therefore, if social control in this society is to be understood,
is to determine how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer.

From the preceding chapters it is evident that the presence of power in an 787
individual is usually made known to the community either by individual excellency 756
or deficiency in some pursuit, or by the doctor's diagnosis in the event of disease.
The concept of power is, therefore, not only an explanation for disease, but also [828] ●
an explanation for all behavior which differs from the norm. A man who is
especially attractive to women is rumored to have love power, a man who is an
exceptionally good hunter is said to have power in hunting, a man who is very
brave and a good fighter or a good shot is said to have bullet power. In a similar
way, behavior which is unacceptable is attributed to the possession of bad power.
Anyone who frequently loses his temper, who criticizes others in their presence, who [754]
is solitary and unsociable, who does not look others straight in the eye, is said to
be "mean" and is apt to be accused of having sorcery power.

The presence of power to doctor is most clearly discernible because its possessor 756
employs it in public and thus must make known his gifts and convince people
of their validity. All other people are supposed to keep their endowment secret 787
lest they antagonize the spirit that befriends them. It has been shown that usually 781
an individual is not aware that he has good power until either the pressure 755
of his immediate family, the pressure of community gossip, or the diagnosis of
the doctor brings to his consciousness dream experiences which are attributed to
encounters with spirit helpers. These pressures are especially strong when the
family, parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, have had power.

With respect to bad power the situation is somewhat different. In general no 754
one admits to being a sorcerer unless by so doing he can save himself from punishment. 578
For example, if the ~~doctor, backed~~ by the community, accuses a person of having
made someone ill, and if it seems evident that action will be taken against

a result, he did something which was interpreted as a confession of guilt. Early 754
in the fall there was a round-up of the Indians at Lakeview, near Fort Bidwell. 578
It will be remembered that Horn came from Fort Bidwell and many of his relatives would be at the round-up. Tom with his wife, son, and daughter set out in their car. Evidently half-way down they decided not to go and turned back. They explained that they had had a flat tire and could not go on, but no one believed this explanation, and held that Tom was afraid because he was guilty.

As far as offenses go, the four main charges brought against Tom T. centered [689]
around aggressiveness in competitive games of cards and domineering and threatening behavior in relation to the political situation. These offenses, however, had they been isolated, would not have been so important. Had these particular incidents not occurred I feel sure that other circumstantial evidence would have been used sooner or later to incriminate T. because of his personality and the nature of his relations with others. Helen once, in discussing Tom's daughter, Betty and the fact that the community suspected that she was mean and would have bad power like her father, told me that Tom was one of the few fathers who beat his children all the time. She said that he would beat them for any little thing and that she thought that most of the time he did it just because he was mean and not because [828]
the children had really done anything wrong. She commented that this was probably why Betty was mean.

Helen was not alone in predicting that Betty would be a sorcerer. I did not take much stock of her statements, at first, as I knew that she hated Betty because of her incestuous relations with Helen's husband, Joe. However, several other people in the community agreed with Helen. Inasmuch as I could observe Betty's behavior and find out why other women disliked her, I gleaned some important information on how a reputation for sorcery may grow up.

Betty was about thirty-five when I was at Burns. In some ways she was a very likeable person as she was frank, open, and friendly when sober. When she was [579]
drunk, however, which was quite often, she was very pugnacious. She usually ended up in a fist fight or hair-pulling contest with some other woman. She was also one of the camp's most promiscuous women, and considered a whore by the white 684
population in Burns. Although she had two children, she had no husband to restrain her in her philanderings. As a result she was constantly having affairs with other people's husbands. Furthermore, she was not at all discreet as to when or where she had these affairs. When drunk she bragged that she would sleep with any man including her father or brother. She practically admitted that her own brother was the father of one of her children. She had a reputation for making overtures to white men in the streets of Burns in broad daylight. Several times she [276]
was put in prison for drunkenness. Although many other women got drunk, most of them had the good sense to keep out of sight.

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home
she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[684] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself,
828] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
754 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
[832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
837] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[578] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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close relatives or has few friends. The groups within a community are based on 155
family ties; but inasmuch as almost all the people in Burns were related in varying 828
degrees, kinship is not the sole basis for cooperation. One's relations with more [578]
remote relatives depends on one's behavior, and kinship bonds are no insurance
against accusations. The more people one antagonizes, the greater the danger of
malicious gossip being spread. Tom T. antagonized half of the community at Burns
by taking a very aggressive stand on the political issues, and by threatening those
who disagreed with the policies he supported. Betty and Anne antagonized almost [674]
all the women by philandering with their husbands. The Porters reacted with
disproportionate aggression against many different people, each of whom were
supported by a group of close relatives and friends.

Given these two factors, the third important element is circumstantial evidence. A reputation for meanness and gossip cannot make a person a sorcerer unless some event occurs in which the person is involved to such an extent that it is possible to blame him. The death of Polly in the Porter-Simms case is a good example. There was a feud between the Simms and Porters. The Porters threatened the Simms and then one of the latter's close relatives died. This in itself could be used against the Porters. Even more evidence was brought to bear against them when it was remembered that Polly was standing by Jane Simms at the funeral of the Porter boy. In the same way Tom T.'s attempt to keep Pedro from moving to the new camp before Pedro's death was damning evidence. As one's reputation gets worse, the circumstantial evidence necessary for incrimination becomes more and more flimsy.

The fourth factor of great importance is the sanction of the doctor. It has [756
been seen in a previous chapter that a doctor does not risk incriminating a person 681]
by pointing him out as the sorcerer until he is sure that he has the support of a
large part of the community. When he does accuse a person of sorcery, it is an
official seal and a very serious matter. By giving his sanction to the gossip and
accusations which have been circulating about a person, he also gives social sanction
to retaliation against this person.

The fifth factor of importance is the action of the person when the doctor puts 754
the stamp of incrimination on him. If the individual reacts with strong fear and 681
either avoids the relatives of the sorcerized person or flees from the community,
he is considered to have confessed his guilt. If the situation is very tense and a man
has many enemies, this is obviously the safest thing to do. Another course of action
is to confess guilt, plead unwitting sorcery and bathe and call off one's supposed
power. It is probable that this course of action is dangerous unless the person is
just beginning to get a reputation for sorcery and unless the patient is likely to recover.
The third course of action is to go about one's life as before, hoping that
retaliation will not occur and that the reputation can be lived down. Nowadays,
when the government forbids the murder of sorcerers, social ostracism and flight
often follow the accusation of sorcery by a doctor. From the accounts, however, it

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

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The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study. To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

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As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

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Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote. Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times. Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar.

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Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

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When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

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The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

See Appendix III for statistics.

Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

Wadatkuht

The
756 first type cured such minor things as headaches and used
massage as a major means of making cures. The second type
[755] seemed to be closely related to the first since he also used
massage, but in addition rubbed medicine into the patient.
The third type had a more complex method of curing. To become
a Numuhgunuhd (and presumably a Nutaigut) a person might dream
for several years that it was necessary for him to become a
doctor. As a rule, however, the individual fought this as
he did not want to become a shaman, for being a doctor entailed
considerable responsibility and effort as in our own society,
but without the same rewards. In fact, if a doctor was thought
to be malevolent he might be killed.

In becoming a doctor one's dreams made one ill, and in order to get well one had to become a doctor. The Numuhgunuhd, however, did not have to go out alone to some wild and lonely spot to receive songs, power and instructions.

The third type of doctor, the Nuhpud, did have to go out on a lonely vigil to get songs, power and instructions. When a person first got the dreams that suggested he must become a doctor he did not know which doctor he must be. When he finally had to give in, he tried out being a Numuhgunuhd. If he was not too successful as this type of doctor he had to try to become a Nuhpud.

Gladys was treated once by a relative, Tsudi ("Judy"),
[755] for a severe earache. This woman doctor was a Nuhpud and
used an eighteen inch long arrowcane to suck a clot of blood
from Gladys' neck. This woman doctor's daughter was becoming
a doctor, too, and it is said that she dreamed her mother's
dreams. It is also said that the mother probably wished her
[428] dreams to her daughter. This would suggest that doctors
tended to be hereditary. With respect to becoming a shaman
Gladys stated that it was possible for a person to be both
a Numuhgunuhd and a Nuhpud.

Causes of Illness. Sickness might be caused by the
753 ghost of a near relative who was trying to take a person's
[775] soul away, or it might be caused by a malevolent doctor, a
sorcerer, who "poisons" (puha') people. It has also been
[754] shown above that a person might become ill if he ignored a
call to become a doctor. Unpleasant dreams made people sick;
753 also, if the story Gladys told about a Shoshone woman can be
●828 applied to the Wadatkuht, these dreams could have crippling
effects. The Shoshone woman dreamt of many snakes in a cave
in which she was trapped. To escape she had to walk over the

Wadátkuht

753 snakes, much to her horror. She could not escape from the dream
828 until she awoke in the morning, and at that time she found she was paralyzed from the hips down. She was in this condition for
755 two months and was treated by white doctors who were unable to
828 help her. Finally her parents called in a Paiute doctor who made her think back and discover the dream which had caused her crippled condition. She told him of the dream of the snakes in the cave which she had to walk over. When she told him the dream he had her bathe in a creek before sunrise one morning. Her family lifted her into the cold water while the doctor sang over her, a treatment sufficient to cure her. Gladys said that the woman should have told of her dream earlier and she would have gotten well sooner.

754 Sickness Caused by Sorcery. A malevolent doctor might put a curse on an individual, or his children, by making such a statement as: "May you get sick and die from a cough". If the individual being cursed had too much power for the sorcerer's curse to take effect the shaman would put the curse on the person's children. A description of such a curse on a child is the following account by Gladys of the curse put on her when she was a baby. One night when Gladys was still a baby in the cradleboard, a woman doctor, Hadómuhdi, "Hello Mattie", came into the house and warmed her hands over the stove. Nearly everyone was in bed and Gladys was in her cradleboard on the bed playing with the beads hanging down from the hood. As the woman warmed her hands over the stove a baby was heard to cry on the stove, where-
754 upon Hadómuhdi left the house. Kitty immediately sent Gladys' brothers after a man who was just becoming a doctor, and then
755 took some burning rags and followed the doctor to her door, praying as she went. The doctor, whom Kitty sent for, arrived and observed Gladys who was crying long and loud. This man, Sagyeh', advised that two important and experienced doctors be called in to handle the case, which was done. When the two men came they started treating Gladys immediately. Hadómuhdi, the one who had made Gladys sick, came each night of the curing ceremony and was told to go outside and pray "if she still wanted to walk around" (i.e., to live). Her son also came to the ceremonies, but her husband, a doctor at Pyramid Lake named Wunu'yaga', would not attend the curing.

Hadómuhdi did not want to pray at daybreak because she was ashamed. The doctors working over Gladys told Kitty, however, to "get after" the old woman doctor on the third night. The two doctors told Hadómuhdi: "Pua'tua' wumuhna", "Friend's baby turn it back over". Everyone urged her to do this, including her son, so on the third night she agreed to

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

[103] After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] [133] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. [114] All mention of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. [411] They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with 173
the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to 186
exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, 829
which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason
for this is that both peoples are held in contempt.

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which 173
is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist 829
of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid
lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is
that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the [727]
fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or
throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease
them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern [648]
Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians.

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in 173
the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One 829
day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians 114
passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute
implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that
they must have been made by the Pit River Indians

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a 133
few other points of interest. The figures refer to locations on the 172
map, plate 68.

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tai'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a
concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are [212]
pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The [103]
name of the place is tohatska.

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a 133
village site, called otigadutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown [361]
as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigadutU. On both sides of the ridge [103]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	N W
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	571
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	

Chiefs (vohenavi or voinavi)

N

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W A 622
2150. Patrilineal succession	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	W
2152. Chief's assistant	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinanımö)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	A
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[624]
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2156. For rabbit drive (kamövoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	
2159. For fishing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2160. For hunting generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2161. For pine-nut trip	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2162. Village chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

PROPERTY

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	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2165. Band owned hunting territory	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	621
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	423
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2167. Band owned fishing streams	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2169. Family owned seed plots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	
2170. Family owned fishing place	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

WARFARE

N
W
A

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2174. Raids only	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	721
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	W
2176. War ritual	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	A
2177. Captives	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	727

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N
A

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	778
2179. Special house for childbirth	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	832
2179a. Dwelling-like	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2180. Domed willow house	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2180a. Regular house	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	W
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	+	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	A
2181a. 30 ("month")	·	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2182. Ground warmed	−	−	·	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	814
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

[p.407]

N 226 227 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. Kl, K2. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N 862 825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

A [262] A [782] 297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü´iya). Tö: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

● N [832] 297k. Kl: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

297n. ~~N. Paiute~~: küpa or köbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

N [501 777 832] 297p. Kü: White weaselskin used by shamans.

297r. Kü: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

N [136] 297s. Kü: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. Kl: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

297z. Kü: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu´ts^u) hunted near Eagleville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kü: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W [26] 298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 4-26(A)]

N 721 173 raided them and drove them out of the country (GN). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave (LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley. This explains why so many arrow and spear points have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The war against Sai is only one about which DW knew. "The Sai were from around Klamath River and raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands aided in battle. This happened three generations W [721] ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger" was remembered by LR. One person was killed. Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe) only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War. The Indians showed generals how it could be done. They formed a circle around German trenches (JM). Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The Tagō had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Paiute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was A [721 173] generations ago, the other was in historic time and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and killed all the girls who had been taken captive to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble at home. There were many people killed, "maybe 4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N 778 ● 832 753 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered, mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin, the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm. It is dangerous to possess such a charm because it might enter one's body through a sore or something and kill owner. It causes sickness like blood poisoning. Tö: A mole charm is dangerous medicine. N [755] One made an Indian boy sick a little while ago, and he would have died if the Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was painted and father was forced to throw away his mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to be very dangerous.

N 944 [115] 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement 5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

756 [224] magically so that they could be easily killed. The antelope power of one man manifested itself in an ability to run fast. He was able to kill mountain sheep with his feet and hands. Two women also had antelope power and were swift runners. They seem, however, to have used their power merely to win foot races.

[411 726] The firearms used by the whites against the Paiutes in the latter half of the nineteenth century were another problem which the Paiutes had to face. Against bullets, their bows and arrows were of little use. To most men it seemed suicidal to fight against such odds, but some men had supernatural power which made them bullet proof. Since bullets could not hurt them, they were able to hold off companies of soldiers while the women and children escaped. They inspired the other men and led them in raids against the whites. Women also had this type of power and could be killed only by stoning.

● [832] Some individuals had love power, by which they could make anyone succumb to their charms. It was employed primarily by old men and women to win young lovers.

[754] Those persons who had "bad power," i.e., sorcery power, could use it to hurt others. They could make sick or kill any person they did not like. They were often referred to as "people eaters."

754 756 I gathered information about ninety individuals, living and dead, who had power. Of these the largest group were bullet proof; the next largest group were doctors and people accused of being sorcerers. Of the other types of power there were but few representatives.[3]

[161 162] Before the reservation was established, the population which wintered in Harney Valley was about two hundred. After this time, members of other bands joined the Harney Valley group. According to the author's estimates, about eighteen per cent of the total population had power at any given period. Two per cent were doctors, and seven per cent were reputed sorcerers. The percentage of bullet proof men is very difficult to compute. It is evident, however, that before the reservation was established, when there was constant friction with the whites, they far outnumbered any other group. There is some evidence that there were arrow proof men at an earlier period. In the last ten years there have been five people with bullet proof power living in Burns, as against three doctors and eight or nine persons accused of sorcery.

776 756 The spirit agent who befriends the individual may be an animal, a meteorological phenomenon, a plant, or some material object. The following list, though probably far from complete, gives a sample of the supernatural agents who, within

[3] In actual numbers, thirty-four had bullet proof power (four of these being also doctors); twenty-four were doctors; twenty were accused of sorcery; four had power over snakes; two had power to run fast; one had power over antelope; two had power to let blood; two had power over bears; one had power over fire; one had power to control weather; and one had power in hunting.

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home
she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[584] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going
around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with
their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me
that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had
been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it.
According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this
time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't
let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself,
328] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that
so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to
their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad
power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
754 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in
the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came
out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of
importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to
prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for
a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms
of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the
charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were
the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated
primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp.
Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with
Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
● [832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
837] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show
it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that
she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[illegible] thereby angering the W 178
missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians. 771

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey 795*
Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because
no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that [797]
his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed.
"Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult.
Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more N
charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders. W

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[illegible] Don James (W,2) 178
and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their
families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while 273
drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. 276
White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, 795*
but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most
peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the
Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that
peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former
members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[illegible] Peyotists
do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person;
also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify N
whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use W
rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly [787]
portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[illegible] Opponents allege that the infirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts
declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, N
"Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit." W

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or 276
at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former 578
members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs 795*
were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and [786]

[illegible] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.) [832]

[illegible] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[illegible] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[illegible] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote. The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

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[832]

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

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The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair. On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

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Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

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Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

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From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

Wadátkuht

Love Charm. Some old men mixed some sort of herbs and put it on their hands and then they patted and touched young women and girls so that the girls would be doped and go to sleep. They became infatuated with the old men and were willing to sleep with them. Some women are said to have had this sort of charm over men. 832

Hunting Charm. When a Wadátkuht killed a deer he buried the bladder, sinup, where he killed the animal. The bladder was buried behind the first log, rock or bush nearby. As the bladder was buried, the hunter said to it: "Yan^{a}kas^{a} nu^{u} maiyudua", "I will find you here." By doing this the hunter was assured of finding a deer at this same spot when he chose to return. 224 789

Kitty said that a Wadátkuht man used to catch owls and eagles by painting his naked body and by singing in front of the birds perched nearby. As he sang he moved slowly toward the bird until he was close enough to grasp it with his hands. 223 789

Supernatural Helpers. Ike told the following stories of individuals who had superhuman abilities given them by their power, or helper. Johnny Monday left Fort Bidwell one morning, and around noon he got to Summit Lake. Here he ate lunch and rested for a bit and then started on. He got to Fort McDermitt that evening at sundown. A conservative estimate of the distance he would have had to travel is about 140 miles. It was dove, ihov^{i}, of whom he dreamed when he got his power, and it was this bird that made him so fleet of foot. The last time Ike saw this old man was around 1924, which suggests that Johnny may have been born around 1850, or somewhat earlier. 539 776

Black Jack gave his blanket to Bob Dodge to carry on the latter's horse with him. Black Jack said that he would start on ahead on foot and that Bob Dodge could catch up with him on the horse. Bob went out and caught and saddled his horse and set out shortly thereafter. He did not catch up with Black Jack until he got to Potato Patch, about 32 miles north of Nixon, Nevada and about 31 miles south of Gerlach. Black Jack was resting when Bob found him. They both rested here for awhile and then Black Jack told Bob to go catch the horse and when he (Bob) caught up with him, he could give him (Black Jack) a ride behind the saddle. Bob caught the horse and began to follow Black Jack's tracks. The tracks looked as if he were merely walking, not running. Bob galloped and trotted his horse but did not catch up with

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be seen and killed.

Men, women, and children participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841]
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these condi- [843]
tions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in the drive.

When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 224 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [833]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.

[23] Ibid., 55-57.

not even if the girl and her mother liked him." There seems, however, to have been a certain amount of individual choice, for "sometimes a girl liked a boy. They would tell her, 'That boy, he has nothing,' but she liked him, and she married him anyway." 584

> A boy who wanted to marry sneaked into the girl's camp at night to lie beside her. The parents would say, "Somebody comes here," and the old woman would get up and make a fire to see who had come. They looked at the boy but said nothing. If the girl accepted him he stayed until morning; then he sneaked away, being ashamed to eat there. He came back again, and finally stayed. If the girl did not want him, he went off not to return. The old people had many wives like that—maybe one here, maybe one down toward Alturas, maybe one at Pyramid lake (JB). 583

Marriage was conducted on extremely informal lines, polygyny and brittle monogamy being the rule rather than the exception. Thus, "a good hunter had many wives; in the old days they used to marry until they were too old to walk." A man might have two or three wives at a time, usually, but not necessarily sisters. He had a right to the sisters of his wife, but he was not obligated to take them; "he could marry just one sister if he did not want the others." His wives lived in the same house, or at least in the same camp. I was gravely assured that "they never quarreled," but the picture of domestic bliss was shattered by Minnie who claimed that "often they fought." 595

Blood relationship was the only bar to marriage. Informants agreed that cousins were "brothers," and that children of half-brothers could not marry[210] because "we call them like full brothers." An individual usually married within his own band or a related Paviotso band. There was no feeling for local exogamy. Concerning foreign marriages, "they never married with the Klamath. Sometimes a man would go to the Pit River country and marry, but he did not bring his wife back here. That is why all the old Pit River people can understand Paiute. Pit River men did not come here and take wives." Women captured in war were taken as wives. There seems to be relatively little intermarriage even at present. I recall a few random cases: George Brown is married to an Achomawi woman and lives at Likely (Pit River territory). Nellie Townsend's father was a "Digger" (Maidu ?) from Susanville, her mother a Paviotso; Minnie Archie's father and his sister, Warm Springs Indians, both married Paiutes. There are doubtless other cases, especially of marriage with the Achomawi. 582 835 ● [727]

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[210] Cf. Kroeber, California Kinship Systems, 362.

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[8] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that
the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with
good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns
to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586]
his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters.
Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their
aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to
their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602]
his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never
heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes
to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let
her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s
son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This
relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his
mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [835]
fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten
years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the
strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem
on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing
to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the
young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solu-
tion seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by
sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this
may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law
and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent
sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

[8] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607]
under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A
girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a
woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife.
A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

411 Johnnie Black described a stone club with a wooden handle, but other informants denied its use among the Wadadika.

6. *Spears.* All informants denied the use of spears.

7. *War Knives.* Dick Jonas had heard of a war knife about eight inches long. He thought the Wadadika got them from the Cayuse and Umatilla.

[727] 8. *Scalps.* Informants agreed that the Wadadika used to take scalps. They denied the capturing of prisoners.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

MARRIAGE

582 A girl may marry anytime after her first menstruation, but according to Ellen, she usually waits until sixteen or seventeen. In the old days, the ideal husband was a man who was a good hunter, and in general a good provider. Doctors and bullet proof leaders were also sought after. Men like women who cook well and are not "mean." Although it is specifically stated that there should be reasonable equality of age between spouses, the husband being slightly older than the wife, there are several cases reported of older [835] men with young wives, and older women with young husbands. Although Dick Jonas stated that one would die if one married a first or second cousin, some cases were reported.

[589] There are few cases of unmarried men or women. Dick's idea of an old maid was a woman whose husband left her or died, and who had not remarried for a long time. 581 In general, parents exert less pressure on sons to marry early inasmuch as they hunt and add to the family meat supply.

586 Marriage is usually brittle monogamy. There are few cases of people who are married to only one spouse during the span of a lifetime. One informant has had ten different husbands, but she is considered abnormal and thought to have love magic. Dick Jonas is more typical. Although blind, he has had three wives.

595 Three informants remembered cases of polyandry. Mrs. S. reported a case of a woman married to an old and a young man. Dick reported a case of a widower who joined his half brother after the death of his wife, and shared the half brother's wife. The new wife was no relation to the deceased wife.

There were many cases of polygyny reported. In general, the man with several wives was a man of prestige such as Chief Capt. Louie, Chief Egan and Chief Oites. Oites was reported to have had five wives, three of whom were sisters. The wives, however, did not all stay in the same house. One wife lived with her own sister.[1]

Men of less prestige sometimes have two wives. Frequently co-wives are sisters, a younger sister joining the household soon after her older sister's marriage. Sisters are thought to make better co-wives as it is said they do not fight. Several cases were reported of a man married to a mother and daughter. Nadi Padi, repeater for Egan, had three wives; he married his mother-in-law and mother-in-law's older sister's daughter. In one case it was specifically stated that a man courted the daughter and was forced by the mother into marrying her as well.

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[762] [1] One wife committed suicide after a fight with a co-wife.

N

played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin W
Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While 158
I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had 795*
been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to pey- N
otism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw W
his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked [787]
freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous N
to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joa-
quin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the W
infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual [835] ●
relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, N
they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[illegible]

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote W
with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three 761
McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians 795*
died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[illegible] Except when persistently

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[illegible] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[illegible] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	•+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	•-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
•2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
KINSHIP RELATIONS														
Avoidances														
•2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
Joking Relations														
2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adoption														
2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES														
•2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	•+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
•2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
•2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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[787]

[p. 405]

Achomawi NS5

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A [846] 2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

N [774 761] 2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be

N [842] deformed. A deformed child called nayla dököpö ("gopher ate some off").

N ● 856 847 684 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). AE: At first menses girl dances

A [881 535 533] 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard

[p.442(A)]

754 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left
578 with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home
she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many
[584] of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself,
828] that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a
754 reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both
578 verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she
[164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied
[832 and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual
837] partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circu-
183 lated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded
155 on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

754
band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, 183
who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person. 155

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was 578
murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home
with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the
lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and [837
contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. 164]
The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him
to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook
supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne
told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on
Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to
shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, [657
but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police 177]
and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole
affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca.
In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides
they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior [157]
as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara
and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, 754
who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery
made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event.
However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be
that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the 578
women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must 837
have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women.
Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and
added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were 578
said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting 754
inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own
stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of
sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom
she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I [753]
asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a
woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked
Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, [756]
that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

to the house because his wife got jealous. As mentioned above the term for sister- 593
in-law is the term for rival, and the jealousy between a woman and her brother's 578
wife is culturally recognized.[3] The most humiliating thing that can happen to a 154
girl is to have her brother criticize her in public.

As far as a man's relation to his wife is concerned the ideal seems to be that the husband should not be too dependent on her. It is stated that a husband with good thoughts does not complain if his wife goes off with another man but returns
to his own family with the children and makes no fuss. If he is dissatisfied with [586]
his wife, he leaves and returns to his mother, if she is living, or to his sisters. Actually many husbands beat their wives, fight their wives' lovers and express their aggression in many ways. Furthermore, mothers encourage their sons to return to their wives.

It would seem that a man has the strongest bonds with his mother and with [602]
his sister. Toward them he must control his aggression most carefully. I have never heard of a brother and sister or a mother and son fighting. Usually the son comes to the mother's defense. Helen told me that her son always told her husband to let her alone when he started to pick on her. It will be remembered that Mrs. M.'s son helped her beat her husband.

A man, then, is closely tied to and dependent on his mother and sisters. This relationship must cause many frustrations. In addition, both his sisters and his
mother are undoubtedly sexually provocative. Evidence of this can be seen in the [855]
fact that brother-sister incest does occur; two cases were reported for the last ten years. The fact that young men are often attracted to older women suggests the strength of the mother-son attraction. Paiute culture has had to meet this problem on two different levels. In the first place the problem arises of a woman refusing
to let a man marry her daughter unless he also sleeps with her. Billy Pete started to [584
court a young girl and the girl's mother, Hannah, promised that he could have the 837]
girl if he slept with her. As a result Billy is now married to Hannah and not to the young girl. Numerous other cases of this type were reported; the most usual solution seems to be for the man to marry the girl and keep the mother satisfied by
sleeping with her occasionally. This seems to be in contradiction to certain evidence 606
of mother-in-law avoidance; it is stated that a man should be shy with his mother- 837
in-law when he first lives in her household, that he should keep his eyes on the 154
ground in her presence and only speak when spoken to. It would seem that this may be a cultural adjustment to the fact that a man is attracted to his mother-in-law and she to him, and that the avoidance is because of guilt feelings and to prevent sexual relations between the two. Obviously it is also a protection for the daughter.

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[3] A girl's relation to her brother-in-law is quite a different matter. He is her potential husband [607]
under both the living and dead sororate. Their relationship is one of joking and sexual by-play. A girl's sister must repress all feelings of jealousy. The same type of relationship exists between a woman and her husband's brother. She under the levirate is her husband's brother's potential wife. A husband must repress all jealousy of this relationship.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that under-
neath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite
mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in inter-
578 family relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gam-
bling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have
[754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed,
although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of
sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This
seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably
displaced from the family.

[684 Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights
● 837] between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part
to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels
[157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that
aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers
and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the
Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception
[423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that
if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their
[420] trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They
also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of
friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from
the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and
had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them.
However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches
[231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but
gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The
Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief
[579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competi-
tive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless.
[525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights
arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

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[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

1 561 na'akwai-mogo'tai; middle-aged woman
wa'i'tsi; old man
pii'wabᵘ; old woman
mua'rüpü; old person of either sex

● [838] A berdache and a sterile individual were called by the same term. Minnie Anderson had never heard of the former; she said "it would be bad luck for a man to wear women's clothing." Piudy knew of a woman who acted like a man; "she killed deer and stayed with the men all the time." Hermaphrodites affected the clothing of the opposite sex; they were never shamans and never tried to marry. No cure was known; "the Klamath could cure them but not we."

BIRTH

1-1 844 Birth took place in a special house (huni'-no'bi)[183] of tules or grass. It was built by women, presumably relatives or friends of the principal, and was situated north of the dwelling.

A woman in labor was assisted by three or four women including her mother. Certain individuals may possibly have been recognized as midwives. This was denied by one informant,[184] but "a woman who knows about such things" figures occasionally and for convenience she is referred to as the midwife. Assistants at birth might be paid, but there was evidently no feeling of compulsion. If a person had a deer hide the assistants might be given moccasins; "this was big pay."

The parturient kneeled, clinging to a post erected in front of her. The midwife supported her from behind, pressing downward on the abdomen. The child was received into a small hole previously dug and filled with grass and sagebrush bark. The umbilical cord was cut about an inch from the body, doubled back on itself, and tied with sinew. This operation was performed by the midwife, who used an obsidian knife. The cord was wrapped in rabbit or other skin and attached to the cradle beneath the child's head. One informant stated that it was tied to one side of the awning, but this doubtless refers to [846] later cradles. When the child began to walk, the cord was hidden in a hill of the red ant. If the cord were lost the child would "scratch around looking for it" and would never be able to do things well.[185] If the child died the cord (sai') was buried with it. The placenta

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[183] The menstrual hut is similarly named. I could not determine if they were one and the same or if they were two separate structures.

[184] "Everybody knows about babies" (NH).

[185] A similar belief is held by the Walapai. For further comparative material see Spier, Havasupai, 521.

764
765
[587]

women until relieved of these restrictions by her father-in-law or mother-in-law. Sarah mentions signal-fires used to announce the death of a chief.[1]

A Wind River Indian who died was dressed up in his best clothing, painted, carried to the mountains, and deposited in a cleft or cave, which was blocked up lest the corpse be attacked by animals. This practice continued until recent times. Formerly the mourners would go off to one side and stay in a rude shelter. The women cut their hair short, gashed their legs, and removed their leggings for several days. When the hair had grown long again, the mourner returned home and the mourning period ceased. If a man died, one of his horses was taken to the grave and killed there so that his soul could ride away on it. Corpses were taken out by the door. If a person died in a house, the house was abandoned. A tipi was either buried with the owner or appropriated by a friend not related to the owner, for if a relative kept it he would die from the same cause. It was believed that if one member of a family died of some special cause, e.g., disease, the next would die for the same reason; for example, if one child was killed, all children would be killed. If a Shoshoni had been killed by the enemy, the people tried to recover his body; if they had slain an enemy, they would drag the corpse away and leave it exposed.

Wilson also describes cleft burial as the normal form. He speaks of a specific case in which a boy was mourned by the whole camp for five days. The corpse was put into a crevice together with bedding and various utensils, and three horses were killed and buried with the deceased.[2]

BERDACHES.

●838 A Shivwits informant recollected hearing people speak of a man who never hunted and though not dressing like a woman acted like one and had a feminine voice. He would lead the women with a basket when they went seed-gathering and roasted seeds like them. He was married to two men, sleeping with each on alternate nights. In myths such persons are called *ma+dī'pots.*

Among the Southern Ute Panayūs remembered hearing his father tell of a berdache (*tuwdsawits*), who owned a great many horses. Possibly as many as half a dozen boys would stay there and have him cook for them. One morning when the berdache rose early one of the boys was lying on the side as she was stirring the ashes and "she" touched his member with her feet. The boy got angry and kicked her, then she walked away and would not cook for them any more, so the other boys got angry at the one who had offended her. At Ouray my informant saw two berdaches himself, and my interpreter Tony recalled one he had seen there about eighteen years ago,—a tall stout man, also another one of short stature at Whiterocks. 000

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[1] Hopkins, 21, 41, 66, 70, 120.
[2] Wilson, 85, 195.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake recalled a man who wore woman's dress, made basketwork and did laundry work. This was about twenty years ago (in 1914). Such men are called *t'ū ʙás*, *t'ūʙ̄áse moγó'ne* or (better), *tūʙázanân*^{a}. 838

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

None of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes possessed a clan or gentile organization. 000

A strongly developed central authority was likewise lacking, but as might be expected from their Plains affiliations the Shoshoni had an institution for regulating the march and the communal hunt,—two societies the Yellow Noses and the Logs, who acted as policemen (*tīrakône*). Their activities have already been described.[1] Wilson speaks of a war chief in addition to the camp chief and reproduces a picture of this functionary's lodge in 1861.[2]

The Shoshoni reflect Plains contact in other ways, perhaps most of all in the influence of war deeds on social prestige. The head chief (*tŭ'wutc tīgwani*) was a brave who had killed some enemies. According to one informant the chief long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick (*bándzugu wúkidûwi*), with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him down from his horse. Mőpotsi is remembered as an important chief who held office for a long time; Washakie came at a later period, being contemporaneous with my informant's father. There was another position of distinction, that of herald, which likewise depended on a man's martial record. There might be three heralds at one time, in which case the one with the best voice would make the announcements. The chief would decide where buffalo were to be hunted and where the people were to camp. When the Bannock and Shoshoni traveled together, each tribe had a chief of its own, and the two jointly made these decisions, the Shoshoni chief taking the lead.[3] The title of chief was used somewhat vaguely for distinguished men, all of whom

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[1] This series Vol. XI, 11, 813 et seq.

[2] Wilson, 70, 112 seq.

[3] This assertion must of course be taken with a grain of salt.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	N W A 591
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	N W A
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	684
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	586
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	548
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
*2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	A 836

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
*2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N 606
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	A
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	602
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A 605
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	607

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	597

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
*2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
*2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	838
*2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	●
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	N
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
2100. Female berdache (moroni moho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[842]
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	N
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[787]

[p. 405]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N
606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N
● 838

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

N
[842
848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N
[841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N
[787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N
462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N
621
622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W
[621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W
[622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N
634
535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him mügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toraviwoya, were old-time dance

[p. 440(A)]

In theory, female shamans may become as powerful as the male 756
doctors. In practice, however, it appears that all the outstand- 562
ing practitioners are, and have been, men. On the other hand, female shamans are highly respected and are on an equal footing with their male colleagues; some may even have stronger powers than the less prominent male shamans. Moreover, according to several informants, women can acquire powers which are used, as with men, for purposes other than curing.

> Women who have power are as strong as men shamans. One time
> there was a woman who had a power that protected her against bullets.
> When the Indians were fighting the soldiers, she rode out in front of [789
> them to attract their attention while the women and children got away. 726]
> The soldiers shot at her but their bullets did not hurt her. She had the
> same power as men shamans. (Joe Green)

Apparently berdaches never became shamans. The several 756
transvestites who are remembered by people living today were 838
certainly not shamans. Lowie recorded only one case of sex-reversal among the Pyramid Lake Paviotso. This occurred some twenty years before his visit, and apparently shamanistic powers were not ascribed to the individual.[5] Sarah Winnemucca mentions the case of one cowardly warrior who was forced to don women's clothing and perform tasks allotted to that sex, but there is no reference to the possession of power.[6] This as well as the evidence in my own notes suggests that berdaches were of relatively infrequent occurrence and of slight importance. Certainly, they became shamans rarely, if ever, and clearly never as the result of their condition.

Acquiring shamanistic power, and later the exercise of power, 756
is an individual affair. This is true both for the power derived from unsolicited dreams and from the voluntary quest. Power is never acquired by people in groups or at public performances, but is the result of private personal experiences.

The acquisition of power involves more than the development of a personal relationship with a particular spirit. When shamanistic power is conferred, the candidate not only secures a spirit helper but also acquires those special abilities or capacities neces-

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[5] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 283.

[6] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 70.

Wadátkuht

762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her. As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she
[557] had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to drink some cream and saved her life.

561 Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded:
192 baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi; young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman, biawuhb.

● 838 Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment,
[177] however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white standards.

648 Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River
[754] people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however, and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean". Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one) in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

(hidu'p^{a}) was carefully buried. If it were eaten by a dog, coyote, or other animal, barrenness would result.[196] 844

Head presentation was normal; other forms were likely to prove fatal. A shaman was not summoned even in difficult cases. A weasel[197] skin was kept at hand, and if delivery were slow, the abdomen was whipped with the pelt. 845

A "hot bed (dü'avida[198]; also nadü'na.iʔ) was previously prepared by the woman's mother or grandmother. It consisted of a large hole containing coals upon which juniper boughs had been stacked, and a blanket thrown over the whole. After delivery the woman was placed on this bed,[199] where she stayed "as long as she wanted. If she were healthy she stayed only a week, but many stayed two weeks." While on the pit, the woman employed a scratching stick. Sometimes she pressed a moccasin to her abdomen and bound it there with sagebrush bark to assist in contraction. She was supposed to bathe every five days. 846

Following delivery the woman was given only warm water; nowadays she is allowed tea, but coffee is barred because it is too strong. According to one account, the woman was denied meat and fish for a period of one month, her husband sharing the taboo for five days only. Another account has it that neither parent could resume regular diet until the cord fell from the baby. The man and his wife shared various pre-natal observances which will be noted below.

An infant was not put to breast for one or two days, during which time it was given only warm water. To insure an abundant supply of milk, a stone was heated in the fire, milk dropped upon it, and burned.[200] A child was suckled until able to walk, even in the event of a subsequent pregnancy, if possible until delivery. The practice seems to be economic at base, for I was told, "White people don't have to do this; they have enough food." 853

Twins were rare and were not destroyed at birth. No explanation of dual births was given; "they just happened." My informant could recall one instance of twins, nine or ten years ago. Both died in infancy. The usual belief in a sympathetic bond uniting twins is 845 tioned upon a subsequent occasion, she denied knowledge of it. Other informants consistently denied the drinking tube. The adolescent was expected to avoid people, but was not required to cover her face. She tied her hair with sagebrush bark and braided circlets of it which she wore about her wrists, upper arms, knees, and ankles as a safeguard against rheumatism. She also wore a braided belt of sagebrush bark. 881

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[196] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 300.

[197] "They used a weasel skin because Weasel is a lucky man" (JB).

[198] Also pit oven.

[199] The "hot bed" was said by one informant to have been used in cases of severe menstrual pain. This is somewhat reminiscent of the southern California custom of "pit roasting" adolescent girls. [841] ●

[200] Corbusier, 330, notes milk-burning for the Apache-Mohave and Apache-Yuma.

At the conclusion of the month, the girl exchanged her buckskin dress with another girl or threw it away if she had no friend with whom to trade it. She bathed herself thoroughly in a stream, but did not sweat at this time.[295] According to one informant the girl painted her face with red paint at the conclusion of the month; but this was not mentioned by others. One informant described a celebration following her emergence from seclusion: a man sang a song; many people gathered roots; and everyone, including the girl, enjoyed a feast.

After this a girl was free to marry, which she usually did within the year.

MENSTRUAL OBSERVANCES

A menstruating woman retired to a special lodge (huni′-nobi; huni′, menstrual blood) where she remained in seclusion for five days.[296] If a person happened to inquire for a woman during her absence, he was told, "Hu″na patsa'"; she killed a badger. This was the conventional way of indicating that the woman was in retirement. The menstrual lodge was built to the north of the main house, but no reason for the orientation was given except that "it comes from the north." Several menstruating women might occupy a hut jointly. Daisy Brown stated that the special lodge was used only at the first menses but this was denied by other informants. She also stated that "over in Nevada they have to use it all the time." This may apply to the McDermitt band. For the Pyramid Lake Paviotso, Lowie's data are mainly negative, but it is of some interest to note that one of the tales recorded by him contains the word for birth or menstrual lodge.[297] 841 ● [195] [343]

Men never approached the lodge, as illness and death were thought to follow contact with a menstruating woman. Such contacts were

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[295] Cf. Lowie, SE, 273.

[296] Three or four days according to MA.

[297] Written huni′no'Bi by him, ST, 201. The Shoshonean cognate is hü′na-ga'n' (gan', lodge), Lowie, NS, 214.

● 841 especially deleterious to a shaman's power. According to Joshua, "All Indians—Paiute, Warm Springs, Achomawi, Klamath, Shoshone, and Umatilla—believe the same. They have to watch closely, or men will die." A shaman could neutralize the ill effects of a menstruant by smearing red paint about her wrist or by making a circle of red paint on the floor of the house and singing. After this procedure, the woman was not required to retire to the special hut.[298]

Minnie said that an older menstruant was not obliged to use the scratching stick. She abstained however from eating game. The results of breaking the game taboo were given variously as: the hunter would not be able to shoot more game; the hunter would die; he would just dry up, and death would come quickly as with tuberculosis. A less personal consequence was that the antelope might break out of the corral.[299]

The menstrual hut has fallen into disuse and I was told that the food taboos are no longer observed. There are vestiges however of the latter.

MARRIAGE

582 Formerly a boy married at about twenty; a girl was considerably younger, marriage following immediately upon puberty. There is general agreement that "nowadays they marry too young."

581 The prime requisite of a husband was that he be a good hunter. A man would tell his daughter, "Be sure you get a good man; be sure he can catch deer." The ideal wife was industrious and gathered many roots; no man wanted to marry a lazy woman. According to Minnie, "A girl wouldn't have an old man; she wanted someone just a little older than herself." Daisy thought otherwise, "Some girls would marry a man much older if he were a good hunter." Previous marriage was no serious bar, but "a man preferred a young girl. A widowed or divorced woman usually married an older man."

584 Parents frequently arranged a match. They might urge their son to marry a certain girl. A man with daughters would pick out a good hunter and say, "You marry that man." Daisy thought that the girl usually liked the man her parents selected; "she wanted plenty to eat." But Joshua said, "Many girls wouldn't mind, even in the old days." Elopement seems to have been rare. "A girl might like a boy, but she couldn't marry him if her father didn't like him;

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[298] JB.

[299] Reported for the Pyramid Lake band by Lowie, SE, 274.

000 back and forth like a horse in training. While she was trotting in this fashion, her mother gave her instructions about the menstrual lodge and its regulations. Then she would make a brush structure or "blood lodge" (*na'd'γan*) for her daughter. The next time the girl would know what to do. The brush lodge was erected about a quarter of a mile from home and a brush bed was prepared there. Sometimes several girls having their menses at the same time jointly constructed a larger shelter for themselves. During the three or four nights spent there meat was tabooed: a married woman's husband would have bad luck in the chase if she ate meat. It is worth noting that among the Northern Maidu a husband was debarred from hunting during his wife's illness.[1] Young Ute men were permitted to go to the blood lodge and make love to their sweethearts within, but they were warned not to attempt cohabitation lest they fall sick in later life, and girls were told by their mothers that carnal intercourse in the lodge would make them short-lived. Menstruating women were never allowed to attend a dance. At the time of my visit these rules were largely obsolete at Ignacio, while the Uintah declared that the menstrual lodge was still in vogue. These Northern Ute share with their Southern kinsmen the meat taboo and the courting custom. When a girl menstruated for the first time, an old woman made her take a bath and washed her thoroughly. She had to remain alone in a blood lodge for ten days, when she was again washed by the old woman. Thereafter her period of seclusion was shortened by a day every successive month until it was reduced to the normal span of three days.[2] Sometimes a small girl or boy would sleep in the shelter with a menstruating woman.

841 [343] Both on the Pyramid Lake Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, my Paviotso informants denied the use of a special menstrual lodge, though they knew of its occurrence among the Shoshoni. This was confirmed at Lovelocks by Annie Lowry, who told me that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people. However, at Pyramid Lake menstruating women were not supposed to enter the place where a sick person was staying and the meat taboo was enforced, the diet being largely confined to seeds. 881 841 At Pyramid Lake Old Winnemucca said that during her first menses a girl had to carry sagebrush for firewood every day for five days and the neighbors would use the wood.[3] After the five days the girl took a sweatbath and cleansed her-

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[1] Dixon, (a), 239.

[2] A gradual shortening of the period has been noted by Professor Kroeber among the Mohave.

[3] Cf. Dixon, (a), 238; *idem*., (b), 456.

841 self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope 881 impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she re- [882] turned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants. The entire ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.[1] Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual (343) lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge 000 is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo, which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.[2] The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.[3]

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[1] Hopkins, 48.

[2] Lowie, 214.

[3] Franciscan Fathers, 446.

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone. 224

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:— 224 796 [539]

wázunaq	ína	hāûʙa	wō̆'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?

hāûʙa.	nō̆'mōnáqa	ína	hāûʙa.
? .	Somebody's ear	?	?

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained. [756] [787] [841] [857]

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nö'qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N
A
343
515

N
A
[757]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
732. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	-	•+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	·	-	•+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	-	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	•+	-
748a.Optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•-	+
749. Smoking while bathing	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+
750a.Men and women together used	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	-
751. Women used	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
752a.Up to 7	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
752b.10 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
753. Use as clubhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
[423]

● N
A
343
● [340]
N
[764]

Miscellaneous Houses

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
760. Dog house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Small, domed willow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Special grinding house	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
763. Menstrual house	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	·	-	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-
763c.Burial in caves	·	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-

N
346

764. Ceremonial Enclosure

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
764. Ceremonial Enclosure	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
765. For general gatherings only	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
766. Circular	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Brush fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768. Direction of opening: W and S (2)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768a.E	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
768b.Any direction	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
770. Fires around fence	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N
W
A
501

NAVIGATION

	Ts	Kl	K2	Hh	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Ak
772. Pole or log raft	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-
773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
774. No. of bundles: 3	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•-	-
774a.4 or more	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
778a.8-12	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b.12 or over	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
779. Prow curved up	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
780. No. of persons held: 2	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p.380]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N
W
A
881

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2351. Scratching stick of wood	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2352. Single	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+

MENSTRUATION (mmandrarai)

N ●
W
A
841 ●

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2354. Seclusion	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2355. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2356. Until flow stops	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2357. Special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2359. Attendant: grandmother	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2365. Cooking forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372. Avoid hunters	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2374. Fishing forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2378. Husband must hunt	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

BOY'S PUBERTY
(See also 369-374.)

N
W
A
881

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2379. Confinement 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2380. Head scratcher used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
2384. Mother washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2384a. Father washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+

DEATH CUSTOMS

N
W
A
764

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2395. Tracks of dead covered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	-	+
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

N
W
A
[767]

[p.411]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 342 678. Tg: Although no special storehouse was built, an elevated cache was prepared and covered with a woven sagebrush-bark mat.

686. Kü: + (AL). Wd: - (SC).

Sweat House

N 343 Sweat house: nasanovi (Atsa); navaduva (Küpa); navagia novi (Tagö).

688. K2: Sweat house is a recent acquisition from northern tribes. Kü: + (AL). GN said old-time Paiutes took hot baths in warm mineral springs, but sweat-house baths were not known. AL denied this and insisted that her grandmother took steam baths and maintained that it was a Paiute institution. GN and AL both were used for some parts of list. Unless their ideas disagree no mention will be made; the reader may assume that all data are from GN or that AL substantiated data, unless a note explains the contrary. To: BS and LP both said that sweat bathing was a recent acquisition but it is now firmly instituted. + (Lowie, 308): "The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory 'naBarinana.'" Pa: - (Curtis, 70). "At Walker lake sudatories were unknown" (Curtis, 169). Tg: Although the sweat house is almost universally used by the Paiute on Owyhee Reservation, DS said the Tagö never had it in old days. The Tagö Paiute learned it from the Warm Springs Indians, the Araitsi, a non-Paiute band. Sweat house first used by Paiute about 60 years ago.

689. Ki: + (Kelly, 202, pl. 19,b).

704. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265, fig. 4). A conical earth-covered semisubterranean sweat house was denied by my informants.

713. Ts: ND had seen a gabled, grass- and earth-covered sweat house at Honey Lake, built against a hillside. Wa: "The sweat house was W [343] an earth-covered, conical hut over a shallow excavation. Three forked posts, set respectively in the center and near the rear of the pit, supported a two-piece ridgepole, against which willow poles and slabs of bark were leaned. Heat was generated directly by fire. The sweat bath, instead of being a regularly recurring event, was employed only to relieve actual physical ills" (Curtis, 94).

727. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

728. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

733. To: + (Lowie, 308).

735. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

744. Ki: Bather prays to sun (Kelly, 203).

745. To: - (LP).

747, 748a. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

750, 751. Ki: "Women never used sweat house" (CW). "Women bathe alone sometimes" (KH). "Women and men sweat together" (BA).

753-759. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

● N [344] 763. Kü: GN insisted that Küpa menstrual hut existed in pre-white days. He knew that Kuyui had no menstrual hut.

N 763,b,c. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

346 764. Paviotso: "The dance house a brush en-

[p.430(2)]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell. N [842 848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

● N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N [787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravinoya, were old-time dance

Achomawi N55

N
881 time to dance 5 nights." These dances are still held by Achomawi.

A
[881 2306. Ki: + (Kelly, 162).

2307. Wa: Confined 4 days.

535] 2309. Kü: Annie Lowry told me a special menstrual hut was always known by Paiute, but she told Lowie "that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people" (Lowie, 273). Tg: Even today, nearly all houses on Owyhee Reservation have special "moon house" in rear.
533]
N
[343]

2321. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2322. Wa: + (Curtis, 96).

2328, 2330. Kü: - (GN).

2330a. K2: At first menstruation girl is called "moon runner," because she has to run in a large circle, stopping 5 times to make a bed of young sagebrush. She lies on each a moment, then runs and makes new bed. "Moon runner" is accompanied by other adult girls and is followed by an old woman who carries a basket jug of water with which she bathes the girl at the end of the course. At the finish place a fire has been built by anyone. Here the old woman bathes girl and steams her as she stands over a smudge from green sagebrush. Hot rocks are mixed among the smoking sage so that steam rises when water is poured on. The girl standing straddle of the smudge and rock is bathed in steam. This ceremony takes place at dusk of first day of menstrual flow. At: Girl pulls 6 sagebrush and puts them on other brush before she takes wood home. Wa: Special dance held at first and second menses. Everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During 4-day confinement girl eats nothing. AE: See note 2304.

2331. Paviotso: Girl secluded 25 days, but had to pile 5 piles of wood daily (Hopkins, 48).

2332, 2339. Kü: - (AL).

2340. Kü: - (GN).

2341a. Paviotso: Girl took bath at end of each 5 days of her first menstrual seclusion of 25 days (Hopkins, 48).

2342. Paviotso: Sweatbath taken to cleanse self after 5 days (Lowie, 273).

2345. Ki: + (Kelly, 162): or clothes were traded. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2348, 2351. Kü: - (GN).

N
2354. Ki: + (Kelly, 163): but on page 164
● 841 she reports that woman did not have to retire
[343] to special hut if red ring was painted on wrist or circle of red paint made in house; she also mentioned that this practice of seclusion has fallen into disuse.

A
2366. AE: If intercourse indulged in during
[801 menses, man will become impotent at early age.
842] 2371, 2377, 2378. Kü: - (GN).

2372a. K2: If a woman and her husband wish to gamble during her menstruation, they paint
N a red circle around each wrist. Some think it a
777 luck time.

[p.442(B)]

Achomawi N55

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [541] 2595. Tö: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. Kü: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipö distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipö as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." DM said it N [525 777] could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after N 782 digging it. DM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipö. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DV described muipö by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. Kl: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] 2652. Kü: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from A [535] Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. Kü: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. Kl: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. Kü: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnââ-nûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

[p. 444(?)]

He sings and sucks the bite. At the end of five days he does the same thing. Then 752 755
the patient is all right.

Payment of fees.—Both the shaman and interpreter were paid by the 756
sick person or his relatives. Nowadays the shaman receives about five
dollars for each night and the interpreter two or three dollars. In the old [865]
days both were paid with skins, moccasins, or beads. The fee that a shaman
asks is set by his power. If he asks more or less than his power instructs [753]
harm will come to him. He will sicken and no longer be able to doctor. [688]

> About five years ago a lot of the doctors started to charge fifteen or twenty dollars to sing for people. They tried to make a lot of money. Their powers got angry. Many of them were very sick.

Informants did not agree that the shaman returned the fee in case he
was not successful in curing the patient. Some said that he was expected
to return the fee if the patient died or failed to get better, while others [579]
stated that he could do so if he wanted. "People liked him better if he returned the money." It was insisted that frequently the shaman refused to
give back the fee.

Failure to obey the instructions of the shaman when he is doctoring a 755
sick person results in harm for both the patient and the shaman. If the 753
relatives do not paint the patient just as the doctor tells them or if any of his instructions are disregarded there will be no recovery and in addition the shaman will sicken and lose his power.

> Pete Powell was doctoring in Yerington. People did not do what he told them. Ever since he has been paralyzed. He can't talk anymore and he is always sick. He doesn't doctor anymore. I guess he has no more power. When he doctored he did'nt go into a trance.

Menstruating women are not allowed to be present at a doctoring. If [841]
a woman in that condition comes when a shaman is singing he detects it at once.

> A shaman finds it out at once. His voice gets hoarse when he tries to sing. Then he tells her to get some red paint. He makes a circle around the fire with it and makes the woman paint herself. Then she has to leave.

Specialists.—Most shamans were credited with the power to treat any 756
kind of disease. However, some doctors were supposed to be especially good in curing certain things. Jack Wilson was an excellent doctor for gunshot wounds. Those with power from rattlesnakes could cure people who had been bitten by snakes better than other shamans. Formerly there were Paviotso shamans to whom were ascribed strong powers for curing the wounds made by poisoned arrows.

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died. [585] [578] [755]

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through. [784] [841] [843]

756 224 789 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music. [533]

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets 754
out to exterminate the common danger. 755

There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had 683
made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the [766]
usual way.

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feath- 764
ers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit
of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's 775
ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property.

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They 756
always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over 533
again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A 756
shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reserva- 754
tion until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, 648
visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick.

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only 841 ●
when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate 755
with such women.

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it 756
necessary to avoid his glance.

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism 756
are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie 114
noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 787

753
died. Helen reported constant nocturnal disturbances around the shed in which her 775
stepfather died. She finally persuaded her husband to tear it down.

The fourth type of sickness is caused by "bad blood." The information 753
gathered on this kind of disease is confused, but the theory seems to be that blood
gets old, turns dark red or sometimes green and hardens inside the body. The old
blood is hot and makes the body ache or causes excessive sweating. Sometimes the
blood goes bad because there is too much of it in the body, sometimes because of [754]
old age, and sometimes because of sorcery. Usually when a man believes that his [755
sickness is caused by "bad blood," he goes to a specialist in blood-letting, but sometimes 757]
he calls in a doctor.[a]

A man's blood may also be contaminated by coming in contact with menstrual 841 ●
blood. According to informants, the refusal of the young women to retire to 753
menstrual huts for the duration of their periods has made several of the men very
ill. Furthermore, the breaking of the taboo on eating meat during menstruation is
responsible for some sickness. Johnny Black attributed a severe pain in his leg to the
fact that some menstruating woman had eaten game which he had killed.

These, then, are the main causes of disease which make it necessary for the
family and friends of a sick person to send for a specialist. The layman, although
he may speculate endlessly, cannot definitely determine which of these four causes [755
is responsible for the illness. He turns to the doctor for diagnosis and cure. 756]

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[a] The specialist in blood-letting is not a doctor. Some doctors are thought to have special power to work on people who are "sick from their own blood."

paid in silver which is placed in a cup of water until the doctoring is completed. 755 If a woman is ill, it is customary for some woman relative to take the money to the 756 doctor; if a man, a male relative. Occasionally when a doctor is on some case, he will treat the minor or chronic ills of other persons for a reduced rate, charging only one dollar for such service.

The choice of doctors is limited. In the old days, when the camp groups were scattered, it was usually necessary to send someone in search of a doctor and there was little opportunity for choice if the matter was pressing. Today, when the community is localized and there are two doctors, the family will choose the one they trust most—the one who has been most successful in treating the family. If the disease is unusual, however, and one in which the other doctor is reputed to be particularly versed, they may summon him instead of the family doctor. For example, some doctors have a reputation for being particularly adept at working on unconscious people. If the symptoms have lingered for a long time and doctorings have not been successful, the family may postpone further treatment until they can get some visiting doctor from another locality or band.

The doctor, after he has been summoned and paid according to his specifications, sets a time and a place for the doctoring. In the old days, it seems to have been customary to construct a special house for the ceremony. If the weather was clement, a sagebrush enclosure sufficed; when this was impractical, a thule or cloth house was set up. Nowadays, the doctorings are held in the ordinary wooden dwellings, usually the home of the patient. A stove replaces the old fireplace which was located in the center of the dwelling. Formerly, the patient was placed on one side of the door and the spectators sat in a circle inside and close to the walls of the house, leaving the central space around the fireplace clear. In so far as it is possible, the same arrangement is attempted in the frame house, although the position of the stove usually necessitates a slightly different organization.

Doctorings usually take place soon after sundown and last late into the night, sometimes until dawn. There were a few exceptions to this recorded. In one instance the doctoring took place in the day time because the patients were drunk in the evening when the doctor had said he would work, and, since he was leaving Burns the following evening, he agreed to work in the morning.

It is considered important to have a large company present for each doctoring. [841 All adults, except pregnant or menstruating women, are permitted to attend. It is 843] claimed that such women cause the patient to sweat, and, when they attend the meetings despite the taboo, they are thought to cause some doctors to become hoarse and have difficulty in speaking. Children are not allowed. In the old days when the camp groups were small, every one in the community who was able usually attended; but now, when the community is much larger, the people who participate seem to be limited to the members of the patient's family and clique.

In the old days, the doctor had no distinctive costume. He wore a breechclout [292]

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just three horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior.* The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows [354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some [251] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows, particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] 2. *Grass House.* The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. *Bark House* (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. *Cave House.* Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. *Cloth House.* The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. *Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks.* These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[342 841] 7. *Shades.* These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. *Winter Menstrual Hut.* This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[342] 9. *Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

343 844 10. *Birth House.* This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

863 At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when
881 he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

863 When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.[a]
881 The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and
841 menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. Girls
[343] are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

DEATH

763 When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The
764 wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

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[343] [a] Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from 756
any other bird. 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

/ The shaman's pipe (tɔ̆ıc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden 756
stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of 778
the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, 276
few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for [178]
social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ̆ıc).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order
to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence [841]
of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions. /

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in 756
their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as 778
bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of 534
eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

755 clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own [302] style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left; the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range themselves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if [841 they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are 843] required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

756 The number of songs and their length vary with different 533 shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be
seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841] ●
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these condi- [843]
tions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and
escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in
the drive.

When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 224 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [832]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope
have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.

[23] Ibid., 55–57.

W
171 contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique
177 features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.
*795 Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead
N the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even
W act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes
171 formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times
177 "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one
562 among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even
*795 menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a prac-
tice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full partici-
● [841] pation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely
it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

N
W La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this
privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible]
[796] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The par-
ticipation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

N
W The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found
elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben,
171 admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not
177 have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meet-
*795 ing too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs
N during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part
W of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs
[533] they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from
conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing.
W Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual
[534] to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight
[237] prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual
because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam.
[955] Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can."
This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

Wadatkuht

754 do so. The following morning she got her husband and the two
of them went out and prayed at sunrise. Kitty, the two doctors,
755 and the others were present at this time. Gladys was left at
home. As soon as the old woman had apologized and prayed
Gladys got well.

754 Another means of putting a curse on someone was as
follows. If a woman ate game during her period her act was
[841] detected when the hunter's gun flashed red flames and was not
[262] accurate. The hunter, realizing that his poor shooting was
due to the fact that some young woman had eaten meat killed
[787] with his gun during her monthly period, would take steps to
make his gun shoot straight and, additionally, put a curse on
754 the guilty woman. The hunter might not know just who the
woman was, but in purifying his gun he automatically put a
783 curse on her and she would become ill within a year and might
die.

[824] To purify his gun the hunter chopped up wild parsnip,
hakí^{nukpa}, and poured hot water over it. The hot water and parsnip were used to bathe the gun, which was done over an ant hill. Sometimes a hunter would bind his arm at this time and cut a vein and bleed onto the parsnip which had fallen into the ant hill (but he did not bleed on the gun). Joaquin did this to his gun, in secret, and later his sister-in-law turned black and got quite ill. She was worked on by a doctor and was saved because he found out that Joaquin had purified his gun in this manner. Joaquin was required to go away and pray for the woman's recovery since the doctor, Ba'ba'^{yu} Nick, "Big Nick", had found out what he had done.

The following account describes what might happen to a
754 sorcerer who had poisoned someone. A Wadátkuht man's two
683 children, it is said, were poisoned by a shaman, Nunu'kai,
Ike's father. After the children died Nunu'kai felt guilty about what he had done and became sick. One day the children's father entered Nunu'kai's brush house, while the latter was taking a nap, and said: "You won't eat anybody more, I am going to give you some of your own medicine". With that the man shot Nunu'kai and carried his body outside and threw it upon a brush fire he had kindled just before entering Nunu'kai's house. All of this occurred at Nunu'kai's village at Secret Valley, and everyone in the village left when they smelled the burning flesh, and Ike's mother burned their house.

755 Curing Accident Victims. Once when Gladys' brother and another boy were driving a buckboard the horses became

5 845 thus expressed: "If one dies, the other thinks, 'I have to go too,' and it usually dies." Multiple births and monsters were unknown.

6 846 The father of a new-born child was obliged to follow a definite course of action in addition to observing certain food taboos. Far from being barred from work, he was urged to work unusually hard lest he be "lazy all his life." He was allowed access to the hut but was not present at birth; he waited outside, keeping the fire burning. When the child arrived, he ran to the creek and bathed. Pindy said that at the birth of each child, a man was expected to run up hill and gather wood. He then returned, and swam in the creek. For five days he followed this procedure. He was obliged to change his clothing, either throwing it away or, if poor, trading with someone else.

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each. He thought that a family averaged between six and eight children, but most of them died in infancy; "sometimes nearly all died." 163 Minnie said that in the old days a woman did not have more than three or four children; she may have been counting only those surviving. However, she remarked in jest, "Nowadays they have too [842] ● many children. They eat hogs and chickens; hogs have lots of pigs and chickens have lots of eggs. I guess that's why they have so many babies now!"

DEATH OBSERVANCES

When a person—man, woman, or child—died, his friends and 765 relatives gathered, and cried, and wailed. Both men and women cut their hair short as a badge of mourning and buried the hair or "just threw it away."

The haircut showed camp visitors that a person had lost a relative—mother, boy, daughter, or wife—without his actually having to tell about it (JB).

If a person felt very badly he might take an arrowpoint and slash his face, forearm, upper arm, and thigh, but not his chest. This was done in mourning an adult. Sometimes mourners threw ashes on their faces; sometimes they did not bathe for "a long time." The face was not painted black, nor was there any mourning necklace, but both of these traits were known as Achomawi customs. Minnie said that mourners took a sweat-bath, otherwise the children of the deceased would die. A person in mourning refrained from hunting a couple of days, but he was free to eat the first game he captured. Mourners were told, "You have children; you had better try to live."

An expiring individual was not moved outside to die, nor was a 763 corpse removed by a special exit. The body was not washed before interment, nor was it oriented in any particular fashion. It was 764 wrapped in "good tanned deer skin" and carried on horseback or, in the old days, by two or three men. Formerly it was not taken far away and the camp was moved; but with the advent of horses, it was taken well into the hills. There seems to have been no marked fear of contamination, as persons handling the body were not required to bathe or to change their clothing.

No grave was dug; a few rocks were removed and the body deposited in the cavity. As Joshua put it, "Just hide him away in the [766] rocks." Sometimes a man's moccasins and bows were placed alongside. One informant,[211] reported cremation for certain cases. "Some-

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[211] JB.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
*2050. Prostitution	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2054. Speech taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2056. "Respect" required	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2058. Avoidance continues for life	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2060. Brother sister	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+

Joking Relations

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Adoption

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
*2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
*2091. Wears woman's dress	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
*2092. Does woman's work	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2094. Marriage to man	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2095. Lives with man	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2102. Does man's work	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
2103. Has male organs	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2104. Marriage to woman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2106. Is shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

N W A 591

N W A 684

586

N 548

N A 836

N 606

N A 602

N W A 605 607

N W A 597

N W A 838

N W A [842]

N [787]

[p. 405]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Kl: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

● N [842 848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N [787] 2110. Kl: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravimoya, were old-time dance

[p.440(A)]

Achomawi NS5

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A [846] 2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kŭ: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kŭ: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

N [774 761] 2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. N ●[842] At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be deformed. A deformed child called nayla dŏkŏpŏ ("gopher ate some off").

N 836 847 684 2293. K2, Kŭ: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). A [881 [535 533] AE: At first menses girl dances 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard

[p.442(A)]

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784 525] A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

WadatKuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun^{a}. A [752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in a powdered form to the wounds. [232]

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

● [842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 [182] [124] Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 [683] Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

[211] 805 the appropriate knots to indicate the lapse of a day. He claimed a twenty-day month with one month, Paba'-mũha (big moon), having twenty-three days. This he identified with July. He could not recall further details or the names of other months, and his twenty-day month was not verified by other informants.

● [843] Joshua was positive on the score of record keeping. He averred that "some women" knotted cords to aid them in reckoning the duration of pregnancy. "They kept it just like a calendar, every day. Sometimes they cut scratches on a stick instead." He also said that in winter a cut was made each day in a large stick and that a new month was indicated by a cut of extra length. Knotted cords did not accompany an invitation. "If they sent word of an antelope hunt, all the people came as soon as they could."

CONSTELLATIONS

821 A number of winter constellations were recognized. Thus, "the stars are overhead in winter time; during the summer they are all over toward Nevada (the east)." As usual, the Milky way (nũmũ-po, people's trail) figures as the road of the dead and the departed are said to travel south along it. The stars of the Big dipper (ta'noa'di) are Indians driving rabbits into a net; "the two in front don't know where they are going." Three stars, probably to be identified with Orion's belt,[183] are mountain sheep (koip^{a}) who were once Indians. In this connection Piudy gave an explanatory tale similar to the one recorded by Lowie,[184] although the latter does not identify the stars with any constellation. A group of stars in the east is called mũza'^{a} and is a band of mountain sheep who were once Paiute women. They are said to be traveling in this direction. A group of "about ten stars way over in the east about 3 o'clock midsummer mornings" is a number of women fighting; the description suggests the Pleiades.

Other constellations are identified as eagle, weasel, flies, two women fighting, and a man with a slow match lighting the two combatants. A large single star which shines in the east about 3 o'clock summer mornings is called paba'i-yũ-mogo'tni (big woman). The North star is unnamed. My informants had not heard of hand or hoop constellations.[185]

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[183] Spier, Havasupai, 172, gives the distribution of this identification.

[184] ST, 232. Curtis, 15:147, gives the myth and stellar identification for the Walker River Paiute.

[185] Discussed by Spier, Havasupai, 170–171.

845 thus expressed: "If one dies, the other thinks, 'I have to go too,' and it usually dies." Multiple births and monsters were unknown.

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854 A child is said to have had five cradles in the old days, although at present a certain amount of economy is practiced. The cradle in use the first month was a soft basket affair, carried in the arms.

756 There was a shaman, Tom King, who got his power from deer. He could suck out arrow heads. One day the women were gathering seeds in the desert. They were cutting [685] the plants and putting them in piles. One woman stole some from another woman's [578] pile. They started to fight. Then the men got to quarrelling. They shot each other with poisoned arrows. The shaman came along and found them fighting. He told them to stop. He said. "That is nothing to play with." Then he got the wounded [755] together. Some were dying. He doctored all of them. He sang and sucked the wounds. That was the way he sucked out all the poison. None of them died.

Some shamans were given credit for being the best doctors for certain diseases. Usually this is felt to be due to the strength of the shaman's power.

756 789 *Weather shamans.*—The strongest shamans are thought to have power over the weather. Weather control is never invoked by shamans to bring about desired conditions. Their control over wind and rain is exercised in order to demonstrate their supernatural power. It is the only occasion on which the shaman uses his power purely for purposes of exhibition.

Jack Wilson could bring rain. At Sweetwater [Nevada], five Sioux came to see him. As soon as they arrived he took a magpie-tail feather from his hat. He waved it in front of his face. Right away the clouds came up in the sky. Rain started to fall. When Jack stopped waving the feather the clouds went away.

Only the strongest shamans of either sex are thought to have the power of weather control.

756 224 *Antelope doctors.*—One of the chief Paviotso communal undertakings was the antelope drive. A corral was built of brush, the rope being made from the bark of the sage brush. The night before the day on which the drive was to take place, a dance was held under the direction of the antelope shaman. The purpose was to charm the antelope so they would walk into the enclosure in a docile manner.

The night before the antelope drive the shaman talked to the people. He told them to dance. He told them what to do. He made all the pregnant women and [784] those having their menses go away. He told the men not to have any intercourse [841] with their wives that night. If anyone wanted to urinate during the night they had [843] to go inside the corral. He told them that if anyone lost anything that night, there would be a weak place in the fence and the antelope might break through.

756 224 787 The shaman started to sing. He told the people to dance. After which he went into a trance. That was when his spirit went to look for the antelope herd. When he came out of the trance he had antelope hair in his hand. That showed the people that he had the antelope in his power. He sang and the people danced almost all [533] night. One man made music by rubbing an arrow over his bow-string like a violin. Another man used a notched stick to make music.

paid in silver which is placed in a cup of water until the doctoring is completed. 755 If a woman is ill, it is customary for some woman relative to take the money to the 756 doctor; if a man, a male relative. Occasionally when a doctor is on some case, he will treat the minor or chronic ills of other persons for a reduced rate, charging only one dollar for such service.

The choice of doctors is limited. In the old days, when the camp groups were scattered, it was usually necessary to send someone in search of a doctor and there was little opportunity for choice if the matter was pressing. Today, when the community is localized and there are two doctors, the family will choose the one they trust most—the one who has been most successful in treating the family. If the disease is unusual, however, and one in which the other doctor is reputed to be particularly versed, they may summon him instead of the family doctor. For example, some doctors have a reputation for being particularly adept at working on unconscious people. If the symptoms have lingered for a long time and doctorings have not been successful, the family may postpone further treatment until they can get some visiting doctor from another locality or band.

The doctor, after he has been summoned and paid according to his specifications, sets a time and a place for the doctoring. In the old days, it seems to have been customary to construct a special house for the ceremony. If the weather was clement, a sagebrush enclosure sufficed; when this was impractical, a thule or cloth house was set up. Nowadays, the doctorings are held in the ordinary wooden dwellings, usually the home of the patient. A stove replaces the old fireplace which was located in the center of the dwelling. Formerly, the patient was placed on one side of the door and the spectators sat in a circle inside and close to the walls of the house, leaving the central space around the fireplace clear. In so far as it is possible, the same arrangement is attempted in the frame house, although the position of the stove usually necessitates a slightly different organization.

Doctorings usually take place soon after sundown and last late into the night, sometimes until dawn. There were a few exceptions to this recorded. In one instance the doctoring took place in the day time because the patients were drunk in the evening when the doctor had said he would work, and, since he was leaving Burns the following evening, he agreed to work in the morning.

It is considered important to have a large company present for each doctoring. [844 All adults, except pregnant or menstruating women, are permitted to attend. It is 843] claimed that such women cause the patient to sweat, and, when they attend the meetings despite the taboo, they are thought to cause some doctors to become hoarse and have difficulty in speaking. Children are not allowed. In the old days when the camp groups were small, every one in the community who was able usually attended; but now, when the community is much larger, the people who participate seem to be limited to the members of the patient's family and clique.

In the old days, the doctor had no distinctive costume. He wore a breechclout [292]

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she [584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on [578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

●[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have [754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa 755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had [753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her. Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor 578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself. Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784 A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she
525] make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

755 clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own [302] style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left; the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range themselves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if [841 they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are 843] required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

756 The number of songs and their length vary with different 533 shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every 224
part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, 237
the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be
seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. 224
Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It [841
is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these condi- 843]
tions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and
escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in
the drive.

When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, 224 784
he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among
the married is forbidden during the several days required to build [832]
the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope
have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to
flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve [514]
themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope 224
drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

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[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.

[23] Ibid., 55-57.

WadátKuht

more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 2.31 [177]

Dogs. Tha name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). [262] Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. [825] The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone.

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. [552] Joaquin called his dog Ki maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English.

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. 500 The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people.

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. 843 If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated.

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". 845 The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults.

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. 826 [789] If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?).

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. 854 826 Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was

1 561
na'ukwai-mogo'tni; middle-aged woman
wa'i'tsi; old man
piü'wab^{i}; old woman
mua'tüpü; old person of either sex

[838] A berdache and a sterile individual were called by the same term. Minnie Anderson had never heard of the former; she said "it would be bad luck for a man to wear women's clothing." Pindy knew of a woman who acted like a man; "she killed deer and stayed with the men all the time." Hermaphrodites affected the clothing of the opposite sex; they were never shamans and never tried to marry. No cure was known; "the Klamath could cure them but not we."

BIRTH

14 ● 844 Birth took place in a special house (huni'-no'bi)[193] of tules or grass. It was built by women, presumably relatives or friends of the principal, and was situated north of the dwelling.

A woman in labor was assisted by three or four women including her mother. Certain individuals may possibly have been recognized as midwives. This was denied by one informant,[194] but "a woman who knows about such things" figures occasionally and for convenience she is referred to as the midwife. Assistants at birth might be paid, but there was evidently no feeling of compulsion. If a person had a deer hide the assistants might be given moccasins; "this was big pay."

The parturient kneeled, clinging to a post erected in front of her. The midwife supported her from behind, pressing downward on the abdomen. The child was received into a small hole previously dug and filled with grass and sagebrush bark. The umbilical cord was cut about an inch from the body, doubled back on itself, and tied with sinew. This operation was performed by the midwife, who used an obsidian knife. The cord was wrapped in rabbit or other skin and attached to the cradle beneath the child's head. One informant stated that it was tied to one side of the awning, but this doubtless refers to later cradles. When the child began to walk, the cord was hidden in a hill of the red ant. If the cord were lost the child would "scratch around looking for it" and would never be able to do things well.[195] If the child died the cord (asi') was buried with it. The placenta [846]

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[193] The menstrual hut is similarly named. I could not determine if they were one and the same or if they were two separate structures.

[194] "Everybody knows about babies" (NH).

[195] A similar belief is held by the Walapai. For further comparative material see Spier, Havasupai, 321.

(hidu'p^{a}) was carefully buried. If it were eaten by a dog, coyote, or other animal, barrenness would result.[196] 844 ●

Head presentation was normal; other forms were likely to prove fatal. A shaman was not summoned even in difficult cases. A weasel[197] skin was kept at hand, and if delivery were slow, the abdomen was whipped with the pelt. 845

A "hot bed (dü'avida[198]; also nadü'na:i!) was previously prepared by the woman's mother or grandmother. It consisted of a large hole containing coals upon which juniper boughs had been stacked, and a blanket thrown over the whole. After delivery the woman was placed on this bed,[199] where she stayed "as long as she wanted. If she were healthy she stayed only a week, but many stayed two weeks." While on the pit, the woman employed a scratching stick. Sometimes she pressed a moccasin to her abdomen and bound it there with sagebrush bark to assist in contraction. She was supposed to bathe every five days. 846

Following delivery the woman was given only warm water; nowadays she is allowed tea, but coffee is barred because it is too strong. According to one account, the woman was denied meat and fish for a period of one month, her husband sharing the taboo for five days only. Another account has it that neither parent could resume regular diet until the cord fell from the baby. The man and his wife shared various pre-natal observances which will be noted below.

An infant was not put to breast for one or two days, during which time it was given only warm water. To insure an abundant supply of milk, a stone was heated in the fire, milk dropped upon it, and burned.[200] A child was suckled until able to walk, even in the event of a subsequent pregnancy, if possible until delivery. The practice seems to be economic at base, for I was told, "White people don't have to do this; they have enough food." 853

Twins were rare and were not destroyed at birth. No explanation of dual births was given; "they just happened." My informant could recall one instance of twins, nine or ten years ago. Both died in infancy. The usual belief in a sympathetic bond uniting twins is 845

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[196] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 300.

[197] "They used a weasel skin because Weasel is a lucky man" (JB).

[198] Also pit oven.

[199] The "hot bed" was said by one informant to have been used in cases of severe menstrual pain. This is somewhat reminiscent of the southern California custom of "pit roasting" adolescent girls. [841]

[200] Corbusier, 330, notes milk-burning for the Apache-Mohave and Apache-Yuma.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 Northern Paiute

841 self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope
881 impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she returned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants.
[582] The entire ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.[1] Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual
343 lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

841 As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge
881 is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo,
[844] which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.[2] The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

841 It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait
881 in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this
171 taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat
262 or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.[3]

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[1] Hopkins, 48.
[2] Lowie, 214.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 446.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	[illegible]	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	571
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
Chiefs (wohenavi or voinavi)															
2149. Band chief (tuvini-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A 622
2150. Patrilineal succession	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	W A
2152. Chief's assistant	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinanömö)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	[824]
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2156. For rabbit drive (kamövoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	
2159. For fishing	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2160. For hunting generally	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2161. For pine-nut trip	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2162. Village chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
PROPERTY															
2165. Band owned hunting territory	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W A 621
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	423
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	•+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2167. Band owned fishing streams	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2169. Family owned seed plots	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	
2170. Family owned fishing place	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
WARFARE															
2174. Raids only	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•−	•+	N W A 721
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
2176. War ritual	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	W A
2177. Captives	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	727
BIRTH CUSTOMS															
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	+	N A 778
2179. Special house for childbirth	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	832
2179a. Dwelling-like	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2180. Domed willow house	−	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	N W ●
2180a. Regular house	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	•+	·	•+	+	•−	•−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	A
2181a. 30 ("month")	·	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
2182. Ground warmed	−	−	·	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	−	844 ●
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

[p.407]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

N
W
A
844

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2184. Hot stones for warming ground	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2185. Pit warmed	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2186. Husband gets firewood	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Delivery: mother kneels	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
2188. Mother lies flat	−	−	·	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2191. Strap tied around waist	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194. Midwife usually is: husband	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2195. Person with special power	−	−	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2196. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2197. Any female relative	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	·	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
2199. Grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a. Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2200. Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	−	−	·	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	·	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
2203. Afterbirth (noa'pö): buried	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	·	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
2205. Thrown in brush	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2207. Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
2208. Treatment of mother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2212. Salt taboo	+	+	·	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2213. Work taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2214. Uses scratching stick	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2215. Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2216. Paints self	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2217. Gives away old clothes	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2221. Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2222. Steamed when born	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2224. Bathed every morning	−	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2225. Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	−	·	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	·	·	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2227. Tied with string	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
2229. Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2229a. Placed in sack with yadüpi	+	+	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2232. Placed in antelope wallow	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	·	·	·	·		+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
2238. Buried shady side of sage	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2239. Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	·	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2240. 1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241. 2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242. 3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243. Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2245. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
[202]

N
W
A
[846]

N
W
A
844
846

[p. 408]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	·	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	·	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	·	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	·	·	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2260b. 30	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2262a. Run to water	·	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	·	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	·	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	·	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	·	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	·	·	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	·	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	·	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	·	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	·	-	·	-	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	·	+	·	-	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	·	-	·	+	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

N
W
A
844
846

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
845

N
W
A
847
N
[848]

[p.409]

N
721 raided them and drove them out of the country
173 (GN). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave
(LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and
MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which ac-
counted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined
Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley.
This explains why so many arrow and spear points
have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The
war against Sai is only one about which DW knew.
"The Sai were from around Klamath River and
raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard
that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands
aided in battle. This happened three generations
W
ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger"
[721] was remembered by LR. One person was killed.
Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was
a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The
Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither
wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai
lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed
near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe)
only called Sai because it came to signify any-
one bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in
war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The In-
dians in American army really won the World War.
The Indians showed generals how it could be done.
They formed a circle around German trenches (JM).
Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The
Tagö had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm
Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie
Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight
against Pit River Indians. He got scared, how-
ever, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Pai-
A
ute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was
[721 generations ago, the other was in historic time
173] and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit
River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and
killed all the girls who had been taken captive
to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble
at home. There were many people killed, "maybe
4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

N
778 2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered,
852 mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin,
the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm.
753 It is dangerous to possess such a charm because
it might enter one's body through a sore or
something and kill owner. It causes sickness
like blood poisoning. Tö: A mole charm is dan-
N
gerous medicine. One made an Indian boy sick a
[755] little while ago, and he would have died if the
Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was
painted and father was forced to throw away his
mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to
N
be very dangerous.

844 2179. K2: DM had never been a father and
[115] denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. Kl: During 22-day confinement
5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

[p. 441 (A)]

N 844 birth; 4 days separate first, second, third, and fourth bath; the last bath is taken 5 days after the fourth.

2181. Kü: GN said 60 days; AL, 22. Tö: 15 days or until well (MW). Pa: 10 days (DV). Wa: About 10 days (CR). AE: 2-7 days (SF).

W [844] 2182. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 159).

2184. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2185. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 289). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2187. Ki: + (Kelly, 158): "parturient kneeled" and "the midwife supported her from behind," which seems contradictory to me.

2188. To: + (Lowie, 269).

2190. Tg: Held in case of difficult delivery.

W [844] 2191. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Tg: Belt of weasel fur helps delivery: fast animal, fast delivery.

N [789] 2199b. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2202. Kü: + (GN).

2203. The Hunipui near Canyon City, Oregon, bury the afterbirth with the cord up as though it were growing. Ki: + (Kelly, 158). AE: Afterbirth is buried in delivery house or burned. A [844]

2205. Tg: Afterbirth is placed on a bush. If it were buried the child would die.

2207, 2249. Paviotso: "After parturition the mother and the child were bathed every 5 days by an elderly woman, and the father received similar treatment from a man" (Curtis, 79). Kl: See note 2181.

2215. Kü: As with Kuyui, Küpa mother bathes 5,4,4,4,5 days apart during 22-day confinement.

2216. Kü: - (GN).

2217. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 79). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2219. Kü: - (GN).

2221. Kü: + (GN). AL said baby bathed at same time as mother, 5 times in 22 days.

2222. AE: Baby is steamed if something is wrong with it.

2224a. Kü: See notes 2221 and 2215.

2225. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2226. To: - (LP). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N 846 2228. Kü: + (GN).

2229. See note 1365.

2229a, 2230, 2231. Kü: - (AL).

2230. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 844 846 2239. The first cradle and those used during the confinement were crude and simply made. (See Kelly, pl. 28.) Paviotso: "Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully wrapped up, and all put into a tree" (Hopkins, 49).

2241. There was no agreement, even within the same band, as to the correct number of permanent cradles (i.e., cradles used longer than 5 days) for a child. Some mothers made 5 different cradles after the ones used during confinement, other women used but 3. The same cradle is used for different children.

2448. Kl: Father bathes after 10 days if girl, after 6 days if boy.

[p.444(B)]

Achomawi NS5

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A [846] 2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

N [774 761] 2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. N [842] At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be deformed. A deformed child called nayla dŏkŏpŏ ("gopher ate some off").

N 836 847 684 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). A [881 [535 533] AE: At first menses girl dances 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard

[p.442(A)]

342 [285] women made the mats and the men helped attach them to the frame. The mats lasted two years if properly cared for. They were rolled up and hidden in the spring.

Door. The door was about three feet by four feet and was covered by a tule or cattail mat attached at the top on either side, or in some cases attached to one side. The mat usually had a willow frame, consisting of the usual willows at the end of the mat and two additional horizontal willows, one on the top and one on the bottom. Sometimes the frame was just these horizontal willows tied to the mat. Doors of twined willows, and skin doors were also reported. Bundles of willows or tule were placed at the base of the door to keep out the wind. The door poles were sometimes braced.

[353] *Interior*. The floor was covered with ryegrass and cattail mats. A horseshoe shaped
green willow frame was used to keep the grass out of the central fireplace. The willows
[354] ran to either side of the door leaving a dirt floor between the door and the fireplace. There
was no excavation for the fireplace. Food was stored on either side of the door. Some
[351] of it was cached in a pit lined with cattails and grass outside the door. Tule mats were
used on top of the grass for beds. Old hides were hung from the horizontal willows,
particularly on the windy side of the house.

[285] *2. Grass House*. The frame was similar to the tule house with three horizontal willows always on the inside of the pole frame. Rye grass in bundles was twined with sagebrush bark into mats and attached to the frame or just piled against the frame and held in place by extra poles.

3. Bark House (rare). Bark was used when tule was not available. The frame was similar to tule mat house, but strips of juniper bark were used instead of mats. A second type was made by using a forked branch which served as rafters for a double lean-to type frame. The poles at the end were supported by forked sticks. The covering was of juniper bark and there was a door at each end. The bark was flattened by pounding with rocks, and held in place by extra poles which were tied to the main frame with sagebrush bark rope. The door was of rye grass.

4. Cave House. Two informants had heard of families wintering in caves.

5. Cloth House. The frame was similar to the tule mat house with cloth covering and Plains type smokehole covering. It was used at Harney in pre-Reservation days.

6. Circular Sagebrush Windbreaks. These were ten feet in diameter, four or five feet high, had a narrow entrance and no door. Tall sagebrush was stuck in the ground slanted inward, and was filled in with small sagebrush and dirt piled around the base. Sometimes just fences of sagebrush or willows were set up to windward. The willow fences were made by sticking willows in the ground and lashing leafy willow branches horizontally.

[342 841] *7. Shades*. These were similar to Surprise Valley, six forked posts usually formed the base.

8. Winter Menstrual Hut. This was a regular mat house. Some informants stated that there was just one for the camp group, others that each family had its own.

[342] *9. Sweat House* (Surprise Valley type). This was bee-hive shaped, with willow frame, and a covering either of thick rye grass sometimes topped by layer of dirt, or rags and skins.

348 844 *10. Birth House*. This was a small version of tule mat house with a covering of two

343
layers of sagebrush three feet high and one long tule mat. The floor was covered with 344
rye grass and tule mats.

CLOTHING

1. Sagebrush Clothing (probably the earliest type of clothing). Informants had 291
heard of sagebrush skirts (double apron type) and in their memory poor people and women in mourning had worn them. Dick Jonas reported two men who lost their buckskin clothes in a fight and made sagebrush aprons. No one could describe how the skirts were made. Ellen said that strands of sagebrush were hung over a buckskin strip and twined. Most informants had heard of sagebrush mocassins and Dick had worn them. He reported the soles reinforced with buckskin. One informant mentioned sagebrush stockings.

2. Badger Skin Aprons. These were worn by the women under skin dresses. One [281]
informant stated that these were worn by the women before skin clothing. Each apron was made of a badger hide; the fur left on and worn next to the body, the flesh side tanned. The back apron was the largest. Both aprons tapered toward the bottom and reached to the knees. They were tied on the side with buckskin.

3. Women's Skin Dress (as described by Kelly, pp. 106-107, with the following 291
differences): Some informants stated that the neck part of the hide was used at the top 281
and the forelegs stitched together to make the sleeves. Ellen stated that the neck was at the bottom, the forelegs used to widen the skirt, and the hind legs stitched together to form sleeves which were not sewed underneath. Ellen stated that the tail part of the skin was sometimes left on and allowed to hang down in front. The shoulder seams were sometimes sewn only part way and holes and ties used on either side of the neck to make a trimmer closing. Besides the fringing of the seams and the occasional fringing of the [301]
bottom of the sleeves and the skirt, two strips of fringed buckskin were sewn both on the front and the back, according to Dick Jonas. Hetty mentioned fringe of antelope skin, and Ellen said that strips of fur were sometimes sewn on. Beads, and of recent date, shells and quills were used as decribed by Kelly. Hetty mentioned quill decoration along the seams of the sleeves. Dick stated that beads and dew claws were sewn along the bottom of the sleeves. Belts of braided sagebrush or buckskin were tied in front. Ellen said that before skins were tanned by smoking they used to paint the skins white and sometimes left the hair on. Cotton dresses were introduced at the time of the Malheur reservation. [171]
Women usually wore aprons, but sometimes breechclouts under the dress.

4. Men's Clothing.

Shirt (as described by Kelly, pp. 108). Two female deer or antelope hides were used. Dick Jonas claimed that the sleeves were long, and made from a third skin, and that an additional fringed strip was sometimes inserted in the seam. He claimed that an opening was cut down to the chest, holes cut at the top of the slit, and a piece of buckskin used to tie the opening together. He also mentioned a narrow collar around the neck. Other informants denied these features. Some men's shirts were scalloped at the [301
bottom. In more recent times beads were used along the top of the shoulders, and shells 602]
threaded on buckskin and tied to the shirt. A man's wife made the shirt, or his mother if he was unmarried.

BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version 844 of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with [343] coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose. A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A 846 mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives, who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She [784] uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready [854 to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red 302] paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life. Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a [784] scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is 854 wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[3] which has been previously constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

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[3] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

(hidu'p^{a}) was carefully buried. If it were eaten by a dog, coyote, or other animal, barrenness would result.[196] 844

Head presentation was normal; other forms were likely to prove fatal. A shaman was not summoned even in difficult cases. A weasel[197] skin was kept at hand, and if delivery were slow, the abdomen was whipped with the pelt. 845●

A "hot bed (dï'avida[198]; also nadü'naiʔ) was previously prepared by the woman's mother or grandmother. It consisted of a large hole containing coals upon which juniper boughs had been stacked, and a blanket thrown over the whole. After delivery the woman was placed on this bed,[199] where she stayed "as long as she wanted. If she were healthy she stayed only a week, but many stayed two weeks." While on the pit, the woman employed a scratching stick. Sometimes she pressed a moccasin to her abdomen and bound it there with sagebrush bark to assist in contraction. She was supposed to bathe every five days. 846

Following delivery the woman was given only warm water; nowadays she is allowed tea, but coffee is barred because it is too strong. According to one account, the woman was denied meat and fish for a period of one month, her husband sharing the taboo for five days only. Another account has it that neither parent could resume regular diet until the cord fell from the baby. The man and his wife shared various pre-natal observances which will be noted below.

An infant was not put to breast for one or two days, during which time it was given only warm water. To insure an abundant supply of milk, a stone was heated in the fire, milk dropped upon it, and burned.[200] A child was suckled until able to walk, even in the event of a subsequent pregnancy, if ~~possible~~ until delivery. The practice seems to be economic at base, for I was told, "White people don't have to do this; they have enough food." 853

Twins were rare and were not destroyed at birth. No explanation of dual births was given; "they just happened." My informant could recall one instance of twins, nine or ten years ago. Both died in infancy. The usual belief in a sympathetic bond uniting twins is 845

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[196] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 300.

[197] "They used a weasel skin because Weasel is a lucky man" (JB).

[198] Also pit oven.

[199] The "hot bed" was said by one informant to have been used in cases of severe menstrual pain. This is somewhat reminiscent of the southern California custom of "pit roasting" adolescent girls. [841]

[200] Corbusier, 336, notes milk-burning for the Apache-Mohave and Apache-Yuma.

845 thus expressed: "If one dies, the other thinks, 'I have to go too,' and it usually dies." Multiple births and monsters were unknown.

846 The father of a new-born child was obliged to follow a definite course of action in addition to observing certain food taboos. Far from being barred from work, he was urged to work unusually hard lest he be "lazy all his life." He was allowed access to the hut but was not present at birth; he waited outside, keeping the fire burning. When the child arrived, he ran to the creek and bathed. Pindy said that at the birth of each child, a man was expected to run up hill and gather wood. He then returned, and swam in the creek. For five days he followed this procedure. He was obliged to change his clothing, either throwing it away or, if poor, trading with someone else.

843 A woman was expected to observe certain dietary precautions prior to the birth of her child. She was warned especially against eating the tail of any animal; closure would result, and the child "might get stuck." If she ate the heart of an animal it would bring ill luck to her husband. All internal organs were barred for fear the child would sicken. A woman did not eat tongue for fear the baby's tongue would loll; if she ate the head of any animal, the child was likely to resemble it. My informant mentioned these restrictions as applying specifically to the woman, and later added, more or less as an afterthought, that they applied equally to the husband. During this period a man and wife were supposed to get up early in order to insure an easy confinement. Intercourse was continued during pregnancy, but was probably moderated.

842 Contraceptive devices were unknown, but barrenness would result if the placenta were buried upside down or if eaten by an animal. The same result was procured by burying a dead infant face down. I was told, "This is true, because they do it often. I did that once and had no more babies, so I know it's true." Abortion was frequently accomplished by hitting the abdomen with a stone.

To induce pregnancy, a barren woman drank water containing red ants. One informant knew of "a woman who did that and then had a baby"; another was more skeptical, saying, "It didn't do much good because the ants bit her all the way down and usually killed her." To overcome barrenness a woman might hunt for little gray birds (ditsi'ñi) that live in the rocks. She would take the young birds alive and wear them about her waist beneath her dress.

854 A child is said to have had five cradles in the old days, although at present a certain amount of economy is practiced. The cradle in use the first month was a soft basket affair, carried in the arms.

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. 775
Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound
of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky [755]
Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the [756]
patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are
up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans 755
who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. 756
She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking,
the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

> While they were singing the last song, he said,
>
> "Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."
>
> About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."
>
> We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.[1]

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own 191
data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.[2] This 801
is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both
Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will also die. 845

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is thinking about you." 827

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body. 000

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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[1] Hopkins, 15 f.

[2] Ibid., 13, 47, 48, 80, 87.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	−	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	−	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2250. Runs after bath	−	−	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
2254a. During wife's confinement	−	−	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2254b. Indefinite period	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2256. Smoking forbidden	−	+	·	·	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2259. Father must: run daily	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2260a. 10	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2260b. 30	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2262. Run any direction	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2262a. Run to water	·	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
2263. Run in morning	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	·	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	−	−	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	−	·	·	−	−	−	−	[illegible]	+	−	−	−	−	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2274. Bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2275. Paints self red	−	+	·	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
2276. Hunts	+	+	·	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	−	+	·	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	−	·	−	·	−	−	−	·	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	−	−	·	+	·	−	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−
2281b. 6-12 months	−	+	·	−	·	+	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
844
846

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
[789]

Twins

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2282. Twins feared	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2284. 1 twin killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+

N ●
W
A
845 ●

Infanticide

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2287. Deformed infant killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2288. Unwanted infant killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2290. Killing: By sitting on	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2291. By putting in badger hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2292. By leaving outdoors	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2292a. Any way	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2293. Abortion	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2294. By pressure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2296. By lying on rock	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+

N
W
A
847

N
[848]

[p.409]

Achomawi NS5

N
844
846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and
sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note
2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About
A
[846] 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls
off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until
umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for
30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other
camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N
● 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let
one of her twins die because she didn't feed it
enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin
and that his twin sister was killed. He was
N hidden during the killing so that the two spir-
[774 its would not leave together. Nowadays when
761] one twin is not killed people think both will
die if one does.

Infanticide

N
847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die.
At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has
N been bitten into by a gopher her child will be
[842] deformed. A deformed child called nayla dŏkŏpŏ
("gopher ate some off").

N 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern
836 Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a
847 little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that
684 they often get pregnant before they are married.
The girls have an abortion or kill the baby.
Old-time Indians did not do this. They never
chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N
881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso:
"When the first menses appeared, two elderly
women led the girl out from camp, and the three
made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they
returned. This was done each morning and even-
ing..." as sign of nobility and to make her
industrious. Women constantly watched over her
(Curtis, 79). AE: At first menses girl dances
A 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At
[881 these ceremonies, people gather from all around
[535] to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing
533] all night, at dawn the girl follows a special
sequence of dances, then runs. After the run
she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans
her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been
monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy.
If she has been lying with boys already, her legs
will get terribly tired and she will have hard

[p.442(A)]

753 of her stepfather, who was generous to all the children. When she was fifteen, her mother and stepfather took her to Burns for the summer. The next summer she
[584] returned to Burns and was courted by Joe, the brother of two of her childhood playmates. She married him in 1917, after finishing school. Helen could not get on
[578] with either Joe's mother, Sally, or his stepfather, Tom T. For this reason, she and Joe lived with her own mother and stepfather.

[843] The summer of 1918 Helen had a miscarriage. When she became pregnant again her mother moved her to Fort Bidwell, stating that Helen would never have
[754] the child successfully if they stayed where both Helen and she had so many enemies. The T.'s were saying that Joe was not the father of the child, and Helen's mother's former in-laws, relatives of the T.'s were supporting this story.

[845] When Helen's time came, she was in labor nearly sixty hours and was badly torn, and it was months before she regained her strength. Directly following the birth, Dr. Harry was hired to work on her. Since he was unsuccessful, Dr. Weewa
755 was called in. Dr. Harry and Dr. Weewa both asked Helen whether she had had
[753] any recurrent dreams, and under pressure she reported that while at school she had dreamed of guns and ammunition but that no one had told her about the importance of dreams and she had paid no attention to them. Both doctors asked her to tell them more specifically the content of these dreams because they felt that her sickness was probably caused by failure to obey the instructions given her. Finally they decided that, like her father and stepfather, she had power in bullets and that if she had obeyed the dreams she would have become bullet proof. The matter was dropped until several months later when Helen had a relapse. A visiting doctor from Jordan Valley was called in and he decided that it was best to take Helen's power away since bullet proof power was not really suitable for a woman.

[756] The doctor told Helen to take her husband's gun and sprinkle it with water and fire it three times to the west. He said that the gun was mad at Helen because she had not treated it as she had been instructed. Washing the gun and shooting it was part of taking the power away. Then the doctor put the gun in the fire and told Helen to take it out the next day and let it cool.

Helen had two eagle feathers which she always carried. She said that when she began to get better Dr. Harry told her to sprinkle some water on the feathers and bring them to him. Helen thinks that this was to take away any power that was left.

Helen spoke of the results of the loss of her power. She said that before, she had been brave, and had been a good shot, but now she is timid and cannot even hit a magpie. Helen and her mother later regretted that they had given the doctor
578 permission to take the power away, and accused him of wanting it for himself. Helen said that she would have been bullet proof if it were not for him but that he took the power and built it up in himself.

This incident in Helen's life had a lasting effect. During her many marital

Wadátkuht

more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 2.31 [177]

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone. [262] [825]

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Ki maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English. [552]

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people. 500

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated. 843

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults. 845

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?). 826 [789]

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was 854 826

1 561 na'ukwai-mogo'tni; middle-aged woman
wa'i'tsi; old man
piü'wab^{i}; old woman
mua'^{tüpü}; old person of either sex

[838] A berdache and a sterile individual were called by the same term. Minnie Anderson had never heard of the former; she said "it would be bad luck for a man to wear women's clothing." Pindy knew of a woman who acted like a man; "she killed deer and stayed with the men all the time." Hermaphrodites affected the clothing of the opposite sex; they were never shamans and never tried to marry. No cure was known; "the Klamath could cure them but not we."

BIRTH

11 844 Birth took place in a special house (huni'-no'bi)[193] of tules or grass. It was built by women, presumably relatives or friends of the principal, and was situated north of the dwelling.

A woman in labor was assisted by three or four women including her mother. Certain individuals may possibly have been recognized as midwives. This was denied by one informant,[194] but "a woman who knows about such things" figures occasionally and for convenience she is referred to as the midwife. Assistants at birth might be paid, but there was evidently no feeling of compulsion. If a person had a deer hide the assistants might be given moccasins; "this was big pay."

The parturient kneeled, clinging to a post erected in front of her. The midwife supported her from behind, pressing downward on the abdomen. The child was received into a small hole previously dug and filled with grass and sagebrush bark. The umbilical cord was cut about an inch from the body, doubled back on itself, and tied with sinew. This operation was performed by the midwife, who used an obsidian knife. The cord was wrapped in rabbit or other skin and attached to the cradle beneath the child's head. One informant stated that it was tied to one side of the awning, but this doubtless refers to later cradles. ● [846] When the child began to walk, the cord was hidden in a hill of the red ant. If the cord were lost the child would "scratch around looking for it" and would never be able to do things well.[195] If the child died the cord (asi') was buried with it. The placenta

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[193] The menstrual hut is similarly named. I could not determine if they were one and the same or if they were two separate structures.

[194] "Everybody knows about babies" (NH).

[195] A similar belief is held by the Walapai. For further comparative material see Spier, Havasupai, 521.

844 (hidu'p^{e}) was carefully buried. If it were eaten by a dog, coyote, or other animal, barrenness would result.[196]

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[199] The "hot bed" was said by one informant to have been used in cases of severe menstrual pain. This is somewhat reminiscent of the southern California custom of "pit roasting" adolescent girls. [841]

[200] Corbusier, 330, notes milk-burning for the Apache-Mohave and Apache-Yuma.

845 thus expressed: "If one dies, the other thinks, 'I have to go too,' and it usually dies." Multiple births and monsters were unknown.

846 The father of a new-born child was obliged to follow a definite course of action in addition to observing certain food taboos. Far from being barred from work, he was urged to work unusually hard lest he be "lazy all his life." He was allowed access to the hut but was not present at birth; he waited outside, keeping the fire burning. When the child arrived, he ran to the creek and bathed. Piudy said that at the birth of each child, a man was expected to run up hill and gather wood. He then returned, and swam in the creek. For five days he followed this procedure. He was obliged to change his clothing, either throwing it away or, if poor, trading with someone else.

843 A woman was expected to observe certain dietary precautions prior to the birth of her child. She was warned especially against eating the tail of any animal; closure would result, and the child "might get stuck." If she ate the heart of an animal it would bring ill luck to her husband. All internal organs were barred for fear the child would sicken. A woman did not eat tongue for fear the baby's tongue would loll; if she ate the head of any animal, the child was likely to resemble it. My informant mentioned these restrictions as applying specifically to the woman, and later added, more or less as an afterthought, that they applied equally to the husband. During this period a man and wife were supposed to get up early in order to insure an easy confinement. Intercourse was continued during pregnancy, but was probably moderated.

842 Contraceptive devices were unknown, but barrenness would result if the placenta were buried upside down or if eaten by an animal. The same result was procured by burying a dead infant face down. I was told, "This is true, because they do it often. I did that once and had no more babies, so I know it's true." Abortion was frequently accomplished by hitting the abdomen with a stone.

To induce pregnancy, a barren woman drank water containing red ants. One informant knew of "a woman who did that and then had a baby"; another was more skeptical, saying, "It didn't do much good because the ants bit her all the way down and usually killed her." To overcome barrenness a woman might hunt for little gray birds (ditsi'šii) that live in the rocks. She would take the young birds alive and wear them about her waist beneath her dress.

854 A child is said to have had five cradles in the old days, although at present a certain amount of economy is practiced. The cradle in use the first month was a soft basket affair, carried in the arms.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N W A 254

N W A [312]

N W A 304

N W A 301

N W A 304

N W A [301]

N W A [illegible]

	To	K1	K2	KH	Ya	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	AE
1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUTILATIONS														
1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1274a. With porcupine quill	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1275. With bone awl	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	−	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1277. When child	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1278. When youth	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1279. All males	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1280. Most males	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1281. Some males	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1282. All females	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1284. Some females	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1285. Men's ear ornament	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1285a. Anything	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
1286. Bead on string	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1287. Glass beads	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1288. Shell pendant	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1289. Stone pendant	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1290. Wooden stick	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1291. Bone tube	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
1294. Flint	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
1295. Women's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Bone tube	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1299. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1302. Males	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Females	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1304. Men's bone nose pin	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1305. Women's bone nose pin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1306. Tattoo (navasigi)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1307. Cactus needle	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1307a. Porcupine quill	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1310. Grey colored	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1311. Done when: child	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	+	+
1313. Any time	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1315. Arms	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1316. Legs	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1317. Body	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1319. Head-shape correction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1320. Done with hands at birth	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 390]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

N
W
A
844

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2184. Hot stones for warming ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	•–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2185. Pit warmed	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2186. Husband gets firewood	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Delivery: mother kneels	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–
2188. Mother lies flat	–	–	.	+	•–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	+	+	+
2191. Strap tied around waist	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	–
2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194. Midwife usually is: husband	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2195. Person with special power	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2196. Any woman	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2197. Any female relative	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	.	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2199. Grandmother	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a. Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2200. Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	.	•–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2203. Afterbirth (moa'pö): buried	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–	•+
2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2205. Thrown in brush	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–
2207. Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	–	•+	.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
2208. Treatment of mother	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2212. Salt taboo	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2213. Work taboo	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2214. Uses scratching stick	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2215. Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2216. Paints self	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2217. Gives away old clothes	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	.	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2221. Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	.	•–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2222. Steamed when born	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
2224. Bathed every morning	–	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	.	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2225. Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	–	.	.	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	.	.	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2227. Tied with string	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	–	+	.	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2229. Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2229a. Placed in sack with yadüpi	+	+	.	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	.	•+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	–	+	.	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2232. Placed in antelope wallow	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	.	.	.	.		+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2238. Buried shady side of sage	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2239. Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	.	+	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2240. 1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241. 2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242. 3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243. Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2245. Any woman	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
A
[302]

N
W
A
[846]

N
W
A
844
846

[p.406]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	−	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	−	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2250. Runs after bath	−	−	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
2254a. During wife's confinement	−	−	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2254b. Indefinite period	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	·	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2256. Smoking forbidden	−	+	·	·	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2259. Father must: run daily	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
2260a. 10	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2260b. 30	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2262. Run any direction	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
2262a. Run to water	·	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
2263. Run in morning	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	·	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	−	−	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	−	·	·	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2274. Bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2275. Paints self red	−	+	·	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
2276. Hunts	+	+	·	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	−	+	·	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	−	·	−	·	−	−	−	·	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	−	−	·	+	·	−	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−
2281b. 6-12 months	−	+	·	−	·	+	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−

N
W
A
844
846

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
[784]

Twins

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2282. Twins feared	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2284. 1 twin killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+

N
W
A
845

Infanticide

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2287. Deformed infant killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2288. Unwanted infant killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2290. Killing: By sitting on	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2291. By putting in badger hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2292. By leaving outdoors	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2292a. Any way	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
2293. Abortion	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2294. By pressure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2295. By lying on rock	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+

N
W
A
847
N
[848]

[p.409]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 844 birth; 4 days separate first, second, third, and fourth bath; the last bath is taken 5 days after the fourth.

2181. Kü: GN said 60 days; AL, 22. To: 15 days or until well (MW). Pa: 10 days (DV). Wa: About 10 days (CR). AE: 2-7 days (SF).

W [848] 2182. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 159).

2184. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2185. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 289). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2187. Ki: + (Kelly, 158): "parturient kneeled" and "the midwife supported her from behind," which seems contradictory to me.

2188. To: + (Lowie, 269).

2190. Tg: Held in case of difficult delivery.

W [844] 2191. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Tg: Belt of weasel fur helps delivery: fast animal, fast delivery.

N [789] 2199b. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2202. Kü: + (GN).

2203. The Hunipui near Canyon City, Oregon, bury the afterbirth with the cord up as though it were growing. Ki: + (Kelly, 158). AE: Afterbirth is buried in delivery house or burned.

A [844]

2205. Tg: Afterbirth is placed on a bush. If it were buried the child would die.

2207, 2249. Paviotso: "After parturition the mother and the child were bathed every 5 days by an elderly woman, and the father received similar treatment from a man" (Curtis, 79). Kl: See note 2181.

2215. Kü: As with Kuyui, Küpa mother bathes 5,4,4,4,5 days apart during 22-day confinement.

2216. Kü: - (GN).

2217. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 79). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2219. Kü: - (GN).

2221. Kü: + (GN). AL said baby bathed at same time as mother, 5 times in 22 days.

2222. AE: Baby is steamed if something is wrong with it.

2224a. Kü: See notes 2221 and 2215.

2225. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2226. To: - (LP). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N 2228. Kü: + (GN).

● 846 2229. See note 1365.

2229a, 2230, 2231. Kü: - (AL).

2230. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 844 846 2239. The first cradle and those used during the confinement were crude and simply made. (See Kelly, pl. 28.) Paviotso: "Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully wrapped up, and all put into a tree" (Hopkins, 49).

2241. There was no agreement, even within the same band, as to the correct number of permanent cradles (i.e., cradles used longer than 5 days) for a child. Some mothers made 5 different cradles after the ones used during confinement, other women used but 3. The same cradle is used for different children.

2448. Kl: Father bathes after 10 days if girl, after 6 days if boy.

[p. 444 (8)]

Achomawi NS5

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Tö: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A [846] 2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Tö: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

N [774 761] 2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be deformed. A deformed child called nayla dököpö ("gopher ate some off"). N [842]

N 836 847 684 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). AE: At first menses girl dances 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard A [881 535 533]

[p.442(A)]

BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version 844 of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with [343] coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose. A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A 846 mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives, who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She [784] uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready [854 to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red 302] paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life. Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a [784] scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is 854 wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[1] which has been previously constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

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[1] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	.	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	.	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	.	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2260b. 30	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2262a. Run to water	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	.	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	.	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	.	-	.	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	.	+	.	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	.	-	.	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-

Twins

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

Infanticide

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	-	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

N
W
A
844
846

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
[789]

N
W
A
845

N
W
A
847
N
[848]

[p.409]

N 844 846 2249. Tö: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

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2273. Kü: - (GN).

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A [881 535 533]

[p.442(A)]

586 younger children stay with the mother, returning to the father for periods when they are older.

A woman may take her baskets, hides, and the food she has prepared for storage. If her husband leaves her because of her infidelity, she may keep the house if she has built it. The man always takes the horses.

589 A widow or widower usually takes the children to his or her family, although Dick Jonas stated that a widow left the older children with her husband's brother.

587 A widow or widower usually waits about a year before remarriage, and usually marries someone who has been married before. It was stated that a widow never remarries until her hair has grown in. There were cases reported of both the levirate and sororate, but it is not compulsory. The levirate is said to occur only in cases where the brother-in-law is not already married. The woman may choose either an older or younger brother of her deceased husband.

PREGNANCY

842 Since fertility in a woman is associated with the size of her breasts, the responsibility for childlessness is placed on the wife if she has small breasts, but on the husband if her breasts are ample. Two methods of counteracting barrenness were reported. A woman may try to induce pregnancy by drinking a mixture of red ants and cold water. If she spits up blood, it is thought to be an indication that the treatment is successful. If this method does not work, she may try sleeping with a little bird under her dress and next to her breasts.

The only contraceptive beliefs are associated with the disposal of the placenta or of a stillborn infant. It is thought that if a coyote or hog eats the placenta, or if a woman burns the placenta or turns it upside down or inside out when she buries it, she will not have any more children. She may also prevent future pregnancies by burying a stillborn face down.

847 Although abortion is practiced, it is somewhat disapproved of. The only cases reported were of husbands who beat their pregnant wives' stomachs to induce miscarriage and prevent the birth of an unwanted child. The informants who described these cases felt that a husband must be pretty mean to do this, but there was no immediate sanction against such behavior.

Infanticide by abandonment is sometimes practiced, but is considered bad. In two cases reported, mothers "threw away" their newborn infants to express hostility against their husbands.

843 To insure an easy delivery it is thought wise for a pregnant woman to wear a string of fishbones or a band of sagebrush around her waist and to avoid sitting on rocks. The only food taboo reported is with respect to eating porcupine meat, which is thought to stunt the growth of the foetus. Thunderstorms are believed to be especially dangerous to pregnant women and they are supposed to cover themselves with a blanket for protection.

[784 525] A woman is not believed to be especially dangerous to others during pregnancy. The only restrictions on her behavior for this reason refer to curing ceremonies (lest she make the patient sweat too much) and to gambling games (she should not stand behind a player lest he have bad luck).

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	.	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	.	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	.	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2260b. 30	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2262a. Run to water	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	.	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	.	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	.	-	.	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	.	+	.	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	.	-	.	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-

Twins

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	=	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

Infanticide

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

N
W
A
844
846

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
[784]

N
W
A
845

N
W
A
847
N
[848]

[p.409]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 838 2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. N [842 848] K1: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). Tö: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (Kü).

N [787] 2110. K1: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. Ts: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toravinoya, were old-time dance

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three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three 593
hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance 152
was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong [762]
guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their 578
choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others 154
acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have [848]
children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they
were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous [589]
of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would
seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional 762
factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either 157
they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or 578
because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning 762
the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the 154
following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against 578
her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered
that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams [754]
about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

Theoretically both sexes are free to pick their own spouses. In actuality, however, 584
parents seem to exert a great deal of pressure, most often on the daughter. Several girls
were said to have committed suicide because their mothers did not allow them to marry
the men of their choice. S., a woman of thirty, is still unmarried and informants stated
her mother never allowed her to marry. N.'s mother did not want her to marry any man,
and it was said that since she was afraid of her mother, she obeyed. Even a boy usually
will not marry a girl his parents do not like.

According to informants, most girls are quite shy, and stay close to their mothers
and sisters. A boy, if he comes from a different band, and does not know the family well,
usually starts a courtship by becoming friendly with the brother of the girl he seeks. The
girl criticizes the boy to her brother if she does not like him. When the boy feels surer
of himself, he visits the girl at night in her house and sits at her feet. The girl usually
sleeps beside her grandmother. If she does not like the boy, she gets up and moves over
and lies by her mother. If the mother does not like the man, she builds up the fire and
shames him away. The girl sometimes tries to hide or run away and her suitor has to
catch her. The boy visits the house until the girl will sleep with him. The parents often
encourage the girl to do so if they approve of the man. A marriage is considered con- [585]
sumated when the boy stays for breakfast. During the courtship the man often brings
presents of meat. After the marriage, the parents of the young couple trade presents of [431]
food or hides. The girl makes a pair of moccasins for herself and her husband out of a
hide tanned by her mother.

Some girls, even in the old days, were more forward, and, with their friends,
wandered around at night. They sometimes put leaves in their nostrils and made a
whistling noise so the men would hear them. Dick Jonas reported the use of a six-holed [534]
flute in courting. The boy serenades the girl and she comes out and joins him. Both men [308]
and girls pluck their eyebrows during courtship. Only one informant stated that the
menstrual hut is used for courtship. [343]

Residence is temporarily matrilocal. [591]

Virginity is not a prerequisite of marriage, but general promiscuity may result in a
man refusing to marry a girl. During my field trip, there were two young unmarried [585]
mothers. In both cases the men whom the girls said were the fathers of their children [848]
refused to marry because they said the children had many fathers.

Divorce is frequent. Temporary separations occur as a result of maltreatment on 586
the part of the husband, or meanness and refusal to cook on the part of the woman. In
these cases the maltreated spouse returns to his or her parents who attempt to patch up
the troubles. Divorce usually follows infidelity, one of the spouses going off with another [684]
person. Cases are also reported of men who left their wives because they abandoned
their children, and of women who left their husbands because they did not want co-wives,
or because the husband refused to give them a blanket. A deserted wife returns to her
parents, taking the children with her or occasionally leaving them with her in-laws. In
the latter case the children may visit the mother if she is close by; if she moves she may
take some of the older children. A husband whose wife deserts him or who leaves his
wife because of infidelity will take the older children with him and go to his married
sister's. Less frequently, the wife deserts, leaving all the children behind. In general,

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants claimed that masturbation did not exist.[4]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little. When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels. In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often taking their younger siblings.

DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead are never mentioned.

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[4] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

(hidu'p^{a}) was carefully buried. If it were eaten by a dog, coyote, or other animal, barrenness would result.[196] 844

Head presentation was normal; other forms were likely to prove fatal. A shaman was not summoned even in difficult cases. A weasel[197] skin was kept at hand, and if delivery were slow, the abdomen was whipped with the pelt. 845

A "hot bed (dü'avida[198]; also nadü'na·?) was previously prepared by the woman's mother or grandmother. It consisted of a large hole containing coals upon which juniper boughs had been stacked, and a blanket thrown over the whole. After delivery the woman was placed on this bed,[199] where she stayed "as long as she wanted. If she were healthy she stayed only a week, but many stayed two weeks." While on the pit, the woman employed a scratching stick. Sometimes she pressed a moccasin to her abdomen and bound it there with sagebrush bark to assist in contraction. She was supposed to bathe every five days. 846

Following delivery the woman was given only warm water; nowadays she is allowed tea, but coffee is barred because it is too strong. According to one account, the woman was denied meat and fish for a period of one month, her husband sharing the taboo for five days only. Another account has it that neither parent could resume regular diet until the cord fell from the baby. The man and his wife shared various pre-natal observances which will be noted below.

An infant was not put to breast for one or two days, during which time it was given only warm water. To insure an abundant supply of milk, a stone was heated in the fire, milk dropped upon it, and burned.[200] A child was suckled until able to walk, even in the event of a subsequent pregnancy, if possible until delivery. The practice seems to be economic at base, for I was told, "White people don't have to do this; they have enough food." 853 ●

Twins were rare and were not destroyed at birth. No explanation of dual births was given; "they just happened." My informant could recall one instance of twins, nine or ten years ago. Both died in infancy. The usual belief in a sympathetic bond uniting twins is 845

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[196] Cf. Spier, Havasupai, 300.

[197] "They used a weasel skin because Weasel is a lucky man" (JB).

[198] Also pit oven.

[199] The "hot bed" was said by one informant to have been used in cases of severe menstrual pain. This is somewhat reminiscent of the southern California custom of "pit roasting" adolescent girls. [841]

[200] Corbusier, 330, notes milk-burning for the Apache-Mohave and Apache-Yuma.

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[3] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and
[372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The
[603] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grandparents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he
862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

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[3] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

CRADLES

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Cradles are considered here because the technical details concerning them fall largely within the realm of basketry. There are two recognized types, the "first cradle" and the "later cradle." Their functional distinctions are mentioned elsewhere.[188]

The first cradle is in use the first month after birth and is called saki'-hu·p^{a} (balsa-cradle; so-called from its shape). It is essentially a basket and nothing more, lacking the rigid frame, the triangular awning, the skin cover, and the tumpline of the other cradles. There are at least two kinds of saki'-hu·p^{a}. One kind is illustrated in plate 28. A miniature of the other kind was made by Minnie Anderson, but unfortunately the specimen is so out of proportion that it seems inadvisable to figure it. Its manufacture may be described as follows:

A weft strand is twined about a series of paired warps. When all are caught, the last pair is bent back parallel to itself and enclosed by a twined stitch as indicated in figure 9. When all the pairs have been so treated, the nucleus for an arched top is formed. The diagram suggests that the rods lie in a flat plane, but in reality the outer ones are slightly raised, making the top semi-domed. After the initial row of twining the affair is turned and worked across the other face, then turned again, and so on. This makes twining throughout the specimen a continuous course, zigzagging from side to side, in this respect resembling the grater, winnowing tray, etc. Although the model is very roughly made, there seems to be an adherence to double warps throughout. The specimen tapers slightly toward the base, where the warps are cut off evenly.

This cradle has a hood of sorts, but one quite distinct from the triangular awning of the later cradles. It is really a hoop, like that of Lowie's Moapa specimen.[189] For this hoop, a series of parallel rods is caught together in open twine and the ends attached to either side of the cradle near the top. A cloth thrown over the top for sun-protection is kept off the child's face by the hoop.

The infant is placed in the basket on a padding of shredded sagebrush bark and held in by means of a thong laced through skin loops along the sides of the cradle. Unlike the later cradles, the first ones do not indicate the sex of the infant.

The other style of first cradle is shown in plate 28. It also lacks the rigid frame and other traits distinctive of the later cradle. In structure it follows the grater pattern (fig. 8), but the outlining rods are bent at a sharp angle instead of being gently curved. Unlike the grater which is worked from the base up, twining of this specimen commences in the upper right corner (as seen in the plate). Each warp and its lap are enclosed in a single stitch, thereby making the twine on double warps until the turnback is passed, a matter of some six inches. Twining is thereafter on single rods. Rows are

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[188] P. 161.

[189] SE, fig. 24a. Nellie Townsend immediately designated this figure as a first cradle.

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paired and run horizontally; to avoid zigzagging, the wefts are wrapped about the outer rods for the necessary distance between rows. The last or bottom four rows are close twine.

I am not certain of the exact manner in which the cap is attached. It is obviously a part of the body as the body twine extends to include it on the sides. A separate course of twining is worked across the top of the cap, joining the component rods to each other and attaching the cap to the upper edge of the cradle proper. This row of twining starts at the upper left (as viewed in the plate) and zigzags back and forth, ending at the upper right at the point where the body twine begins.

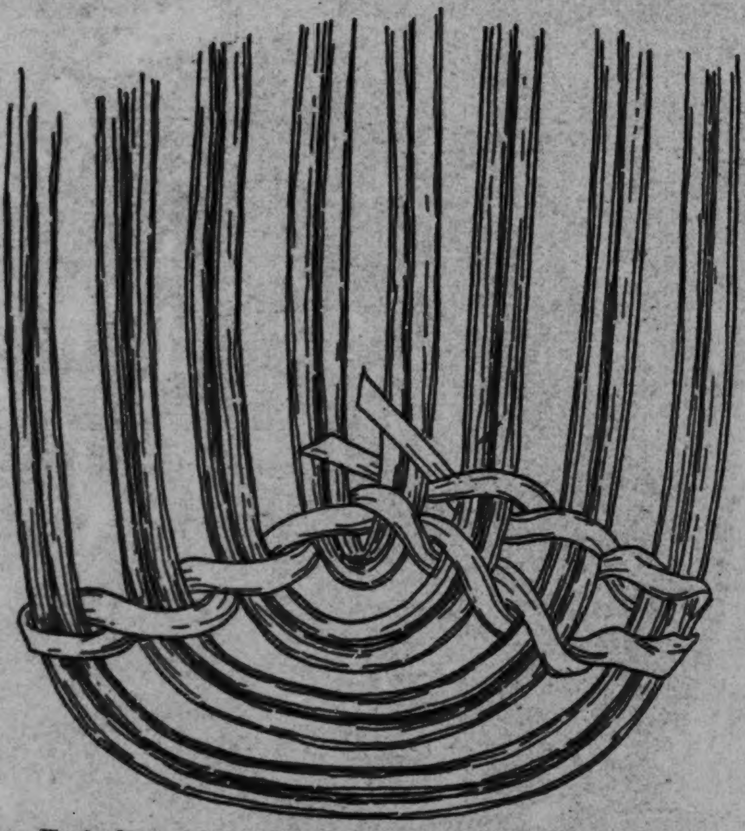

Fig. 9. Start of first cradle. From a model, 1-28209. Warps reduced in number to facilitate sketching.

The illustrated specimen has side loops of cloth in lieu of deer hide.

After the saki'-hu'p^a, a child has four cradles successively larger and differing from one another only in size. Structurally the later cradle consists of a wooden framework (pl. 29) supporting a twined

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basket backing. The whole is skin-covered, and although nowadays canvas is sometimes substituted, buckskin is preferred. A triangular awning (tsoko'no'ᵉ) is attached on a line with the top of the backing and is supported by a series of arched rods held together in twined stitch. As is common elsewhere,[140] the awning design is indicative of the sex of the infant. A diamond or zigzag pattern serves for a girl, a series of diagonal lines for a boy. Plate 30 has diagonal lines alternating with tipi-like motifs. Nowadays these designs are worked in embroidery thread, either red or blue. Informants do not remember what was used formerly; "maybe they didn't have designs then." The solid bead embroidery seen on some cradles is Plains type. It is taught in the local Indian school and is probably of no great age.

The skeleton of the skin-covered cradle is seen in plate 29. As Nellie Townsend noted, Surprise Valley cradles tend to flare more at the top than those figured by Lowie[141] for the Nevada Paiute. The arch and base of the frame are always separate pieces spliced at the sides. The arch of the figured specimen is willow and the base choke-cherry. The base may be either angular (pl. 29) or rounding (pl. 30). The wood is heated, bent, and tied in the desired shape; then placed on a level spot, weighted with stones, and allowed to dry. Nowadays the frame is nailed together. Formerly the transverse bars were notched at the ends and tied to the skeleton with thongs. The specimen shown in plate 30 is so constructed; its bars, as those in plate 29, rest on the upper surface of the frame, just beneath the basket backing.

The twined backing is attached by thongs. According to Nellie, it is usually made before the frame. The warps of the backing are always longitudinal, and the start is similar to that of figure 8 except that the outlining rods are bent upward at an angle. Twining starts at the lower righthand corner (as seen in pl. 29) with the back as the initial work surface. In this instance the twine is simple openwork with rows more or less equi-spaced. The same holds for the cradle of plate 30. At the end of a row one weft is carried along the outside warp and wrapped to it by the other weft. The backing of one specimen (pl. 31) is twined in a zigzag course, and at the open ends the rows are about six inches apart. The backing of some cradles is simple twine on double warps. The backing ordinarily ends on a line with the awning attachment. In one specimen (pl. 31) it extends somewhat beyond, but it seems likely that the hood has been placed too low. This cradle was used by one of Nellie Townsend's children, and as the child grew, the hood was raised. When the cradle was sold, the hood was lowered to its present position.

The two specimens figured differ somewhat in the attachment of the skin covering but both show welt seaming, i.e., a discrete strip carried in the seam between the two joined surfaces. The covering of both cradles hangs loose and unattached at the sides. That shown in plate 30 has a seam along the top of the arch and down the center front. The covering is tied to the backing beneath the awning and also at the bottom. Here there is no seam; the skin is simply turned under across the back of the lowest transverse rod. At the

lower front it is sewn with buckskin to the upper of an old shoe which hangs in a loop to support the child's feet. 285

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[140] Kroeber, Handbook, 536; Lowie, SE, 254.

[141] SE, 33*a*, 34*a*, *b*; although plate 30 resembles Lowie's specimens in outline.

The other cradle (pl. 31) has more complicated seaming. It has central seams front and back and two lateral back seams as well. The arch seam is not continuous but begins a short distance either side of the central seams. This specimen does not have a separate foot loop but the covering is roughly sewn across the bottom and a short distance up the front to answer the same purpose. These bottom seams are little more than lashings. Nellie thinks that the transverse back seam is not essential but is for the fringe alone. This seam does not show the characteristic ridge of welt seaming, but the fringed piece is inserted as is the extra strip, only it is wide and fringed instead of being extremely narrow. 854 ●

The back fringe of plate 30 is not sewn; but slits are cut and a thong run through one slit and out the adjacent one. The front fringe of both specimens consists of extra pieces, pinked along the upper edge, fringed along the lower, and sewn to the skin covering. The fringes are strung with beads, coins, etc.

Both specimens have loops along the front for lacing. The pack strap attachment is similar in both and is well shown in the plates. A buckskin loop is attached to the frame, piercing the skin cover at the back. The end of the burden strap is passed through one of the loops, folded back on itself, and secured by tying a thong through perforations in the strap.

The awning consists in each case of fine open twine in diagonal stitch. The twined rows are paired and run horizontally. A zigzag course is avoided by wrapping the wefts about the outside warp for the inch or so between rows. The start of the awning is at the end attached to the cradle. It is covered by a binding of buckskin but is probably similar to other non-spiral starts.

The awning is supported on a series of bent rods to which it is attached only by the embroidery threads of the hood design. The arched supporting rods are twined together in a zigzag course. It is interesting to note that the characteristic non-spiral start pattern holds here; the rods are sharpened and bent on themselves over a rod 1½ inches long. The twining continues to the awning and again on the other side of it, but not beneath it. The awning support is tied at either end, not to the cradle frame, but to the basket backing. In plate 30 the thongs penetrate the back covering in line with the fringe and are tied in bows.

CORDAGE, NETS, WEAVING

Two-ply string was made from the inner bark of sagebrush. Juniper bark was not used; "it was too soft to be good for anything." The bark was scraped, shredded, and dampened. It was rolled on the thigh, the two strands separately on the downward stroke and combined on the upward stroke. Three-ply string was unknown. A stronger cordage was made of the outer bark of wiha'b', an unidentified plant[142] resembling sagebrush but smaller and growing along mountain streams. The bark was stripped off and exposed overnight to become soft. It was broken in the hands and rolled on the thigh. 283

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[142] Loud and Harrington, 156, suggests that Gosiute *Apocynum androsaemifolium* answers the description of "wiha."

5 845 thus expressed: "If one dies, the other thinks, 'I have to go too,' and it usually dies." Multiple births and monsters were unknown.

6 846 The father of a new-born child was obliged to follow a definite course of action in addition to observing certain food taboos. Far from being barred from work, he was urged to work unusually hard lest he be "lazy all his life." He was allowed access to the hut but was not present at birth; he waited outside, keeping the fire burning. When the child arrived, he ran to the creek and bathed. Piudy said that at the birth of each child, a man was expected to run up hill and gather wood. He then returned, and swam in the creek. For five days he followed this procedure. He was obliged to change his clothing, either throwing it away or, if poor, trading with someone else.

843 A woman was expected to observe certain dietary precautions prior to the birth of her child. She was warned especially against eating the tail of any animal; closure would result, and the child "might get stuck." If she ate the heart of an animal it would bring ill luck to her husband. All internal organs were barred for fear the child would sicken. A woman did not eat tongue for fear the baby's tongue would loll; if she ate the head of any animal, the child was likely to resemble it. My informant mentioned these restrictions as applying specifically to the woman, and later added, more or less as an afterthought, that they applied equally to the husband. During this period a man and wife were supposed to get up early in order to insure an easy confinement. Intercourse was continued during pregnancy, but was probably moderated.

4 842 Contraceptive devices were unknown, but barrenness would result if the placenta were buried upside down or if eaten by an animal. The same result was procured by burying a dead infant face down. I was told, "This is true, because they do it often. I did that once and had no more babies, so I know it's true." Abortion was frequently accomplished by hitting the abdomen with a stone.

To induce pregnancy, a barren woman drank water containing red ants. One informant knew of "a woman who did that and then had a baby"; another was more skeptical, saying, "It didn't do much good because the ants bit her all the way down and usually killed her." To overcome barrenness a woman might hunt for little gray birds (ditsi'ñi) that live in the rocks. She would take the young birds alive and wear them about her waist beneath her dress.

4 ● 854 A child is said to have had five cradles in the old days, although at present a certain amount of economy is practiced. The cradle in use the first month was a soft basket affair, carried in the arms.

Crushed sagebrush bark was used for padding, and a single rabbit skin or woven sagebrush bark served as a blanket. Great care was taken in the disposal of this first cradle; if it were burned or thrown away the baby might be harmed. It was either put in a tree "way off somewhere" or was saved until the child could walk, when it could be given away without danger. The specimen shown in plate 28 was purchased in lieu of being given away. Upon another occasion I tried to purchase such a cradle but without success, although the owner was quite willing to part with several later ones. 854

After the saki'-ka'pᵃ, a child had two successively larger cradles until he could sit up. Thereupon he was given a fourth cradle, and when he could walk, a fifth. Old cradles were thrown away, not saved for younger children, because "there were plenty of willows."

The attachment of the umbilical cord to the cradle has already been mentioned. Tinkling objects such as the "points" of deer hoofs were sometimes hung from the hood. The technical aspects of cradles are treated elsewhere.[illegible]

NAMES

Personal names are either meaningless or of the nickname variety, with the former in preponderance. The naming of a child was not the function of any particular relative, but the mother or the grandfather often decided upon a name. A child was not named until he began to walk and talk. "When a baby starts to talk and says a word not plainly enough, they give him that name. Or they name him for something he did when he was little." 551

A sampling of names and their explanations is here given:

Ko'"tsikwaihü (Pindy)	He always used to whistle when he was little.
Si'gi-bai (Pindy's wife)	Cross-eyed.
Mawü'ani (Dick Ochiho)	When he was small he splashed his hand on the water.
Ha'daï'-sagi (Billy Steve)	He choked on sage hen.
Ma'sa'"si (Daisy Brown)	This name doesn't mean anything. I just used to say that when we came back from gathering wild plums. I was glad to be back.

The following names are meaningless; they are "just names": Na'ni'gu, Nora Henderson's younger brother; Wi'"güdai, Susie Burns; Tüsa'pücoᵉ, Big Dick; Nada'"müzüᵉ, Petty; Nu'ni', Mettie Petty; Sihwa'ni¹, Joshua Brown; Mo'no'itsi¹, Charlie Washo; Tsü'"nüs, Minnie Archie's mother; U'tsiku, Ochiho (former chief).

[illegible] P. 132.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 17. *a*, *b*. views taken from the eastern slopes of Warner range showing characteristic vegetation—sage, piñon, juniper, mountain mahogany—with the playa bed of Upper lake, Surprise valley, in the background. *c*, view in Fandango valley, with the western front of the Warners in the background. The foreground shows a field of sunflower, a'gü', an important seed plant.

Plate 18. *a*, view (from the south) of the Fort Bidwell Paiute camp with Bidwell mountain in the background. *b*, conical house at the Bidwell camp, reminiscent of the old-time structure. *c*, shade near Fort Bidwell.

Plate 19. *a*, tule mat for woodshed, showing six courses of stitching and, at the bottom, a row of simple twine. *b*, sweat-house frame near Fort Bidwell. *c*, stone artifacts found near Cowhead lake.

Plate 20. *a*, *b*, side and front views of buckskin dress and headdress of Plains type. *c*, *d*, boy's buckskin shirt and trousers.

Plate 21. *a*, *b*, wringing hides. *c*, twined basketry.

Plate 22. *a*, scraping willows for basketry. *b*, halving willow rods. *c*, trisecting willow rods.

Plate 23. *a*, *b*, side and bottom views of oval, single-rod coiled basket, 1–28202, made by Minnie Anderson, Fort Bidwell. Long diameter at top, 16 inches.

Plate 24. *a*, conical twined burden basket, 1–28204, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 19 inches. *b*, open twine burden basket, 1–28203, made by Minnie Anderson. Height, about 20 inches.

Plate 25. *a*, open twine grating tray, 1–28205, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, model showing start of parching tray, 1–28211, made by Lizzie Godowa, Beatty, Oregon.

Plate 26. *a*, diagonally twined parching tray, 1–28206, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, 20 inches. *b*, diagonally twined parching tray, probably made by Minnie Anderson; in collection of Mr. Henry Kober, Fort Bidwell. Length, 25 inches.

Plate 27. *a*, twined seed beater, 1–28207, made by Minnie Anderson. Length, to root of handle, about 16 inches. *b*, twined moccasin of sagebrush bark, 1–28208, made by Minnie Anderson. Total length, 18 inches.

Plate 28. First cradle, 1–28210, made by Nettie de Garno, Fort Bidwell. Height, 23 inches.

Plate 29. Skeleton of skin-covered cradle, 1–28212, maker unknown. Total height, 40 inches.

Plate 30. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Height, 40½ inches.

Plate 31. *a*, *b*, front and back views of skin-covered cradle in the collection of Mrs. Chester Lowell, Fort Bidwell. Height, 39½ inches.

Plate 32. *a*, porcupine-tail hairbrush from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober. Length, about 7 inches. *b*, stone pipe from the collection of Mr. Henry Kober; secured by him from Fat George Townsend. Standing height, 2¼ inches. *c*, wooden cylinder, 1–28200, for hand game; found at gambling grounds near Beatty, Oregon. Length, 2⅛ inches. *d*, paint bag of buckskin, 1–28199, bought from Daisy Brown. Same scale as *c*.

1: Kelly **E-5** **(1930) 1934** **Northern Paiute**
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31

[KELLY] PLATE 28

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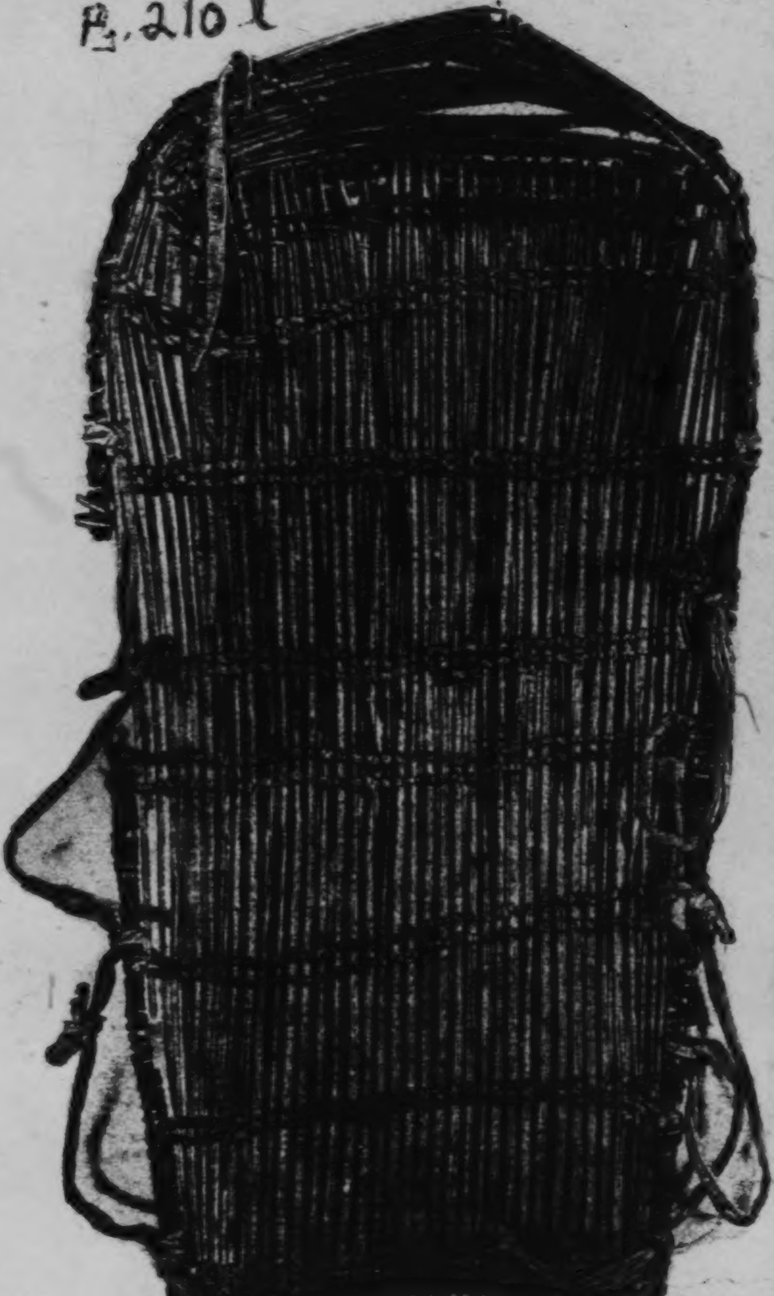
Pg. 210 l



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1; Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 29

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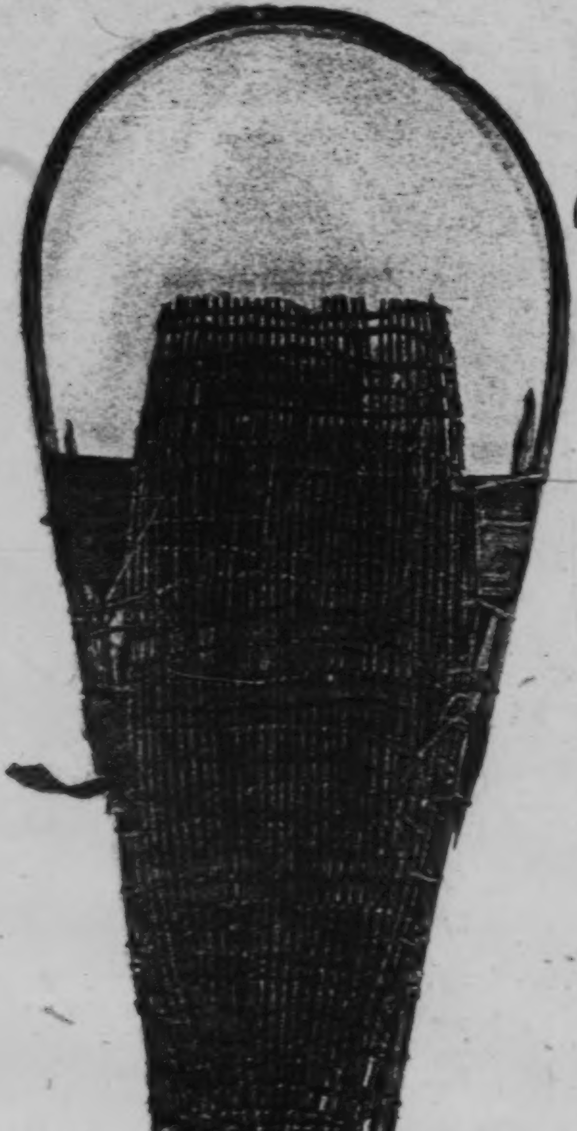

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 30

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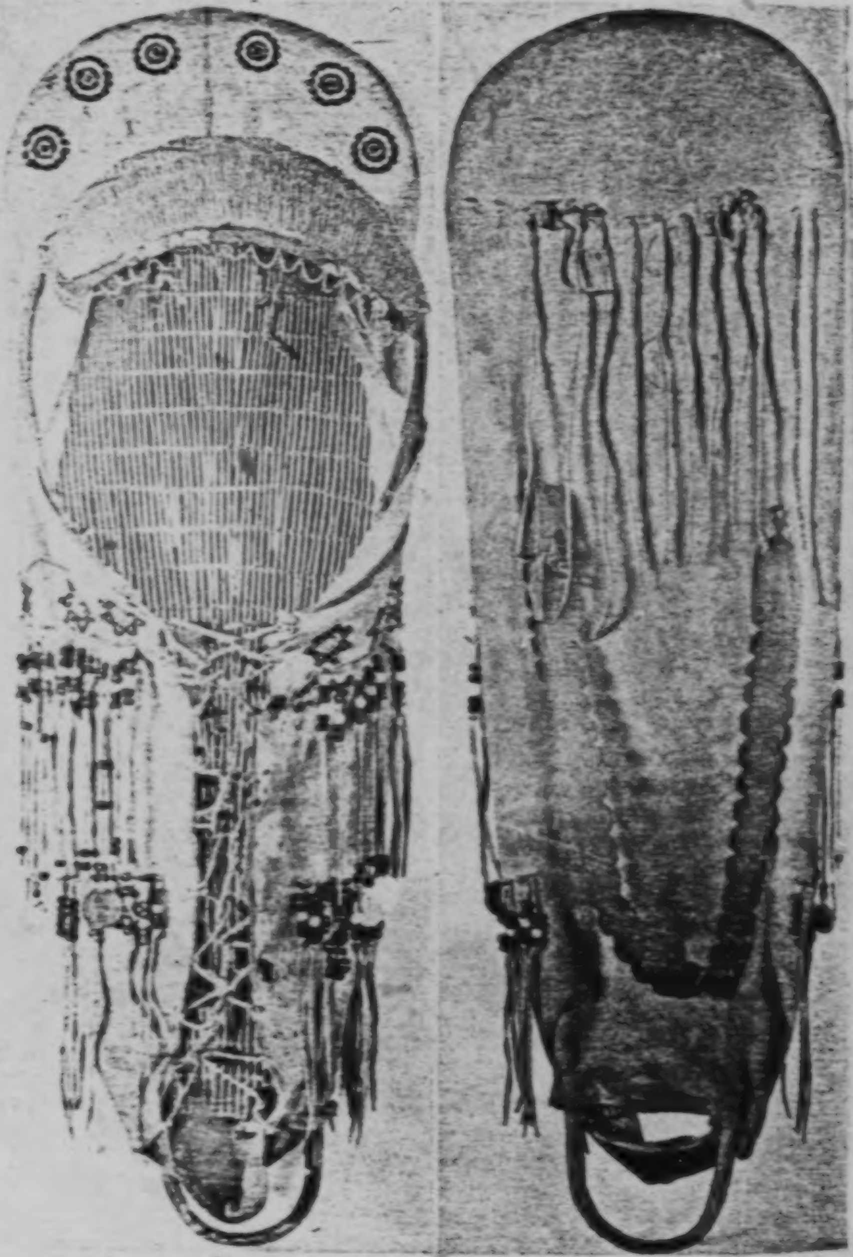

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 31 [KELLY] PLATE 3

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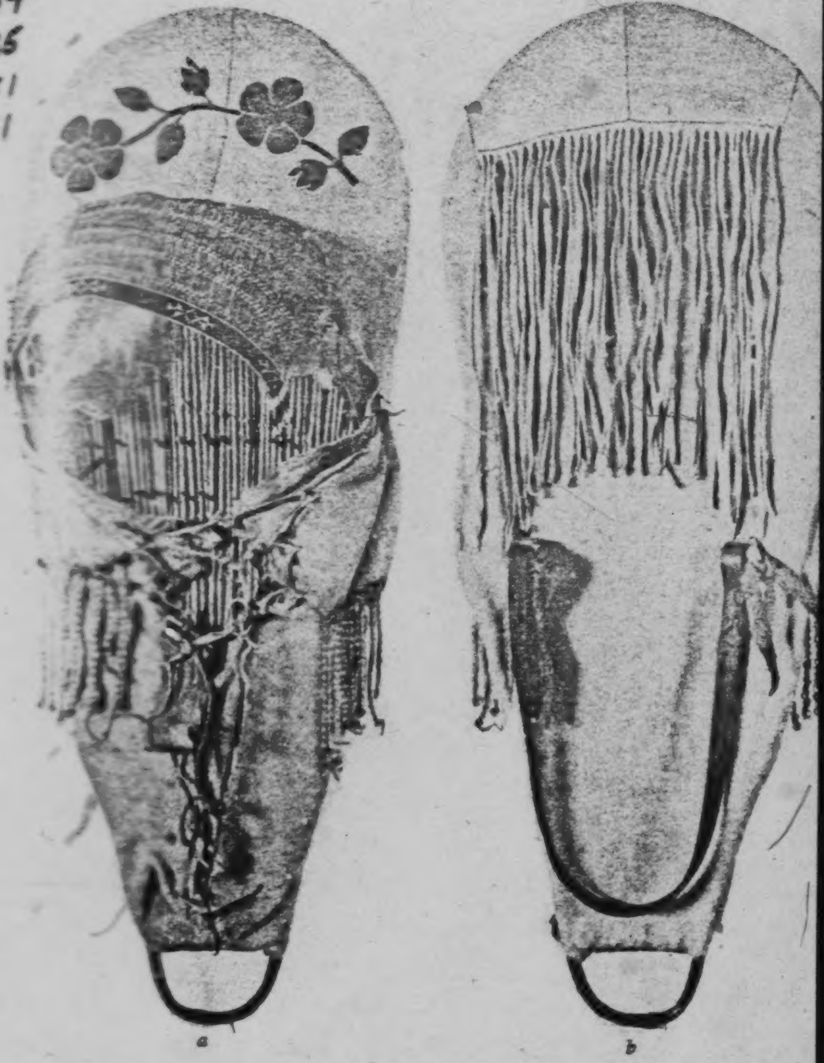

SKIN-COVERED CRADLE

p 210 D.

shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."[1] The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like. 342 [824]

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size (Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside. [412] [415] [254]

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.[2] The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available. A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup. 000 [171]

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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[1] Mooney, 1049 f.
[2] Lowie, 183.

171 [854] [291] The resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.[1]

285 [243] In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun°*, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tū'ba—γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qowút'nō°*. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.

[531] →

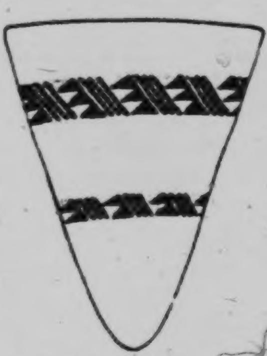

Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

[412] → The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,[2] even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large. To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamō''nō, ya'tá*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

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[1] Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.
[2] Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 237]

223 fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for 501 a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the 171 tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in 501 the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc, Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal, Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

000 The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's "lattice" form.[1]

171 As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the 854 Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awning above the infant's head. 000 The largest cradle in the possession of the Museum (specimen 50.1-6930) is of this category; it was bought from a Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b) shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle: to enhance the æsthetic effect the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre Ute[2] and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1-6930 also shows the two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni cradle,[3] which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

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[1] Handbook, vol I, 357.
[2] Mason, (a), 526.
[3] Lowie, 1909.

000 type: a hoop encloses a series of transverse willow sticks gradually shortened toward the bottom and united by three strings passing through perforations near the extremities and center of each. The general shape is thus similar to that of the board cradle, while the arrangement of sticks recalls the Plains Indian backrests. A specimen from the Lenders collection (50.1–885) conforms to the usual basket-work type in which *vertical* rods are held together by a basketry technique (see below). A Ute variant of this order from southern Utah is described and illustrated by 854 171 Mason.[1] Compared with Paviotso and Paiute equivalents to be noticed presently its most distinctive feature is the use underneath of an ellipsoidal hoop that bulges beyond the frame laterally, but does not enclose it vertically; the sticks project beyond it both above and below. The rods are united by twining, there is an awning, and the white buckskin cover encloses the entire frame, rods as well as hoop.

854 171 285 The Paviotso use a diminutive cradle (*sa'ki'hubə*) with rounded hood at the top during the first month of the infant's life (50.1–7963); the basketry technique is that of simple openwork twining. In general shape this specimen is not unlike one of the two Shasta cradles illustrated by Dixon.[2] It is carried in the arms. Later a second cradle (*hübb'*) is made, which remains in use until the child is able to walk. The Museum has three specimens of definitely known provenance,—two uncovered and one, lacking the awning, covered with buckskin. Four covered pieces catalogued as "Paiute" (50.1–2110, 50.1–4026, 50.1–4025, 50.1–5991) may, however, with great assurance be ascribed to the Paviotso, making seven full-sized specimens in all.

In both covered and uncovered cradles the greater part of the structure consists of parallel rods united by openwork twining, and the awning is likewise of uniform pattern to be described below. The main difference is in the framing, which leads to a difference in the outer shape of the two variants. In the uncovered variety, represented by a Pyramid Lake specimen (50.1–7912), the two framing rods, which are united to each other by wrapping, are on all sides parallel to the framed rods, which they closely adjoin, so that there results a compact quadrilateral narrower at the bottom than at the top. The covered pieces may be represented by the Pyramid Lake cradle shown in Fig. 34b, where the frame consists of two looped sticks applied from top and bottom respectively, so that the total appearance of the cradle suggests the Nez Percé pattern or that of the Ute, if rounded off below. The skin covering extends

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[1] Mason, (a), 227.
[2] Dixon, (b), 434.

854 over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the
171 average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper
285 loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a
distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks. The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120
854 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the
285 sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an
alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Mu-
531 seum specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belong-
171 ing to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants
associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's "Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso, has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.[1]

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.[2]

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.[3]

000 Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

[854] The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso
[171] type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of
[285] the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow
projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,[4]

Text Continued on Page 257

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[1] Mason, (a), 528.
[2] Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.
[3] Dixon, (a), 200.
[4] Mason, (a), 530-534.

000 that is to say, it is an arch secured to the sides of the frame. In structure, however, this arch differs from those figured by Mason, since it consists of a considerable number of thin-bowed rods united in pairs by twining, which is done in such a way as to produce a decorative pattern of approximately V-shaped elements.

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285 The Shivwits cradle (Fig. 33a) is double-bowed like the covered Paviotso type. In place of the compound arch of the Moapa cradle there is a single bent stick connecting the two sides. From near the top, the flat frame formed by the twined rods, there rises the twined basket-work awning, which gradually expands from a width of 2½ inches to 6 inches, and is secured to the center of the arch. Compared with the Paviotso awning, which it resembles in general position, the Shivwits awning differs in being longer, narrower, undecorated, and almost flat instead of definitely vaulted; its support consists of a single rod where the Paviotso cradle usually has six and is more or less vertical to the plane of cradle frame instead of forming an obtuse angle with it.

GAMES.

000 In his monograph Stewart Culin has given rather careful consideration to Shoshonean games and I here merely offer personal notes and observations.

Among the Moapa Paiute the cup-and-ball game (*tö'dsip'* or *tö+ dsinimp'*) is popular in a definite form, a cottontail skull being caught on a *pasiв* stalk originally connected with it by means of *wu'tsi* string. A model was obtained (Fig. 35). Each of the tooth cavities counts 6, the holes on the side 10, any other hole 1, the front teeth 6, while catching the minute hole on the inside of each row of tooth cavities at once wins the game regardless of the score, being equivalent to countless points. It is said that a person who loses this game gets bald-headed.

The Shivwits use the bull-roarer (*nánimɪt*), but only as a children's toy, as which it was instituted by the mythical character Wolf. A father would make one for his children to play with. Fig. 36 represents a model.

A figure by Powell indicates the playing of the hand-game by his Paiute.[1]

The Ute of Ignacio thus described their manner of playing the hand-game (*naiyu'k· apə̂rau*). All the players at any one time are of the same sex but both men and women play the game. Formerly the caches consisted of two elk teeth tied together, and each player had two. If the

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[1] Powell, Fig. [illegible], facing p. [illegible].

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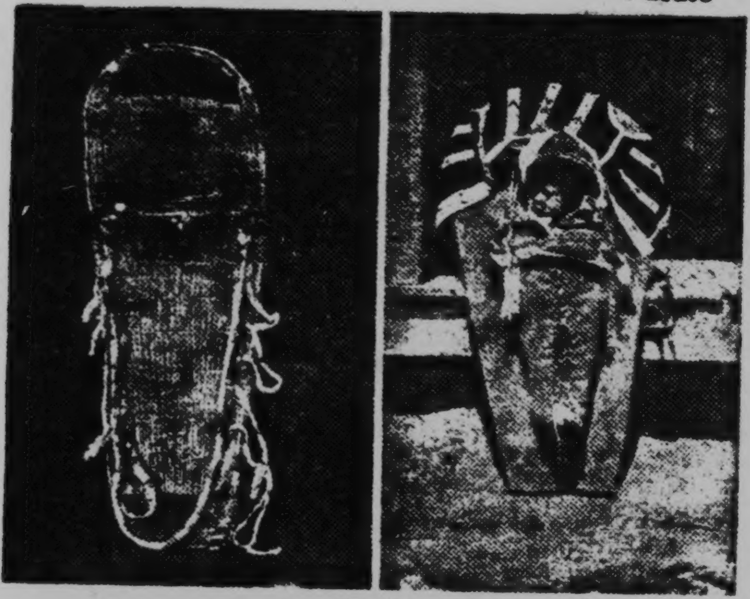

Fig. 33.

• [854] →

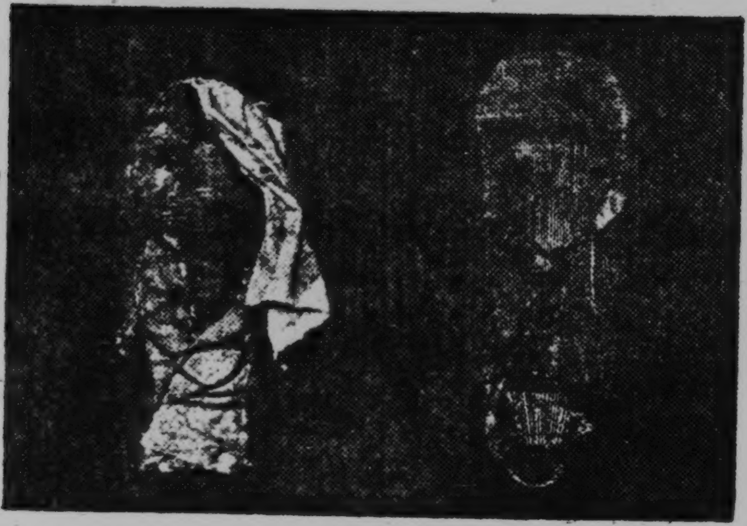

Fig. 34.

Fig. 33 *a*(50.1–8624). Cradles. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, Southern Ute, Navaho Springs, Colorado.

Fig. 34 *ab*(50.1–8623, 7915). Cradles. *a*, Moapa; *b*, Pyramid Lake Paviotso.

[P. 268 is blank]

would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *ndakugariñgen*. 000

MISCELLANEOUS.

PAVIOTSO.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving. 262

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:— 538

> Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.[1]

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them. 356

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame. 854 •

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache. 757

WIND RIVER.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing. 000

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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[1] Mooney, 770 f.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sn	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1182. Net (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1185a. Tule	·	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1188. Clockwise twist	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1190a. 3	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1195. POTTERY	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
BURDENS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1231. Braided, 3-strand	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kötsamps)	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1234. On top of bark head pad	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinakwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1240. Bag (mare mokwa): deerskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	·	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kuruu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tee kihopa)														
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1255. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+

N
W
A
283

N
W
A
[323]

N
W
A
482

N
W
A
854
285

[p.389]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

● N W A ●854

N W A [[illegible]]

	Ts	Kl	K2	K3	Yo	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Kl	AE
1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MUTILATIONS

N W A 304

N W A 301

N W A 304

N W A [301]

N W A [846]

	Ts	Kl	K2	K3	Yo	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Kl	AE
1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1274a. With porcupine quill	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1275. With bone awl	−	+	·	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1276. With wooden awl (tavizigup)	−	+	·	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1277. When child	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1278. When youth	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1279. All males	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
1280. Most males	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1281. Some males	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1282. All females	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1284. Some females	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1285. Men's ear ornament	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1285a. Anything	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
1286. Bead on string	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1287. Glass beads	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1288. Shell pendant	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1289. Stone pendant	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1290. Wooden stick	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1291. Bone tube	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
1294. Flint	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
1295. Women's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Bone tube	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1299. Bone rings	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1302. Males	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Females	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1304. Men's bone nose pin	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
1305. Women's bone nose pin	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1306. Tattoo (navasigi)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
1307. Cactus needle	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1307a. Porcupine quill	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1310. Grey colored	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1311. Done when: child	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1313. Any time	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
1315. Arms	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1316. Legs	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1317. Body	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1319. Head-shape correction	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1320. Done with hands at birth	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 390]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 323 N [114] 1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

● N 854 482 1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [854 482] 1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 736]

MUTILATIONS

N 304 1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). KH: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GW). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304] 1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(A)]

BIRTH CUSTOMS

When a woman comes to term, she repairs to a birth house, which is a small version 844
of the tule mat house with a fire in the center and a pit beside it. This pit is filled with [343]
coals and heated rocks and covered with green juniper and sagebrush bark. The floor of
the house is covered with rye grass and a layer of tule mats.

Only women may be present at the birth. Women who are reputed to be good at delivering babies, usually three or four, attend the mother at the time of parturition and act as midwives. They are paid by the husband, the one who actually delivers the child receiving more than the others.

When cramps announce that the birth is imminent, the mother kneels in front of the
pit, holding on to her digging stick which has been driven into the ground for this purpose. A sagebrush string is tied above the swelling. One woman sits back of the mother
and pushes down, another stands in front and pulls the baby out, folds, binds and ties
the cord with deer sinew and then cuts it. The mother pulls herself up by her digging
stick after delivery and bends over to help expel the afterbirth. She drinks warm water
which is thought to help her get rid of the blood and then lies on the warm pit. A 846
mocassin is often tied around her stomach to aid contraction, and sagebrush bands are
tied on her ankles and knees to insure a quick recovery. Attended by one of the midwives,
who keeps the pit fire going and warm drinking water at hand, she spends most of the
next three days in the birthhouse sitting or lying on the warm pit. For a month thereafter
she lives in the birthhouse and is subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. When
the baby's navel cord falls off, she bathes and subsequently bathes every five days. She [784]
uses a scratching stick, lest her hands become bloody; eats no meat; does not have sexual
intercourse and brushes her hair frequently. When at the end of the month she is ready [834
to leave the birthhouse, she bathes her infant, smears his face, thighs and belly with red 302]
paint, and puts him in a new cradle. Then after bathing and smearing herself in a similar
manner and dressing in new clothes, she returns home and resumes her normal way of
life.

When the father is informed of the birth of his child, he throws away his clothes
and takes a bath, runs as far as he can so that the child will not get tired in his legs when
he grows up or have too much blood if it is a girl. He continues this running, piles sagebrush and does other useful things for five days, so that he will not be lazy all his life.
Some informants stated that he should not eat meat for five days and should use a [784]
scratching stick. He visits his wife and gets wood and water for her but stays at a distance
even during the visits. He usually eats with a neighbor during his wife's stay in the birthhouse.

INFANT CARE

After delivery the infant is bathed, its nose shaped and eyes stretched, then it is 854
wrapped in a rabbit skin blanket and put in a boat-shaped cradle[8] which has been previously constructed by the mother's mother. Shredded sagebrush bark is usually placed
under the blanket to act as an absorbent disposable diaper. Dry powdered horse-dung is

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[8] Similar to first cradle described by I. Kelly (p. 132).

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[8] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at
times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and
[372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build
up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The
[803] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grandparents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he
862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece
lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

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[8] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

PLATE 2

N

W *a.* Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938. 795

142 *b.* "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938. 516

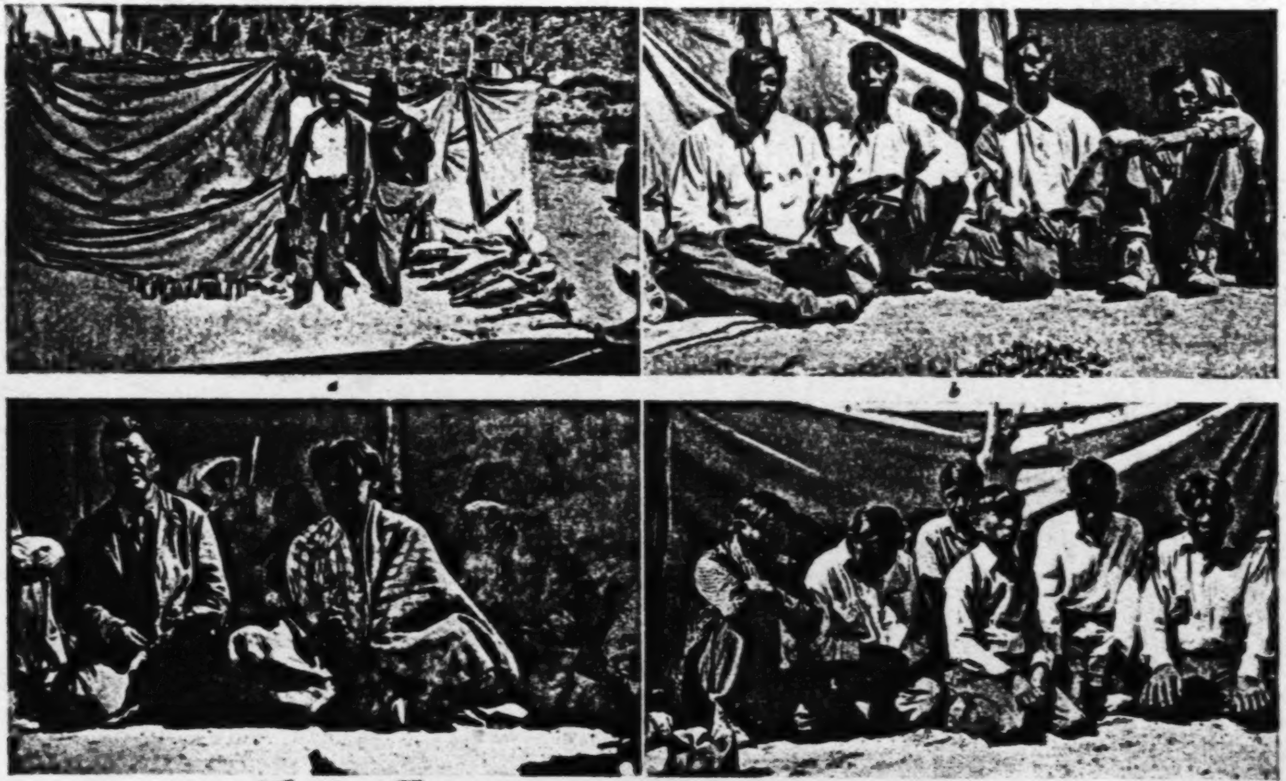
[514] *c.* Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

N

[854] *d.* School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

[P. 141]



PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

N W [514] ↑ N' [458] ←

N W 745* 142 516

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Frontispiece

142
291
302
854 ●
115

KITTY JOAQUIN
1954

[Facing P. i, A]

Wadátkuht

more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake. 231 [177]

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone. [262] [825]

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Kí maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English. [552]

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people. 500

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated. 843

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults. 845

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?). 826 [789]

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was 854 ● 826

Wadátkuht

854 826 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so used to being in it.

861 Punishing Children. If a child pretended to cry he was apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her.

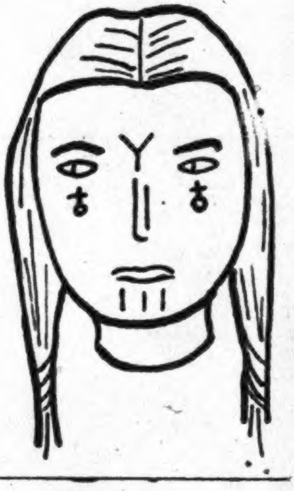
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

593 Sibling Rivalry. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

[682] One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

304 Tattoos. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks. [531] A tattoo was called naboidz.

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "111" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



SMOKING

Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[230] young boys did not smoke 276
for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non-
ceremonial and was chiefly an evening pastime. Three or four old 517
men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One
would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was
not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed
number of times, and a person could decline on the second round
without offending.

The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds
were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-
mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'b^{a})[231] The 277
local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now
fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well
scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to
have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or
wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with
a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot
and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'b^{a} were
mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowa-
days koda'b^{a} and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the
blend called dūma'iyu, mixture. Koda'b^{a} is said to be "pretty strong."

Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[232] For earache and 276
deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear 755
the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache.
For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. 855 ●
A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." 861
Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall
sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the [826]
other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can
tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he
is born with the cord around his neck."

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[230] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[231] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[232] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

N W A 855

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2296a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2296a. Toward north	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
2297. Thrown over shoulder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2300. Thrown under green bush	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2300a. Child jumps over bush	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
2304. First Menstruation (mubadanomani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2307. 5 days	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2307a. 30 days ("month")	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
2308. In family house	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2309. In special house	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2310. Behind home	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any woman	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2322. Cold water forbidden	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2323. Talking forbidden	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2324. Laughing forbidden	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2325. Being visited forbidden	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
2328. Combing hair forbidden	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330a. Run once in special ceremony	.	+	.	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2335a. "Month"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2336. Use drinking tube	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
2336a. Use special cup	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2340. Bathe daily	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2341a. Every 5 days	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−
2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
2345. Clothes destroyed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2347. New clothes	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
2348. Delousing by mother	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
2349. Delousing by attendant	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	−	−	+	−	−	+	.	−	−	+	+	+	−	−

N W A 881 784

N W A 881 [302]

[p.410]

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[a] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at
times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and
[372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build
up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The
[603] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grand-
parents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he
862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece
lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

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[a] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants claimed that masturbation did not exist.[*]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little. When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels. In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often taking their younger siblings.

DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead are never mentioned.

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[*] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

Wadátkuht

515 not indicate whether the other Wadátkuht shared his enthusiasm for a daily plunge into cold water.

Girls' Puberty Ceremony. When Kitty began her first
881 menstrual period the family was working at the Will Dill place
in the slough region of Susan River near where it flows into
Honey Lake. From here she had to run to the round hill
behind the Gibson ranch, a distance of four or five miles
to the northwest.

The girls' puberty ceremony was called muhatanowani,
from muha, "moon", and tanowani, "to run". It was also
called punug. Each morning Kitty had to make her run to
Gibson Hill and return on the run in the evening. While on
the hill she had to work all day collecting sagebrush for
[313] the fire. Her aunt, whose name was Beowuhbi, also was on
the hill and remained there during the puberty ceremony.
Each morning Kitty ran up to the top of the hill with approximately ten other girls who helped her gather sagebrush for
the fire. Most of this fuel had to be left on the hill, but
Kitty took a load back each night. The girls also gathered
brush on their way back to the ranch, and around the ranch.

When Kitty returned to camp each evening the dancing
would begin and she would have to dance all night. During
the days she was able to get some sleep but was awakened by
her aunt before she slept too long. She also got some food
and water from her aunt when she got up on the hill each day.
This kept her going, but no one was supposed to give her food
back at camp. In fact she was guarded to see that no one
[856] slipped her any food. The reason a girl got so little water
was so that she could, in later life, go a long time without
[826] it, a decided virtue under the existing desert conditions of
the Wadátkuht environment.

During the dance each night Kitty wore a shredded sagebrush bark skirt and cape which she had made herself. The cape hung half-way to her knees. However, in deference to new standards brought in by the whites she wore the sagebrush clothing over her cloth dress.

Kitty had to dance all night without stopping. Other people would dance with her but as they got tired others would take over, but she got no rest. The dance ended before sunrise each day and she would leave for the run to the mountain with her escort of girls. These girls and young women had been through the puberty ceremony and were the

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual division of labor was not ironbound but was sufficiently definite to permit of a general statement. Hunting was the male province, but women often assisted, as in communal drives and the capture of water fowl. Traps for small game, such as sage hens, might be set by women or even girls. All equipment connected with the hunt, such as weapons, snowshoes, etc., was made by the men. In net making women might twist the bark fiber, but men did the netting "because they knew how." Such stone working as there was seems to have been done by the men, although with a domestic article as the metate, women seem occasionally to have taken a hand. 462

Women were concerned with the gathering of roots, seeds, berries, and insects, but men occasionally assisted with the last mentioned. Women also prepared food, hauled wood and water, and generally concerned themselves with domestic tasks. Men, home from the hunt, are said to have done the grinding when women were out gathering. Handicrafts such as basketry and sewing were preeminently a woman's work, although it is interesting to note that a man sewed his own quiver.

Both men and women cooperated in house building, the men setting the frame, the women applying the covering. Both sexes also worked hides, although the skinning, as an adjunct of hunting, was always done by the man. Both sexes likewise made rabbitskin blankets.

It is quite apparent that the sexual division of labor followed normal cleavage lines, men engaging in the violent and sporadic tasks, women in the less active and more continuous pursuits.

HUNTING

A boy was eight or nine years old when he started to hunt. 224
After a light snowfall he was sent out to track cottontails and often 857
would bring a few home. A small boy was also directed to hunt wildcats as they climbed in the junipers. He stood beneath the tree and shot the animal with his bow.

When a boy was ten or eleven years old he learned to hunt deer. 224
He accompanied his father and was given instruction in technique. 868

> If I have a boy I tell him how to hunt. I say, "Get up before daylight and go to the hill. Soon you will see deer. Get close and kill one. You must watch

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Dr. Sam gave what appears to be a further variant. He said that twelve short sticks were painted red on one side and white on the other. They were tossed in a basket and the red sides counted. When all red turned up, one made a straight mark on the ground and claimed a stone from one's opponent. Each had a small pile of stones used in scoring but the number in the pile was never counted. When all white turned up it was called tupi'kwoi (tũpi' ?). Unfortunately Dr. Sam could not remember further details of scoring, nor could he remember the name of the game. Although I neglected to inquire of him who played, I have arbitrarily placed this with the women's dice games as it seems to have its closest analogies there.

Beaver-tooth dice.—Dr. Sam reported a beaver-tooth dice game, but Gidũ'tikad^{a} informants knew nothing of it save for the fact that "it was Pit river." According to Dr. Sam, the dice consisted of eight teeth, one marked with dots, which were cast from the hand onto a basket tray. The marked dice was the only one counted; "mostly it didn't turn over." Dr. Sam said that women played the game. He was unable to recall its name or any details of counting.

Cup-and-ball.—No form of cup-and-ball was known to any of my informants.

Cat's cradle.—Susie Archie said that in recent times children made string figures, but she was under the impression that formerly they did not. With this Piudy agreed.

Juggling.—Three marble-like stones were juggled by women. One woman would bet another; she juggled until she missed, whereupon the other took her turn. Joshua said that it would make a man lazy to play this game. According to Piudy, "That's no game; that's just for fun." Juggling was called mada'kipoi.

Sling.—Boys played with a deerhide sling, using small stones in it. According to Piudy, "This had no name; it was just a toy." [857] ●

Bullroarer.—The bullroarer (kwi'mo, tũsa'ibidun (?)) was a boy's toy as well as a magical device to make the wind blow. It was made of juniper and decorated with black spots or lines. Instead of having been swung directly on the end of a string, it seems to have been tied loosely with deer-hide to a wand-like handle.

Whistle.—Children made whistles from one of the horse tails (pazoi'winup), *Equisetum* sp.

undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the 224
women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences.
This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired
out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were
quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and
dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on
top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid
in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone.

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular 224
enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he 796
also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were
merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again
mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details.
According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which
might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then
the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the
following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:— [539]

wázunaq	ína	hāûʙa	wō̆'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hāûʙa.	nō̆'mōnáqa	ína	hāûʙa.	
? .	Somebody's ear	?	?	

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down [756]
in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he [787]
fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up
by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to
the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay [841]
far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing
was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the
fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation [857]
of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the
shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!"
Thus good meat was obtained.

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*qamú nō'qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.

524 to me, and says, "each one who missed forfeited
525 his pole."

Ring and Pin

524 1665a. GN (Kūpa) described the game which
857 was common in southern part of area. Boys and
525 men bet a certain number of finger thumps on the
head between the eyes. If player did not catch the ring on the pin in a given number of trials he submitted to thumping, which was at times repeated until a large bump raised. Girls bet gum, pins, and other things. Men bet cigarettes or "puffs on a pipe." Game was played at gatherings so that everyone joined in fun.

Hand Game

524 1666. PS said the hand game became the gamb-
525 ling game par excellence of native western America.
He said Charlie Monday, a Paiute of Owyhee, earned his living and traveled all over the country for years as a professional hand-game player.

1667. Tö: MW said wood, bone, and horn "sticks" have been used only since about 1850; old-time Paiutes played with strings of beads.

[176] 1670. PS explained that finger loops were recent innovations which were supposed to make cheating impossible. Any number of ingenious devices were employed to cheat.

1671. Most informants thought strings of beads were used before "sticks" of bone or wood; however, they thought these materials were also played with before time of white people.

1678, 1679. Guesses were indicated as follows: thumb and little finger extended, other fingers folded, and then hand thrust out meant that wrapped "bone" is in outer hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm vertical and movement up and down meant wrapped "bone" is in inner hand of each opponent; all fingers extended and together, palm horizontal and sweeping motion to the right meant the wrapped "bone" is in the left hand of opponents; the same hand position with sweeping motion in the opposite direction meant the wrapped "bones" are in the right hand of opponents.

1680. By observing the reaction of opponents to trial motions or hand signals, the player might get a clue to the position of the "bones." Only when the hand signal or motion is accompanied by a vocalized signal is the guess complete. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 286).

1683. At: In old days there were 14 counters, then 12, and a few years ago the number was reduced to 10. Wd: SC said 20 sticks were used in old days, now 10 are used so that bets will be won (or lost) faster.

1685. Ki: Kelly, 173, confirms division of counters at start, but does not mention their being called "cooked" and "raw." Informants expressed surprised approval when I mentioned the native terms for "cooked" and "raw."

[p.437(B)]

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524] 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).

1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.

1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).

1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.

A [224 411] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.

1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.

N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.

1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

N [177] 1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).

N [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GN denied any such games.

N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).

● 1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177 1888. K1, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(b)]

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants claimed that masturbation did not exist.[4]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little. When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

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instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

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DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead are never mentioned.

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[4] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

Wadátkuht

103 5. Matá ("Metate") (Plate 1). This winter village was
361 the most important village for the Honey Lake Valley Wadátkuht.
It was here that the two contemporary headmen, Joaquin and
[162] Dick Wright, lived. Circa 1870 this village consisted of at
least six separate "camps" (native houses) with a total popu-
[592] lation of approximately 34 people. Each household was made
up of a single family, usually consisting of a man and his
wife (or wives), their children, and in some cases the children's
grandparents.

This village site is rather extensive as it reaches from
[312] the timber into sage desert for about ½ mile. The main water
source, a spring, and the bedrock mortar were located at the
[343] edge of the timber with an earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., cere-
monial) house (tipugon) nearby (Plate 1-d). This house was
[171] built by Dick Wright and Joaquin and would appear to be a
Maidu influence.

Matá is located approximately ½ mile east of Milford.
At the northern end of the village area a large granite
[857] boulder protrudes from the ground. It was upon this boulder
that small children would slide with the result that the
polished area may still be observed (Plate 1-c). Kitty
Joaquin was born in a native house beside this boulder.

[172] Recently a forest and brush fire swept the village area
with the result that a very large number of stone projectile
points, knives, scrapers, and similar specimens were picked
up by local collectors. This village was apparently quite
important even in ancient times. The archaeological designa-
tion for this site is Las-29 (T27N/R14E/ portions of Sections
25, 35, and 36).

[622] 6. Sóhud^{a} ("Willow Creek"). The headman of this camp
at Doyle was Washo Jack, a Paiute man with a Washo wife.
This camp appears to be unimportant and may have been nothing more than a family camp. It was extant circa 1900, but how much earlier it was occupied is not known. The precise location was not obtained, but Ike Northrup suggested that it was but a short distance west of Doyle. The territory south of Doyle belongs to the Washo who had a village approximately one mile to the south near the home of the late Harry Wilson, a Washo shaman. The Washo name for this latter village is Mehltútumi wadaiyo, meaning "Shady Place".

The archaeological site Las-83, immediately south of Doyle, appears not to have been the village of Sóhud^{a} as

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

[P. 89]

Plate 2

291
[115]

b. Kitty Joaquin, Gladys Mankins, and Ike Northrump at Matū

d. House pit at Matū

361

•857

a. Village of Matū

c. Slide at Matū

[End Plate 2]

684 occurs blood money is paid to the family of the murdered man. One woman shot
627 her rival with her father's gun, and the girl's father paid two horses to the parents of the murdered girl.

627 Retaliation may also follow theft. In the old days, if a man followed another
685 person when he went to cache food and later returned and stole the food, and if the owner discovered the thief, he could demand payment. If the man refused to compensate either by returning the food, or by paying deer hides or bows and arrows, or some other type of payment, he could expect to be physically attacked. A story is told of a man and his son who hobbled their horse near camp. In the morning they awoke to find the horse gone. They followed the tracks of the thieves and when they overtook them they stripped them of all their clothing and possessions. Another story is told of a man who suspected a neighbor of stealing and went into his house while he was away and destroyed all the possessions he could find. Another man stole a horse and when the owner threatened him with physical
● 558 violence repaid him in gunpowder. One of the usual ways of collecting reparations from a thief is to take a child witness with you when you accuse him. It is said that a child does not lie about such things.

686 Failure to pay debts or to keep contracts may also bring physical retaliation.
627 It was seen in the discussion of murder that one man was killed for not keeping his bargain and another for not paying his gambling debts. Usually, however, such fights do not end in murder, and if they do, they are treated as murder cases rather than as cases of nonfulfillment of obligation.

681 Murder, adultery, theft, and the nonfulfillment of obligations, then, are all offenses for which a person can expect physical revenge. The death penalty is considered just retaliation for murder but is considered too severe for other offenses. Assault or destruction of property are appropriate punishments for these.

626 It is obvious from the above discussion that retaliation has to be checked and
627 kept within what the society considers reasonable bounds. The problem arises as to how retaliation is kept within these reasonable limits. The problem further arises as to what pressure forces a man to accept blood money, and what prevents permanent feuds arising, with wholesale destruction of life or property. It is clear that unless there is some control of retaliation, it will eventually lead to the annihilation of the community.

To answer the above questions it is necessary to analyze what is done in specific cases to stop feuds. In the fight between the two men in Harney, which was reported above, the crowd, led by the brother of the adulterous woman who precipitated the fight, separated the two men. According to the reports, the crowd stood around for a while. When they felt the men had fought enough, the brother brought in the woman in question and, in front of her, started discussing the feud. He reprimanded her for her behavior and blamed her for having started the fight. He told her to go back to her husband and behave herself. This seems to have

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

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sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
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Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little. When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels. In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often taking their younger siblings.

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There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead are never mentioned.

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[4] Aggression training has been discussed in the chapter on "The Control of Aggression Within the Family."

756 sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[7]

756 787 The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

756 ● 858 Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> [888] I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green)

756 Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

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[7] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*, 13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*. [776]

439 White disc beads (clam shell ?) came from the north (Warm Springs) and even today are highly valued. Daisy paid fifty cents apiece for the five or six she has and stated that a short necklace once equaled a horse in value. Modern beadwork in Plains style is also purchased from the Warm Springs Indians. Some beadwork is done by the Paiute, chiefly belts and purses. Some make the belts without looms; but I saw one bow-shaped loom such as Lowie noted for the Northern Shoshone.[180]

RECKONINGS

TIME

805 Time of day was indicated by the position of the sun. The following list was given by Joshua; it has not been checked with another informant:

Taba'-a-gina (ta'ba, sun; gina, up, visible); before daylight, nearly day
Oha'-na-gina (oha', yellow); just before sunrise
Taba'-taibui-gina (taibui, come out); sunrise
Taba-padu'"ti-muna'ikt (padu'"ti, high, higher; mu...'ikt, happen); a little way up
Awa'mu'-tabi'na (awa'mu', morning; tabi'na, noon); halfway up
Tabi'na; noon
Yüüü'kwü; halfway down
Taba'-igia'ga'-dui (igia'ga', down; dui, nearly); nearly down; at the top of the hills
Taba'-igia-mü'as (mü'as, already); sun down
Tuyu'pua-mü'as (tuyu'pua, twilight); dusk
Toga'-na-mü'as (toga', dark); dark

Four seasons were recognized as follows: ta'ma'n°, spring; da'dza', summer; yü'ba'n°, fall; tomo, winter.

The time count, based on descriptive designations for lunar periods, started in the fall with the rutting season of deer and antelope[181] and ceased in spring. Summer months were unnamed; "the real months they count are winter and spring; they don't care about counting summer." The number of days comprising a lunation (müha) was of small concern. Some informants placed it at thirty or thirty-one; others stated frankly that "they never counted the days in the month." A month started with the appearance of the new moon.

● [861] In winter they watched for the new moon. The last day the moon was little and came just before daylight. When they saw the new moon they called it the first day. Then they made all the young boys run about a half mile, carry dry

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[180] Lowie, NS, 177.

[181] Determined by the taste of the meat.

[861]
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wood, and put it on the fire. If they ran every time game would not be afraid of them and they would be able to kill squirrels and sage hens easily. Sometimes they talked about winter, saying, "You boys run at the new moon so as to make the winter short" (JB).

They told the children to watch for the new moon. When it came they had twp little girls and boys run a race. That was so the food would grow well (NO).

Information on the month count is badly jumbled. The list given by Susie Archie seems most reliable; she alone was able to give a series of names and to equate them with our reckoning. Her confidence contrasted favorably with the confusion and contradictions of other informants.

Na'ʼ-müha (wild deer and antelope breed; na, father ?), November
Paba'-müha (big, fall moon), December
Tamü'ni-taba (return of the sun ?), January
Pa'atsuakwatüpanakit (getting warm, snow melting), February
Tokwü'tü-müha (plants germinating), March
Puhi'-mayü-müha (grass is sprouting; puhi', green), April

The above list covers the more or less isolated names furnished by other informants, and is in such sequence that the descriptive designations fit. Perhaps one addition might be made: Joshua noted that two months in summer were known as Dïina'-kwaiya'bin (antelope-shed) from the antelopes' shedding. The name was not given by any other informant.

[821]

Logically, it would seem that Paba'-müha, big moon, should apply to the long summer period. Daisy and Piudy both had it so but were unable to organize the remaining months accordingly. Tamü'ni-taba (return of the sun) is interesting in that it suggests solstitial consciousness. David Chocktoot's rendering of the same term was "the moon turning the earth around to the sun." In any case, the fact remains that the calendar was definitely not regulated by or brought into accord with solar phenomena. Instead of Tamü'ni-taba, Piudy and Daisy both gave Tamü'nida. The former explained it as "around January, the time when seeds are just beginning to germinate under ground." Daisy's explanation was "this is when one side of everything is dry. There is snow in the shade, but things in the sun are dry."

[211]

Recording time by means of knotted cords or notched sticks was unknown to the majority of informants.[183] However, Tom Anderson, in a vain effort to recall the old calendrical system, tied twenty knots in a rope and stated that each night a small thong was tied between

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[183] P, NO, DB.

SMOKING

Smoking was solely a male indulgence;[230] young boys did not smoke 276
for fear they would not be able to pursue game. Smoking was non-ceremonial 517
and was chiefly an evening pastime. Three or four old men would sit down together and smoke before going to bed. One would fill and light the pipe and pass it to his right. The pipe was not offered to the four directions. It did not circulate any prescribed number of times, and a person could decline on the second round without offending.

The generic word for tobacco is pa'mo'. In the old days two kinds were smoked: *Nicotiana attenuata*, the usual Basin species; and pine-
mat manzanita, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray (koda'b^{a})[231] The 277
local supply of the latter was obtained on Bidwell mountain; it is now fetched from there by parties on horseback. *Nicotiana* is pretty well scattered over the country, and the source of supply seems not to have been localized. It is called puhi'-pa'mo' (puhi', green) or wi'si-pa'mo'. The leaves are dried, pounded, and stored in sacks with a little deer fat added to improve the flavor. Both David Chocktoot and Minnie Anderson thought that puhi'-pa'mo' and koda'b^{a} were mixed, but Piudy said not. Tobacco was not mixed with bark. Nowadays koda'b^{a} and commercial chewing tobacco are combined and the blend called düma'iyu, mixture. Koda'b^{a} is said to be "pretty strong."

Smoking was a part of shamanistic treatment.[232] For earache and 276
deafness the doctor blew the smoke of puhi'-pa'mo' in the ear to clear 755
the passages. A tea of the same tobacco was drunk for stomachache. For bad colds a mixture of puhi'-pa'mo' and balsam was smoked.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL USAGES

Children were taught to help their mothers in tasks about camp. 855
A lazy child was not punished; "they just knew he was lazy." 861●
Children were scolded but not chastised "for fear they would fall
sick." No effort was made to teach a left-handed child to use the [826]
other hand, for this was foreordained and unavoidable. "You can tell if a child is going to be left-handed. That always happens if he is born with the cord around his neck."

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[230] Some Klamath women used to smoke pipes like the white man's" (JB).

[231] Two distinct plants are known by this name; one only is smoked.

[232] I neglected to ask if women shamans smoked. It would be interesting to know if professional status superseded the sexual restriction.

592 [462] and prepared the poles. Today the women are still responsible for supplying a large part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 [462] Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they collected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 562 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days, except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 593 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for economic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 ●861 867 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for being aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865
when they eat they will swell up. Over and over again they are told that they should 861
love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867
with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any
bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867
which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery
and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children
and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754]
and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents
reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152]
afraid to express aggression overtly for fear of being accused of sorcery. They are
admonished never to laugh or make fun of other people lest they be attacked. They
are warned always to be polite, to speak to people and to speak pleasantly. They
hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756
people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 754]
The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with
reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having
bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of
course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power,
but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more
specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive
thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty.
Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual
which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence
of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783
rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and
prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back."
Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the
water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152
him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and
dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

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[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming of the dead. [751]

and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
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There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's
hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

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terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead
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more than two brothers. In one of these marriages, the union was first arranged [584]
between a woman and an older brother. Some time later the younger brother took 595
up residence with the couple and the girl's parents, and was then considered a co-husband. [591]
The three slept in the same house and apparently lived together without
any noticeable friction. When a child was born to the wife, both men claimed [861]
fatherhood and were so regarded by public opinion. It was not possible to learn
whether or not the child addressed both by the term for father.

Another polyandrous marriage was arranged between the parents of a girl and [584
two brothers. The brothers visited the girl's parents and talked over the matter.
The brothers, reaching an agreement with the parents with no objection offered 591]
by the woman, came to live in the house of the parents-in-law. A preliminary discussion
involving the consent of the parents and the girl is the usual practice in
arranging Paviotso marriages. The practice of polyandry seems to differ from the
usual pattern of Paviotso marriage only in respect to courtship. It was customary 584
for the prospective husband to visit nightly the home of the girl whom he had
selected as a prospective wife. He would sit quietly until the family went to bed.
Usually he slept by the door and when morning came, he got up and without a
word returned to his home. This continued for weeks, sometimes even months,
until the girl's parents indicated by addressing him pleasantly and by offering him
food that he was acceptable as a son-in-law. Then when the family retired he lay
down with the girl and, if she did not get up and move her bed, they had intercourse
and were then looked upon as married. Thereafter the husband lived with his wife's
parents. This courtship, frequently a long drawn out affair, does not seem to have
been practiced in the few instances of polyandrous marriages recorded.

There is no evidence to indicate that these were considered temporary unions 595
for either of the brothers. In the first instance mentioned, the two husbands lived
with the woman until her death. Public opinion seems to have regarded these
marriages as permanent, as much so as any other marital arrangements. In this
connection it may also be noted that informants were almost unanimous in holding [586]
that marriages in the old days were not frequently dissolved. Although the number
of instances of polyandry was small, this permanency seems also to be characteristic
of such marriages.

As in other marital unions, polyandrous marriages were not marked by ceremony
or exchange of gifts. A marriage is thought of as established when a man and a [585]
woman have had sexual relations. When a man and woman, one man and several
women, or two men and a woman are known to be living together and having sexual
relations, they are regarded by public opinion as married without further formalities.

In the matter of residence polyandrous marriages conformed to the usual [591]
Paviotso practice. The husbands in all known cases went to live in the house of the
wife's parents. The sons-in-law were then expected to contribute their efforts to the [592]
economic support of the household.

There is no evidence that one husband was always absent from the home. In 593
fact, from the discussions of people who have heard of the practice, it seems that the 595

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Wadátkuht

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826 out of the cradleboard, a consequence of having become so used to being in it.

● 161 **Punishing Children**. If a child pretended to cry he was apt to bring sad news to the family. When Kitty did this as a child her father spanked her and put her to bed without her supper. And once Kitty and Gladys strongly reprimanded a little girl who was pretending to cry. They told her to stop but did not spank her.

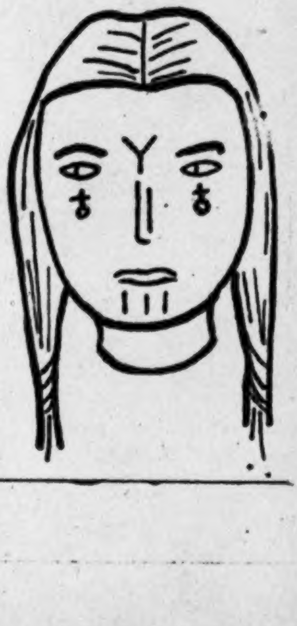
Joaquin spanked Kitty and her sisters another time when the girls had accidentally set fire to brush upon which a Washo man had been drying fish he had caught from Long Valley Creek. Joaquin spanked them for this and for pretending to cry about it.

593 **Sibling Rivalry**. If Kitty's childhood can be taken as typical, sibling rivalry was not unknown. She exhibited considerable animosity toward her older sisters by breaking their mud dolls and other toys. The older girls retaliated by beating her and by holding her down and tattooing three lines on her chin. However, as an adult she spoke of these activities laughingly and with no rancor. Her attitude toward her siblings in later life was one of considerable attachment.

[682] One Wadátkuht boy is said to have purposely shot and killed a younger brother while playing a game of "hunter and rabbit". This may be considered to be an extreme form of sibling rivalry.

304 **Tattoos**. Very little information was gotten with respect to tattooing except for Kitty's explanation of how she got the three blue vertical lines on her chin (see "Sibling Rivalry", infra). She was seven or eight years old and was tattooed with a needle. The girls who tattooed her wet a pencil with their tongues and rubbed it into the bleeding pricks. A tattoo was called naboidz. [531]

The tattoo on Susy Buster's face was more complex than the simple "lll" on Kitty's chin. That of Susy's is presented in Figure 1.



854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[8] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at
times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and
[372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build
up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The
[603] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grand-
parents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he
● 862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece
lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

863 Cleanliness training is late and lenient. Children are not trained until they can walk, are no longer in cradles, and can talk reasonably well. Parents just talk to the children

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[8] Similar to that described by Kelly (p. 134). Later, larger cradles are sometimes made with the willow warps horizontal rather than longitudinal.

854 used for baby powder. When the navel cord drops off, the baby is bathed again and put in a new boat-shaped cradle.

853 The infant is not nursed until the day after birth. On the second day a flat rock is heated and held against the mother's breast to open the nipple, or a cottontail whisker is used to open or enlarge the opening in the nipple. The first milk is burned in the fire so that the child will not throw up. Mother's milk is thought to be the only thing which will make infants grow. If a mother dies in childbirth or soon after, the mother's sister usually cares for the baby. If she has no milk she sometimes attempts to get a wet nurse, but usually the baby is fed on solid foods and according to reports usually dies.

A mother usually offers her breast whenever the child cries. Solid food is introduced when the infant starts getting teeth, but the baby is often nursed until it begins to walk. If the baby bites the mother while nursing, he is made to bite a little rock. Babies are allowed to suck their thumbs and are sometimes given strips of meat to suck. Weaning is done gradually as the child becomes used to other foods. In order to wean a child, a mother may put bitter tasting substance on her breast, but usually just pushes the child away.

GENERAL CARE

854 By the time the mother returns home, the baby graduates to a large cradle, and spends a large part of his time laced inside the buckskin covering.[8] (In general it is thought that the baby will not grow up well unless he is kept in the cradle when he is small, but it is not thought wise to confine him all day long.) At night he is removed from the cradle and sleeps beside the mother, but in the morning he returns to it and is usually propped up so he may watch his mother work or is strapped to her back if she leaves the house. If he is restless during the day the mother may unlace the top of the buckskin so he can throw his arms about, or she may remove him from the cradle and put him on a blanket, or she may put the cradle on her left knee and jiggle it until he stops crying or falls asleep. When a child is taken out of the cradle, his knees are rubbed together so that his legs will be straight. As he matures he is allowed to crawl around. By the time the child is two the cradle is used only for trips.

The mother takes most of the care of the child. Her sister, if nearby, may help at times, carrying the baby around on her back when it cries. If the baby cries at night and [372] nursing does not soothe it, and if there is another woman in the house, she will build up the fire and hold the baby. The sight of the fire is thought to put it to sleep. The [803] father may handle the infant when his wife is cooking or doing something else. Grandparents may also help.

CHILD TRAINING

855 In general children are allowed to eat anything they want. When a child is small he 862 is told not to eat too much lest he have a big stomach, and not to eat the biggest piece lest he be stunted or drown. The oldest children get the most to eat.

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and tell them what they want them to do. They sometimes scold them verbally, and 863
more rarely punish them with a stick for wetting.

Paiute mothers do not seem to be concerned about sleeping habits. Children may 513
sleep at any time. In general the youngest children go to bed first. Grandparents may tell 855
them stories when they are in bed.

Sex training seems to be more rigorous. Children are told not to finger their genitals. 864
Girls are told that they will wear out their genitals if they sleep on their stomach or ride
horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants
claimed that masturbation did not exist.[4]

Young children do not have many responsibilities. They sometimes help fetch 857
water and wood. Sometimes young boys cut the wood and the girls carry it. A child of
five starts running errands, and doing small jobs such as leading the blind. A girl of ten
sometimes does some cooking and may start sewing. In general, however, they do little.
When children play too much, do not mind, and do not help when asked, they are
afraid to go home because their parents will not give them any food.

In general, threats and mild physical punishment are used to supplement verbal 861
instruction in training children. Parents tell children that a big owl or wild cat will come
and take them away if they do not mind, that snakes and other bad things come out in
the evening and will get them if they come home late. One informant said cold baths
and nettles were used to punish children who lied. Some informants stated that some
parents whip their children when they are aggressive, but others said that only mean
people do this. Grandparents often instruct their children in how to behave, and frequently
tell them not to cry. Children are said to be most afraid of their father.

Girls and boys play together from about the age of three until ten or twelve. They 857
often play with mud. Many of their games center in aping adult life. As the boys grow 858
older, they wander off in twos, and threes and go hunting for juniper rats and weasels.
In general, older girls stay around home, or go in twos and threes to the village, often
taking their younger siblings.

DEVELOPMENTAL CEREMONIES

There are few formal ceremonies in the early life of Paiute children. The navel 852
cord is often hung on the cradle and then thrown away, preferably in a juniper rat's
hole, ant hill, or the stomach of a deer, so that the child will be lively.

A child's ears are pierced during infancy, but without ceremony.

There are no ceremonies to do with the appearance of teeth. When the baby teeth
drop out, the parents throw them away where they will not be found.

Children's hair is not cut. [302]

Nicknames are informally given at different ages. Children are often called by 551
words they mispronounce. Later they are given names which characterize typical ways
in which they act. Parents call children by their real name or refer to them by kinship
terms. Others may use a person's name only when he is not present. Names of the dead
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[862] part of the food. They work as cooks or wash women on ranches or in the town of Burns. They work with the men collecting brush for the lumber company. The men get odd jobs in the sheep-shearing and haying seasons, but, in general, the women bring in the steadiest income.

602 The family is also the essential protective unit. A woman depends on her father or more frequently her brothers to protect her. If her husband maltreats her, it is her brother who comes to her defense. A man turns to his brothers to support him in any dispute which he has with people outside the family. Brothers cooperated in protecting the camps from enemy raids.

562 Women can be economically independent of men. In the old days, they collected the seeds and roots which were the staple foods and, because of the custom
[862] of sharing any game which was killed among all the households, even obtained meat. Today their role is essentially unchanged. Women, however, cannot perform all their tasks without cooperating among themselves. Since a woman has to care for the children and cook as well as procure the food, there must be at least two women in every family group. In the old days, one took care of the children while the other or others went after seeds. Nowadays there must be someone at home while the mother is working in town. These women, then, are the most important and stable unit in the family.

476 It is far less important for men to cooperate than for women. In the old days,
562 except for the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and for the salmon fishing, a man could perform his economic tasks without the help of other men. Furthermore, a man is much less dependent on his family as a whole. An adolescent boy can wander away from his family and visit relatives in other bands. It is expected that young boys will leave home and travel around in groups of twos and threes until they find attractive wives and decide to settle down. Even after marriage a man is not bound to his family. When he tires of his wife he may leave the children with his mother or sisters and wander off again. Even men, however, are dependent on the support of their brothers to protect themselves and their families and sisters against aggression from outsiders.

602 Both men and women, therefore, are dependent on their families for eco-
593 nomic security and for protection against aggression from outsiders. The solidarity of the family is essential and must not be threatened by hostilities between its members. The control of aggression within the family must be strict. Women, particularly, must control their feelings of hostilities against their mothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins. The problem to be considered is how the individual is taught this control.

865 In the first place, there is definite evidence that children are punished for be-
861 ing aggressive. If siblings fight among themselves, the older ones are whipped. If a
867 child strikes his parents, they hit him back. Children are told that a big owl or

a wildcat will take them off if they do not mind. They are told that if they get angry 865
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love their parents and their siblings and should not be angry with them nor fight 867
with them. They are severely punished for destroying bird's eggs or hurting any
bird or animal.

Probably more important than this direct punishment is the fear of aggression 867
which they acquire by observing their parents and hearing them discuss sorcery
and fighting. If there is a fight in the community, mothers gather up their children
and take them away. They are frightened that sorcery will be "thrown around" [754]
and will accidentally or purposefully hit the children. Children see their parents
reacting with anxiety to the danger of sorcery. They observe that their parents are [152]
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hear much gossip about sorcerers and how dangerous such individuals are.

The result is that a child is afraid to express aggression for fear of punishment from his family directly, or because of fear of punishment by others. He shares his family's anxiety about expressing aggression. Furthermore, because of certain beliefs connected with sorcery and the acquisition of bad power, he develops a fear that he will express his aggression unconsciously.

It will be remembered that when a person is acquiring bad power, the first [756
people he is likely to kill are his own children or members of his own family. 758]
The possibility that one will kill one's own children is stated most frequently with
reference to women. Also, a sorcerer may send his power against a person by having
bad dreams about the person, or by having aggressive thoughts about him. Of
course these bad dreams and thoughts are not dangerous unless one has bad power,
but a person often does not know that he has power until the community, or more
specifically, the doctor discovers it. The result is that when a person has aggressive
thoughts or dreams about some member of his family, he is frightened and guilty.
Perhaps he unconsciously hopes that he has power and can kill them. The ritual
which is practiced on arising in the morning after having a bad dream is evidence
of this anxiety and guilt. On arising, the dreamer takes some water, faces the 783
rising sun, splashes the water on his face a little at a time, hits his chest, and
prays to the sun that the dream "will not stay on him" and "will not come back."
Sometimes this ceremony is performed over live coals from the fire and, as the
water falls on them, the dreamer prays to the fire to "make him well" and to make 152
him feel as he usually feels.[1] Thus guilt and anxiety about aggressive thoughts and
dreams, as well as direct punishment, control intrafamily hostility.

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[1] This ceremony is also performed when one has dreams of ghosts in order to prevent ghost [751]
sickness both by keeping the ghost away and by keeping the dreamer from thinking and dreaming
of the dead.

762 154 578 155 The above analysis seems to indicate that the suicides of men are the result of strong feelings of hostility against all women because of the many sexual and other frustrations which they experience primarily with respect to their mothers and sisters. Inasmuch as any sexual advances to his real love objects, his mother and sisters, are prohibited, any sexual rebuff will add to the feelings of inadequacy which a man acquires as a defense against and a rationalization for his inability to get the sex object he wishes. In the cases cited above, the aggression seemed sometimes to be against the male rival but most often against the woman in her role of sexual frustrator. Furthermore, suicide is a way of expressing aggression directly against the girl who rebuffs him inasmuch as the family of the girl feels responsible if some man who is courting their daughter commits suicide. Generally they offer reparations to the boy's parents, whether they are demanded or not.

[865 867] In summary, with respect to both men and women, aggression within the family is strictly controlled. This control is taught in childhood by direct punishment. The child is instructed not to be aggressive toward his family or other people, to love his parents, stand by his siblings and be pleasant to outsiders. He observes that his parents are afraid to express aggression and show guilt about having mean thoughts and bad dreams. The fear of having bad power and unconsciously killing his own family is instilled in him. As a result all aggression against his family is inhibited. When it breaks through these inhibitions it takes the form of sudden and violent outbursts, most often against the spouse who is not so essential as parents and siblings. If it is not expressed in this manner or displaced outside the family it results in self-punishment in the form of guilt and suicide.

The constant fear of loss of help and support, in a society where the individual is dependent on his family economically and for protection, serves to strengthen the training in the control of aggression. As a result of the childhood training the mechanisms of control are highly internalized and may be said to function primarily as a part of the conscience. They are maintained, however, by the constant threat of aggression from people outside the family.

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762 154 578 aggressive dreams, or perhaps they wanted to hurt the children as an aggressive act against their husbands. The death of the child then would seem to have been caused by their own aggressive thoughts, and feelings of strong guilt would lead to suicide. A further bit of evidence which may indicate that this hypothesis is correct was the statements made by several informants that women with "good thoughts" would wait for death and not take their own lives.

The same type of explanation could be used in the cases of women who committed suicide because their husbands maltreated them. The fear here may have been that they would kill their children because of their feelings of hostility against their husbands. In other words, if this hypothesis is correct, any strong hostility against a member of one's immediate family—mother, children, husband, or even co-wife—could lead to fear and the unconscious wish that one could actually harm these people by having aggressive thoughts and power. If this aggression could not [784] be worked off in any way and could not break through the strong taboos on the expression of aggression within the family, strong guilt and suicide might follow.

Of the thirteen cases of men who committed suicide, six of them were said to have been rebuffed in courtship. Two men committed suicide because their [681] mothers criticized them; one because his mother complained that he did not kill any deer; the other because his mother scolded him. Henry shot himself after trying to kill his mother-in-law and after having killed his wife accidentally. Of the other cases, two committed suicide because they were afraid they would be arrested by the white police, one because his daughter died, and one because his brother committed suicide.

154 The common element in most of these cases seems to be frustration by women. 578 The sensitivity to criticism by the mother may throw some light on the problem.

593 As we have seen, even though a boy is considerably less dependent on older women than a girl, he still must reside in a household run by a woman, and must inhibit his feelings of hostility against her.

[602] The further fact that a boy is supposed to protect and care for his sister and is extremely close to her in childhood is also important. As young siblings, brother and sister often fight and are punished by the parents according to age, the eldest ● [867] being blamed. In adolescence, however, fighting ceases and the brothers assume the role of protectors. A boy who wishes to court a girl usually makes friends with her [584] brother and wanders about with him before starting the courtship. Brothers turn to their sisters for approval of the girls they court, and sisters consult their brothers. After the marriage of the brother this close relationship is broken except in emergencies or when they chance to meet when the brother's wife is not present. For example, Helen was very close to her step-brother until he married. Then, as she explained to me, she did not see him any more, except when they occasionally met in town. This was in spite of the fact that they lived just two houses apart in the old camp. When I asked her why she did not see him she said that she hated to go

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DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual division of labor was not ironbound but was sufficiently definite to permit of a general statement. Hunting was the male province, but women often assisted, as in communal drives and the capture of water fowl. Traps for small game, such as sage hens, might be set by women or even girls. All equipment connected with the hunt, such as weapons, snowshoes, etc., was made by the men. In net making women might twist the bark fiber, but men did the netting "because they knew how." Such stone working as there was seems to have been done by the men, although with a domestic article as the metate, women seem occasionally to have taken a hand. 462

Women were concerned with the gathering of roots, seeds, berries, and insects, but men occasionally assisted with the last mentioned. Women also prepared food, hauled wood and water, and generally concerned themselves with domestic tasks. Men, home from the hunt, are said to have done the grinding when women were out gathering. Handicrafts such as basketry and sewing were preeminently a woman's work, although it is interesting to note that a man sewed his own quiver.

Both men and women cooperated in house building, the men setting the frame, the women applying the covering. Both sexes also worked hides, although the skinning, as an adjunct of hunting, was always done by the man. Both sexes likewise made rabbitskin blankets.

It is quite apparent that the sexual division of labor followed normal cleavage lines, men engaging in the violent and sporadic tasks, women in the less active and more continuous pursuits.

HUNTING

A boy was eight or nine years old when he started to hunt. 224
After a light snowfall he was sent out to track cottontails and often 857
would bring a few home. A small boy was also directed to hunt wildcats as they climbed in the junipers. He stood beneath the tree and shot the animal with his bow.

When a boy was ten or eleven years old he learned to hunt deer. 224
He accompanied his father and was given instruction in technique. 868

> If I have a boy I tell him how to hunt. I say, "Get up before daylight and go to the hill. Soon you will see deer. Get close and kill one. You must watch

224 the wind. Be sure to walk carefully. Watch the rocks where you step. Don't fall down or make a noise" (JB).

● 868 My father said, "You must watch the wind when you hunt so that the deer will not scent you. Track deer all day; then you will catch them easily. Get them early in the morning. Groundhog is the same way as deer. It is frightened if it scents you. But rabbits, ducks, and geese are not afraid; they do not smell" (CW).

A boy was not allowed to eat his first game, otherwise he would never become a successful hunter. When he had shot his first deer, or possibly antelope as an alternative, he was required to go through a set procedure, after which the food taboo was removed and good luck assured him. An account of this performance[17] follows:

A man told his son, "Do not eat the first deer you kill. Butcher it and hang it up. Then let me know. I will go with you to bring back the meat."

Once I killed a deer up above Lake City. My father came and asked me, "What kind of tree would you like? Service?" I said, "Yes, that is stout; maybe it will make me strong." Then we cut green service to make a ring. I pulled over the stem and my father cut it, saying "I cut you." Then he sliced thin meat from inside the ribs and twisted it around that service ring.

Then my father told me, "Take off your shirt, your moccasins. Take the beads from your neck." I took off my clothes. My father said "Step in this ring. Do it carefully; be sure not to touch it." I did that, and he lifted the ring up over my head and then let it down, and I stepped out. Then he put it over my head and pulled it down. I stood still. "Step over," he said. Every time my father did this he called all kinds of game—goose, swan, mountain sheep, bear, elk, and otter.

This is called natsu'tihi'siu,[18] and afterwards a person will always be lucky. My father said, "You can eat this meat tomorrow." I wanted some that day, but I waited (JB).

The account given by Piudy was in substantial agreement with the foregoing but differed slightly in detail. A willow was used in lieu of service, and the meat was strewn on the ground and the youth required to step over it. At the conclusion of the performance, the boy was allowed to eat any part of the animal he wished. Although he had previously killed small game, such as rabbits, he had not been allowed to eat them.

224 777 Success in hunting was a matter of luck and skill, but the former was not attributed to any particular factor. Continence, which seems to be a widespread requisite, was reported by one informant[19] but denied by others.[20] According to Piudy:

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[17] Cf. Hopkins, 50.

[18] I am not sure if this term applies to the whole performance, or to the ring, or to both. It is probably the first, as Piudy said, "It is the same way they call skinning an animal," a neat case of imitative magic.

[19] DB.

[20] NO, JB, P.

863 At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when
881 he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

863 When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.*
881 The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and
841 menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. Girls
[343] are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

DEATH

763 When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The
764 wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

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[343] * Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

776 the summit, he heard loud noises, the sound of horses, guns, and thunder. If he
756 did not get frightened and leave, he would become bullet proof. There was also
787 said to be a hill north of Mule Springs where a person could get bad power. In
general, however, the spirit helper comes to the person he intends to befriend and
while he sleeps takes him and teaches him the songs, dances, and behavior he is to
follow.

756 Obviously what actually takes place is somewhat different from the above
787 theory. From analyzing the case material gathered, in actuality the acquisition of
power seems to work in one of three ways. A doctor's son sees his father practice
and purposefully or unintentionally learns the different dances, songs, and tech-
[869] niques. The father instills in his son the desire to be a doctor and convinces him
that he will dream. He tells him what type of dreams to expect and warns him to
remember them and to follow the instructions he receives, lest he incur the anger
of the spirit who is trying to befriend him and become ill. There is constant parental
pressure to dream and to remember the dream, and this pressure is backed up by the
community. A person with power is revered. Furthermore, a doctor, blood-letter, or
special technician can expect to gain both prestige and material benefit from his
power.

Another way in which the acquisition of power takes place may be seen in the
case of Louise M., a girl of about sixteen. Louise was very deft at blood-letting.
[755] Her father had had power and she had watched him let blood from the time she
was a small child. Although there were other children in the family, Louise was
the most interested. After her father's death, she volunteered one day to treat her
sister who was complaining of an ache in her arm. Gaining confidence she started
to practice on others and soon won a good reputation. At first she gave her services
free and made no pretense of having a special gift or power. Her family, however,
began to rumor it abroad that she obviously was like her father. One night, Louise
had a dream in which she saw her father's hand with a fifty cent piece in the palm.
781 She told her mother about it and her mother told her it was obviously a power dream
787 and that it meant Louise should charge fifty cents for her services. Mrs. M. warned
[755] Louise that if she did not get the money she would anger her spirit and become ill.
From then on Louise always worked for money and anyone who asked her to give
her services free was asking her to risk sickness.

756 A third indication of power which is recognized by the family and community
787 is nervousness or sickliness. If a child has nightmares, is restless in his sleep and
unduly nervous in his waking hours, the family is apt to attribute the aberrant
behavior to the fact that the child is acquiring power. If a child is constantly sick,
the family and doctor will suspect that the sickness is caused by the failure of the
child to recognize power dreams. The doctor and the family will then encourage
the child to remember and recount any recurrent dreams and they will interpret
them in terms of power.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his 756
dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. 787
Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is [521]
gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. [554] Children, on the other hand, get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but
there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same [869
type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although 183]
theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother 756
all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power [177]
too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her 754
mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first 869
place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members 756
of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him
interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an [753]
explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

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[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] *Cf.* N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

● 869 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although
756 they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disad-
577] vantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[771] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority 648
of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for 657
the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they [464]
can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can
work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the
category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have
jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons.
In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The
younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning
for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has
changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much 511 of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores. A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The 273 entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of 164
the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many
cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very re- [165]
cently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison
with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. 871 Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life 177 seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

BOYS' RITES[302]

•881 When a boy's voice changed, he was told to run. He ran in no prescribed direction but at the end of his course he stacked sagebrush and left it there. While running he carried no particular objects. A youth continued this for five days, at the same time abstaining from game. Breach of the food taboo would affect his whole body; he would tire easily and perhaps be subject to rheumatism.

During this period a boy slept at home. There were no special bathing requirements. He did not sweat, but was expected to dip in the stream when he happened to be near-by. At the conclusion of the five day period, he was allowed to smoke for the first time. Joshua thought that a boy did not smoke until he was about twenty; if he did so before, his body and especially his legs would be weak, and he would not be able to pursue game.

A boy did not marry until several years afterward.

GIRLS' ADOLESCENCE CEREMONY[303]

An adolescent girl was expected to rise early in the morning and run, apparently in no prescribed direction. She was also expected to gather firewood. These regulations were in order that she might be industrious and never tire.

Upon attainment of maturity, a girl retired to a small lodge of rye grass or sagebrush, built twenty or so yards north[304] of the main dwelling. Here she stayed a month, bathing every five days and observing strict food taboos. Game of any sort, either fresh or dried, was forbidden her. There was no salt taboo; but salt is said to be of recent introduction.

A stick of any kind was picked up and used as a head scratcher. If the girl used her fingers her hair would not grow, and she might have lice. One informant reported a drinking tube of elderberry stem, about a foot in length, called hivi'nu. When, however, this was mentioned upon a subsequent occasion, she denied knowledge of it. Other informants consistently denied the drinking tube. The adolescent was expected to avoid people, but was not required to cover her face. She tied her hair with sagebrush bark and braided circlets of it which she wore about her wrists, upper arms, knees, and ankles as a safeguard against rheumatism. She also wore a braided belt of sagebrush bark. 881 ●

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[302] With the one exception noted, this information was given by Piedy.

[303] In view of Dr. de Angulo's denial (321) of puberty rites among these Paiute, it may be well to mention my principal informants. They were MA, NO, and DB, with supplementary and confirmatory data from NT, NH, P, and JB. A Beatty informant, LG, mentioned running and wood-gathering, but said, "My people don't do it much; the McDermitt Indians (also Paviotso) are great for that."

[304] At one time NO gave west for this and north for the birth hut. Upon another occasion she stated that both the menstrual and birth huts were to the north.

At the conclusion of the month, the girl exchanged her buckskin dress with another girl or threw it away if she had no friend with whom to trade it. She bathed herself thoroughly in a stream, but did not sweat at this time.[295] According to one informant the girl painted her face with red paint at the conclusion of the month; but this was not mentioned by others. One informant described a celebration following her emergence from seclusion: a man sang a song; many people gathered roots; and everyone, including the girl, enjoyed a feast.

After this a girl was free to marry, which she usually did within the year.

MENSTRUAL OBSERVANCES

A menstruating woman retired to a special lodge (huni'-nobi; huni', menstrual blood) where she remained in seclusion for five days.[296] If a person happened to inquire for a woman during her absence, he was told, "Hu"na patsa'"; she killed a badger. This was the conventional way of indicating that the woman was in retirement. The menstrual lodge was built to the north of the main house, but no reason for the orientation was given except that "it comes from the north." Several menstruating women might occupy a hut jointly. Daisy Brown stated that the special lodge was used only at the first menses but this was denied by other informants. She also stated that "over in Nevada they have to use it all the time." This may apply to the McDermitt band. For the Pyramid Lake Paviotso, Lowie's data are mainly negative, but it is of some interest to note that one of the tales recorded by him contains the word for birth or menstrual lodge.[297] 841 [195] [343]

Men never approached the lodge, as illness and death were thought to follow contact with a menstruating woman. Such contacts were

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[295] Cf. Lowie, SE, 272.

[296] Three or four days according to MA.

[297] Written huni'no'Bi by him, ST, 201. The Shoshonean cognate is hŭ'na-ga'nⁱ (ganⁱ, lodge), Lowie, NS, 214.

551 According to Sarah Winnemucca the Paviotso named the majority of their girls after flowers, others after rocks; boys were designated according to some chance observation they made in infancy. If they particularly noted the flight of a bird or the passing of an animal or a sister's black eyes, they were named after the objects in question.[1] My Paviotso informant said that some but not all girls were named for flowers. Usually a child received a nickname, which developed into a permanent designation. Bob Carson, now called Oitc', Left-handed, was originally known as Nü'ʙanats, Snow-on-him, from nü'ʙaʙi, snow, and nats, boy. Later because he always wore clothes of canvas he was named Toxákus, from tohá, white, +?.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni parents or some of their friends gave names to children, sometimes according to what the children do when old enough to laugh. These real names are not altered in later life, but nicknames may be acquired and used so constantly that those ignorant of the circumstances mistake them for the real names. Wilson was called the Crier because he once mimicked some crying women and children.[2] There is no objection to mentioning deceased persons, but a distinctive suffix, *hap*, meaning "the late" is appended, e.g., Tíndoi-hap. Carrot-leaf, Drowning, Elk-twins, are illustrations of women's names. The Wind River Shoshoni do not like to tell their names; a man rarely does so—more readily if alone than in the presence of other tribesmen,—a woman never. If other Shoshoni are present, one of them may, however, pronounce his name. This reticence with regard to one's own name is found also among the Lemhi, and though I can find no specific note for the other groups mentioned above I think it is probably a deep-rooted and widespread Shoshonean feature.

MENSTRUATION.

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According to a Moapa Paiute, his tribe never had a menstrual lodge, but the Shivwits say that during the period of illness a woman would sleep some distance from her husband. At the first menses a Shivwits girl would abstain from eating meat for a whole month because it had a disagreeable odor for one in this condition. However, this rule is no longer maintained. On later occasions the women merely abstained during the menstrual period.

The Southern Ute had very definite rules. A girl would announce her first menses to her mother, who then led her out and made her run back and forth like a horse in training. While she was trotting in this fashion, her mother gave her instructions about the menstrual lodge and its regulations. Then she would make a brush structure or "blood lodge" (*no'd'γan*) for her daughter. The next time the girl would know what to do. The brush lodge was erected about a quarter of a mile from home and a brush bed was prepared there. Sometimes several girls having their menses at the same time jointly constructed a larger shelter for themselves. During the three or four nights spent there meat was tabooed; a married woman's husband would have bad luck in the chase if she ate meat. It is worth noting that among the Northern Maidu a husband was debarred from hunting during his wife's illness.[1] Young Ute men were permitted to go to the blood lodge and make love to their sweethearts within, but they were warned not to attempt cohabitation lest they fall sick in later life, and girls were told by their mothers that carnal intercourse in the lodge would make them short-lived. Menstruating women were never allowed to attend a dance. At the time of my visit these rules were largely obsolete at Ignacio, while the Uintah declared that the menstrual lodge was still in vogue. These Northern Ute share with their Southern kinsmen the meat taboo and the courting custom. When a girl menstruated for the first time, an old woman made her take a bath and washed her thoroughly. She had to remain alone in a blood lodge for ten days, when she was again washed by the old woman. Thereafter her period of seclusion was shortened by a day every successive month until it was reduced to the normal span of three days.[2] Sometimes a small girl or boy would sleep in the shelter with a menstruating woman. 000

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[1] Hopkins, 46 f.
[2] Wilson, 27.

Both on the Pyramid Lake Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, my Paviotso informants denied the use of a special menstrual lodge, though they knew of its occurrence among the Shoshoni. This was confirmed at Lovelocks by Annie Lowry, who told me that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people. However, at Pyramid Lake menstruating women were not supposed to enter the place where a sick person was staying and the meat taboo was enforced, the diet being largely confined to seeds. At Pyramid Lake Old Winnemucca said that during her first menses a girl had to carry sagebrush for firewood every day for five days and the neighbors would use the wood.[3] After the five days the girl took a sweatbath and cleansed her- 841 [343] 881 841

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[1] Dixon, (a), 229.
[2] A gradual shortening of the period has been noted by Professor Kroeber among the Mohave.
[3] Cf. Dixon, (a), 230; idem., (b), 458.

841 self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope •881 impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she returned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants. 582 The entire ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.[1] Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual (343) lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

000 As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo, which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.[2] The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.[3]

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[1] Hopkins, 48.

[2] Lowie, 214.

[3] Franciscan Fathers, 446.

the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altougth this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group. 262 251 252 412

CEREMONIES. RELIGION.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms. 796 756 [787] 881 ●

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people. [191]

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians. 773 [191] [776]

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner. 237

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that his own people very seldom made them that way. 276 [191]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

N W A 855

N W A 881 784

N W A 881 [302]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tö	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2295a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296a. Toward north	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2297. Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2300. Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2300a. Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
*2304. First Menstruation (mnhadanomani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2307. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2307a. 30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2308. In family house	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2309. In special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2310. Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any women	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322. Cold water forbidden	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323. Talking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2324. Laughing forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2325. Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
2328. Combing hair forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330a. Run once in special ceremony	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335a. "Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2336. Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
2336a. Use special cup	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340. Bathe daily	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2341a. Every 5 days	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	-
*2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2345. Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
2347. New clothes	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2348. Delousing by mother	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2349. Delousing by attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	+	-	-	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

[p.410]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

N ●
W
A
881 ●

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2351. Scratching stick of wood	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2352. Single	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
MENSTRUATION (numadrarai)														
2354. Seclusion	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2355. 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2356. Until flow stops	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2357. Special house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2359. Attendant: grandmother	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2365. Cooking forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2372. Avoid hunters	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2374. Fishing forbidden	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2378. Husband must hunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BOY'S PUBERTY (See also 369-374.)														
2379. Confinement 5 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2380. Head scratcher used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
2384. Mother washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2384a. Father washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2395. Tracks of dead covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	–	+
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+

N
W
A
841

N
W
A
881

N
W
A
764

N
W
A
[767]

[p.411]

Achomawi N55

N 844 846 2249. Ts: A good hunter bathed the father and sprinkled him with feathers. Paviotso: see note 2207.

2250. Ts: Father takes baby and runs with it.

A [846] 2254. Kl: 6-10 days. Sa: 10 days. Wd: About 30. AE: Abstinence until umbilical cord falls off.

2256. Ts: Father refrains from smoking until umbilical cord drops off. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2257. At, Wd: Gambling refrained from for 30 days.

2267. Wd: Father even brings wood for other camps.

2271. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 160).

2273. Kü: - (GN).

Twins

N 845 2284. Pa: "I know a woman in Fallon who let one of her twins die because she didn't feed it enough" (DV). Pakwi did not do this.

N [774 761] 2284, 2285. Tg: DS was told he was a twin and that his twin sister was killed. He was hidden during the killing so that the two spirits would not leave together. Nowadays when one twin is not killed people think both will die if one does.

Infanticide

N 847 2287. Pa: A deformed child is allowed to die. At: If pregnant woman eats anything which has been bitten into by a gopher her child will be deformed. N [842] A deformed child called nayla dökŏpö ("gopher ate some off").

N 836 847 664 2293. K2, Kü: DM and GN both said modern Indian girls are bad. If someone gives them a little whiskey, they lie down any place, so that they often get pregnant before they are married. The girls have an abortion or kill the baby. Old-time Indians did not do this. They never chased around before they got married.

GIRL'S PUBERTY

● N 881 2304. muhadanomani, "moon runner." Paviotso: "When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made 6 or 7 piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening..." as sign of nobility and to make her industrious. Women constantly watched over her (Curtis, 79). A [881 535 533] AE: At first menses girl dances 5 nights, second, 4 nights, third, 3 nights. At these ceremonies, people gather from all around to enjoy singing and dancing. After dancing all night, at dawn the girl follows a special sequence of dances, then runs. After the run she sleeps. Her attendant combs her hair, cleans her. "If the girl has been good, hasn't been monkeying around with boys, the dance is easy. If she has been lying with boys already, her legs will get terribly tired and she will have hard

[p.442(a)]

Achomawi N55

N 881 time to dance 5 nights." These dances are still held by Achomawi.

A [881 2306. Ki: + (Kelly, 162).

2307. Wa: Confined 4 days.

535] 2309. Kü: Annie Lowry told me a special menstrual hut was always known by Paiute, but she told Lowie "that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people" (Lowie, 273). Tg: Even today, nearly all houses on Owyhee Reservation have special "moon house" in rear. 533 N [343]

2321. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2322. Wa: + (Curtis, 96).

2328, 2330. Kü: - (GN).

2330a. K2: At first menstruation girl is called "moon runner," because she has to run in a large circle, stopping 5 times to make a bed of young sagebrush. She lies on each a moment, then runs and makes new bed. "Moon runner" is accompanied by other adult girls and is followed by an old woman who carries a basket jug of water with which she bathes the girl at the end of the course. At the finish place a fire has been built by anyone. Here the old woman bathes girl and steams her as she stands over a smudge from green sagebrush. Hot rocks are mixed among the smoking sage so that steam rises when water is poured on. The girl standing straddle of the smudge and rock is bathed in steam. This ceremony takes place at dusk of first day of menstrual flow. At: Girl pulls 6 sagebrush and puts them on other brush before she takes wood home. Wa: Special dance held at first and second menses. Everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During 4-day confinement girl eats nothing. AE: See note 2304.

2331. Paviotso: Girl secluded 25 days, but had to pile 5 piles of wood daily (Hopkins, 48).

2332, 2339. Kü: - (AL).

2340. Kü: - (GN).

2341a. Paviotso: Girl took bath at end of each 5 days of her first menstrual seclusion of 25 days (Hopkins, 48).

2342. Paviotso: Sweatbath taken to cleanse self after 5 days (Lowie, 273).

2345. Ki: + (Kelly, 162): or clothes were traded. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2348, 2351. Kü: - (GN).

N 2354. Ki: + (Kelly, 163): but on page 164 she reports that woman did not have to retire to special hut if red ring was painted on wrist or circle of red paint made in house; she also mentioned that this practice of seclusion has fallen into disuse. 841 [343]

A 2366. AE: If intercourse indulged in during menses, man will become impotent at early age. [881 842]

2371, 2377, 2378. Kü: - (GN).

2372a. K2: If a woman and her husband wish to gamble during her menstruation, they paint a red circle around each wrist. Some think it a luck time. N 777

[p.442(B)]

Washo , NT20
Achomawi NS5

BOY'S PUBERTY

● N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [172] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt. A [764]

N [766] 2416. Kü: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Kl: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 166): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Kü: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283). N 784

2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

W [769] 2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Kl: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Kü: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p. 1443(A)]

868 881 At adolescence both boys and girls go through an informal ritual; the boy when he kills his first deer, the girl when she first menstruates.

When a boy shoots his first deer or antelope, usually when he is about twelve years old, he runs home and gets his father. The father skins the animal, carries the meat home, and then places the meat on the skin on the ground. He makes a willow hoop, tied with willow bark and wrapped with the intestines of the deer. There are five versions of the ceremony: (1) the boy steps on the skin beside the meat and his father lowers the hoop over his head, saying, "Give to him deer." The boy then steps out of the hoop and his father lowers the hoop over him many times mentioning all the land, water and air game. (2) The father places the hoop over the meat, the boy steps into the hoop, the father names the animals as the boy steps back and forth across the meat. (3) The boy stands on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop as he names the animals. (4) The boy jumps through the hoop as the father holds it over the meat, the father raises the hoop over his head and holds it again for the boy until all the animals have been named. (5) The boy sits on the meat and the father raises and lowers the hoop over his head. In all the versions the father makes sagebrush bands which he ties around the knees, ankles, wrists and waist of the boy to give him endurance in later life. The boy wears these for five days. During this period the boy may eat only the outside flesh of the animal that he has killed. The boy's parents do not eat the meat of the first deer but give it to neighbors. All small game killed by the boy prior to his first deer is eaten only by children.

868 881 841 When a girl first menstruates she is secluded in the menstrual hut for one month.[8] The girl's mother, or sometimes her grandmother, lectures her at this time about sex and menstrual taboos. It is said that some girls are very upset by these talks. The mother or grandmother puts a sagebrush bark band around the girl's head so that she will have long hair. She ties bands around the girl's ankles, knees, wrists, arms, and waist. Girls [343] are supposed to wear badger skin aprons in the menstrual hut, use a stick to scratch themselves, brush their hair every day with a porcupine brush, and bathe, preferably in running water. They are supposed to get up early, pile wood and move around fast, make their own fires and cook for themselves. They are advised to drink warm water, eat lightly lest they become heavy eaters, and abstain from meat lest they bring bad luck to the man who killed the game, and lest they bleed a lot like animals. They may never take sweat baths or attend doctorings. Both men and women may visit, but only children may sleep in the house with them. When the month is over the girl takes a bath, puts on a new dress, paints her face with red paint and returns home. During subsequent menstrual periods she is secluded for five days and observes the same taboos.

DEATH

763 When a person dies the friends and relatives wail and stand in groups and discuss the cause of the death. Someone is sent to notify the relatives who are not present. The 764 wife, brother, mother, sister, or some relative washes the face, under the arms and the upper arms of the corpse, paints the face (red paint on the cheekbones and above the

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[343] [8] Some informants said each family had a menstrual hut, others that there was just one for each camp group.

Wadátkuht

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[224]
their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuum from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

[881]
4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

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464
[221]
The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361
5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.

WadátKuht

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan° (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^u (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (káni) as noted in a preceding section. 285

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^ya. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name mumu^muka for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

Wadátkuht

291 [292] [881] [352] [281] sagebrush bark were worn by girls during their puberty ceremony. A bear hide, well-tanned to remove the grease, was used as a rug. Moccasins were sewn and repaired with sinew, tamó'. Feather capes were not made, according to Kitty. The term, naga', which she gave, apparently had reference to the sagebrush cape.

[237] 301 237 *Ornament*. Joaquin made central California-type flicker feather bands which were used on the "flag" during the Bear Dance. These bands were said to be "quite long". Kitty's mother wore a long band of this type which reached from her throat to the ground. Tail feathers from the bluejay, wiadsi, and feathers from the "woodpecker" (i.e., flicker, *Colaptes cafer*), adsáp, were used in the manufacture of these bands. Kitty said that the Wadátkuht normally did not make flicker bands but obtained them from the Maidu.

301 A man who wore a bi-pointed bone pin through his nasal septum was called muhshumani' ("loafer"). It was worn by a man who wanted to be a "sporty" and affect a "dressy" appearance. Ike once saw an old man with such a bone in his nose, and Winnemucca is pictured wearing one (Heizer, 1960, Pl. 1). A rabbit bone may be used for this purpose. Women supposedly never wore these bone nose pins.

[237] [304] [881] Abalone shells are called nakákoab^{i} (after naká, "ear") and were used for making pendants suspended from girls' ears which were pierced following the puberty ceremony. Abalone shell ornaments also were used with dentalia and chokecherry seeds in necklaces. The dentalia were called pahuka and were gotten from the Pit River people. Clamshell disc beads were called kwutnaygub, and according to Ike were worth five cents apiece for the medium size. Kitty said that clamshell beads were high-priced and much used by the Maidu people. [435] She thought the medium-sized beads were worth about ten cents apiece. Spire-ground *Olivella* beads were called pot' and brought five (clamshell?) beads in exchange.

Kitty and Gladys told of seeing a necklace of wild rose berries which had been made by a Maidu woman. In fact, the woman gave Gladys such a necklace one time. Another Maidu woman made a necklace out of wild sunflower seeds by stringing them.

386 White paint, called ibi, was chalk (presumably diatomaceous earth) which was collected in lumps. Red paint, which was called pizhuhpi, also came in lumps and was scraped

Wadátkuht

515 not indicate whether the other Wadátkuht shared his enthusiasm for a daily plunge into cold water.

Girls' Puberty Ceremony. When Kitty began her first
● 881 menstrual period the family was working at the Will Dill place
in the slough region of Susan River near where it flows into
Honey Lake. From here she had to run to the round hill
behind the Gibson ranch, a distance of four or five miles
to the northwest.

The girls' puberty ceremony was called muhatanowani,
from muha, "moon", and tanowani, "to run". It was also
called punug. Each morning Kitty had to make her run to
Gibson Hill and return on the run in the evening. While on
the hill she had to work all day collecting sagebrush for
[313] the fire. Her aunt, whose name was Beowuhbi, also was on
the hill and remained there during the puberty ceremony.
Each morning Kitty ran up to the top of the hill with approximately
ten other girls who helped her gather sagebrush for
the fire. Most of this fuel had to be left on the hill, but
Kitty took a load back each night. The girls also gathered
brush on their way back to the ranch, and around the ranch.

When Kitty returned to camp each evening the dancing
would begin and she would have to dance all night. During
the days she was able to get some sleep but was awakened by
her aunt before she slept too long. She also got some food
and water from her aunt when she got up on the hill each day.
This kept her going, but no one was supposed to give her food
back at camp. In fact she was guarded to see that no one
[856] slipped her any food. The reason a girl got so little water
was so that she could, in later life, go a long time without
[826] it, a decided virtue under the existing desert conditions of
the Wadátkuht environment.

During the dance each night Kitty wore a shredded sagebrush bark skirt and cape which she had made herself. The cape hung half-way to her knees. However, in deference to new standards brought in by the whites she wore the sagebrush clothing over her cloth dress.

Kitty had to dance all night without stopping. Other people would dance with her but as they got tired others would take over, but she got no rest. The dance ended before sunrise each day and she would leave for the run to the mountain with her escort of girls. These girls and young women had been through the puberty ceremony and were the

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same ones who went with her each day.

Before Kitty's ceremony was completed, however, the 881
family moved over to the village of Matá because the haying
was finished at Will Dill's ranch. At Matá Kitty's aunt
built a fire up the creek above the village and Kitty ran up
there and jumped over the fire twice. Her aunt then took her
and bathed her in a big tub and gave her a lecture on not
being lazy, and on being good. At this time Kitty's family
left a lot of new clothes, blankets, shoes, handkerchiefs...
"a whole new outfit"...to pay for the time and effort Kitty's
aunt had spent on the ceremony. While being bathed Kitty
was scrubbed with sagebrush, sawubi. She and her aunt re-
turned to camp together after Beowuhbi had packed up all of
her presents. When they got back to camp there was a big [574]
feast, and Joaquin gave presents to all assembled, which
included Washo, Maidu and Pit River people as well as the [431]
Paiutes. In fact, the man who sang for Kitty's puberty
ceremony was a Pit River man by the name of Katkat.

Gladys also went through the puberty ceremony at the onset of menses. During the ceremony she was attended by girls who had been through the ceremony as well as by some who had not yet reached puberty.

On the first day of her menses Gladys moved out of the house with her bedding as she was considered unclean. Her mother went with her. She was not allowed to eat or drink out of any utensil which might be used by anyone else, she had to wear old clothes, keep away from people, and got very little to eat or drink. She did get some soda crackers, however, because that was about all they had on hand at that time which she was allowed to eat. The family was camped at the De Witt ranch near Wendel at this time.

On the second day, the family was in Susanville and
Kitty, with Gladys, went to see Big Rosie George, a Maidu
woman, who was related to Gladys' father, who was a Maidu. [797]
Other people were notified that a ceremony was to be held
and they all went up to where the Indian Mission now stands
at Indian Heights (in Susanville) to look over the dance
ground. People prepared abalone shell pendants, deer hoof [574]
rattles and other things necessary for the ceremony. There
was a "pot luck" dinner in the evening of the first and second [535]
nights at the dance grounds. The dinner was followed by
dancing. As for food, Gladys was not supposed to get anything
to eat but someone sneaked her a slice of white bread.

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881 On the first night Gladys had to run about one-half mile at night under the new moon and repeated it the second night.

[535] There was dancing on each succeeding night, as on the first night, and Gladys had to make the usual run. She would grab the deer hoof rattle from the singer, Big Rosie George, and run with it. A group of young people, both boys and girls, would run with her, although only one or two would go some nights.

The third to sixth days and nights were essentially the same as the first two days and nights. During the night of the sixth day, however, everyone danced until dawn. Gladys then ran from Indian Heights east to a place just west of the new cemetery (which is just north of Susanville).

She then ran back to Indian Heights, but not to the dance ground as she had on the previous nights. Instead, she ran to a spring on Indian Heights where her aunt, Helen Joaquin, was waiting for her. Helen had a fire going on a red ant hill near a sagebrush plant. As Gladys came running up she jumped over the sagebrush and the fire in a single jump. The fire had been built next to the sagebrush purposely.

As soon as Gladys had jumped over the bush and the fire Helen told her to take off her clothes. As soon as this was done her aunt threw a bucket of cold water on her. Since it was in the fall of the year, and the weather cool, the water hit her as a shock. While she had been taking her clothes off Helen had put some green sagebrush on the fire, and then some water. Gladys stood upon the green brush over the fire after she had taken her clothes off, and the steam rising from the doused fire felt good to her since she was cold from having been splashed with the bucket of cold water. Her aunt threw dippers of warm water over her as she stood over the steaming fire. Sagebrush had been put into the warm water that was thrown on her. After Gladys had been bathed in the warm water she dried herself and put on clean and/or new clothes. The old clothes were left behind with a dollar in one of the pockets and Gladys never saw the old clothes again. She then went up to camp where her Aunt Helen told her what she could have for breakfast; it was bread, cereal, and coffee, but no meat. This was the end of the puberty ceremony.

[152] All during the time of her puberty ceremony Gladys felt ashamed, guilty and afraid, and was glad when it was over. On the first day she cried some but stopped when she was told

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that she should not cry.

881 ● [824] [177] [413] From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologically for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher". It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick during the time of her ceremony.

881 304 [574] When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eligible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening.

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

165 Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

164 177 Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that when the white people came they brought sickness with them and many Indian people died because of it. Before the white people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{A}, meaning "pitted".

757 Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medicinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.

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539 776 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon. It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai, "magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy, had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies. [756] [881]

SOCIAL LIFE

622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains" and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the same time and seem to have had an equal status within the group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times", and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They also were called upon to settle disputes between people within the band. The situation of having other people work for them as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the [692] [177]

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co- 721
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous 177
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the 643
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they 622
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter [888]
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the 221
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles- [648
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other 574]
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would [583] ●
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur 177
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white 657
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their 648
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[7] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

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[7] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

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756 sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[7]

756 787 The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

756 858 Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> [888] I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green)

756 Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

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[7] [776] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*, 13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*.